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III

JOINT COMMISSION ON UNIFICATION

OF THE

Methodist Episcopal Church

AND THE

Methodist Episcopal Church, South

VOLUME III

Proceedings at St. Louis, Mo., April 10-13, 1918; at Cleveland, Ohio, July 7-10, 1919; at Louisville, Ky., January 15-20, 1920

ALSO

Report Submitted by the Ad Interim Committee, Richmond, Va., November 7, 1919

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The proceedings of the Joint Commission have been compiled from the official minutes and from the stenographic report of the speeches as revised by each speaker.

A. W. HARRIS,
FRANK M. THOMAS,
Secretaries.

February 10, 1920.

COMMISSION ON UNIFICATION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Bishops

Earl Cranston, Washington, D. C.
John W. Hamilton, Washington, D. C.
William F. McDowell, Washington, D. C.
Frederick D. Leete, Atlanta, Ga.
Richard J. Cooke, Helena, Mont.

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John F. Goucher, Baltimore, Md.
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Albert J. Nast, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Frank Neff, Hutchinson, Kans.
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George Warren Brown, St. Louis, Mo.
Charles W. Fairbanks, Indianapolis, Ind.
Abram W. Harris, Secretary, New York, N. Y.
Charles W. Kinne, Jacksonville, Fla.
Irvine G. Penn, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Ira E. Robinson, Charleston, W. Va.
Henry Wade Rogers, New York, N. Y.
William Rule, Knoxville, Tenn.
Alex. Simpson, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
Rolla V. Watt, San Francisco, Cal.

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E. E. Hoss, Muskogee, Okla.
Collins Denny, Richmond, Va.
Edwin D. Mouzon, Dallas, Tex.
W. B. Murrah, Memphis, Tenn.

Ministers

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W. J. Young, Atlanta, Ga.
John M. Moore, Nashville, Tenn.
C. M. Bishop, Georgetown, Tex.
E. B. Chappell, Nashville, Tenn.
T. N. Ivey, Nashville, Tenn.
A. F. Watkins, Jackson, Miss.
H. M. Du Bose, Nashville, Tenn.
W. N. Ainsworth, Savannah, Ga.
A. J. Lamar, Nashville, Tenn.

Laymen

M. L. Walton, Woodstock, Va.
H. N. Snyder, Spartanburg, S. C.
P. D. Maddin, Nashville, Tenn.
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Rev. Charles M. Stuart, D.D., Evanston, Ill.
James R. Joy, New York, N. Y.
Charles A. Pollock, Fargo, N. Dak.

Methodist Episcopal Church, South

Bishop James Atkins, Waynesville, N. C.
Rev. W. Asbury Christian, Richmond, Va.
Rev. E. V. Regester, Alexandria, Va.
Rev. C. H. Briggs, Springfield, Mo.
Edward W. Hines, Louisville, Ky.
G. T. Fitzhugh, Memphis, Tenn.

PROCEEDINGS AT ST. LOUIS, MO., APRIL 10-13, 1918

FIRST DAY, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10, 1918.

The meeting was called to order at 10 A.M., April 10, by Bishop Collins Denny, in the Sunday school room of Centenary M. E. Church, South.

The devotional exercises were conducted by Rev. David G. Downey.

The hymn, "All hail the power of Jesus' name," was sung.

Prayer was offered by Rev. David G. Downey.

The hymn, "Come, thou Fount of every blessing," was sung.

The roll was called, and the following Commissioners answered present: Bishops E. E. Hoss, Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, W. B. Murrah, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, J. M. Moore, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, H. M. Du Bose, W. N. Ainsworth, A. J. Lamar, Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace. Laymen: M. L. Walton, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, J. R. Pepper, E. C. Reeves, H. H. White, E. W. Hines, G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, Alex. Simpson, Jr., Rolla V. Watt, J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock. Rev. C. M. Stuart, alternate.

Frank M. Thomas: Judge Samford wrote me last week that he would be unable to be present on account of official duties. I notified the next alternate, Mr. E. W. Hines, and he is present.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): He takes his seat, under the rule, unless there be objection. Is there any objection? There being none, he takes his seat. I have been informed by the Secretary that a committee of the brethren from the St. Louis Churches is present and desires to make a statement to the Commission. We will hear from those brethren without formality of a motion if they will be kind enough to come forward.

Bishop Denny then introduced the following gentlemen to the Commission: Dr. E. Combie Smith, Dr. R. L. Russell, Dr. C. W. Tadlock, and Mr. Hanford Crawford.

Dr. R. L. Russell: We of the border cities, where Methodism is strongly intrenched, have observed with delight your proceedings from month to month as you have held them in different places, and are delighted that you are now our guests in this city. We have not been unmindful of the burden which

we have imposed upon you to work out a plan of union for the two great Methodisms which you are here to represent. We are also mindful of the fact of the care and the prayer with which you have undertaken the task, and we want you to know that we in this great city have followed you with our prayers and with earnest hope that you may find some way for us to stick together as one body of united Methodism. When Mr. Brown, who is our representative from this city, and whom both Methodisms claim and delight to honor, brought us the news that you were to meet with us, we felt highly honored, and since you are here this honor is realized. We come to you from the united Methodisms of this city, in which there are about fifty churches and a little short of twenty thousand members, and ask that you be our guests this evening at 6:30 at a reception at Moolah Temple, where we trust fifteen hundred of our people will greet you and be your hosts. This is an honor which we crave and trust you will find in your heart not to deny us. Mr. Crawford, who represents the laity of both Churches, I am certain would like to second the invitation, and I shall be pleased for him to do so.

Mr. Hanford Crawford: I wish it were entirely true that you were our guests in toto during your stay here; but for the short time that we are privileged to have you as our guest, I am sure that Dr. Russell has fallen short of expressing even what he wanted to of the cordiality and sincerity of welcome that comes to you from the Methodism of this neighborhood. The place of the reception and dinner or supper, whatever you choose to call it, that will be given to you by the fifteen hundred people is Moolah Temple. Some of you will understand the origin of the name. It is 3821 Lindell Boulevard. For fear some of you may be tempted to stray on foot, I will say that it can be reached very closely by any of the Olive Street cars, and is just between here and the hotel, going west. It is the wish of the committee to send automobiles for the entire Commission and for the ladies of your familes who are here, at such hour as you may decide. We would suggest that you be ready to leave in the automobiles at 6:15, and we would like to have you decide whether it would be from here or from the hotel. If from the hotel, you are divided into fifty rooms, and I need only to mention that fact to illustrate that it will be necessary for you to exercise a little extra care that no one be lost when we are ready to start. I have, therefore, asked both Dr. Thomas and Dr. Harris, who, I have been given to understand, are the shepherds of this flock as far as care is concerned, that they will kindly see that everybody who is going is taken care of and will notify the automobiles. I shall leave with Dr. Thomas now

enough simple badges marked "Commission." My only purpose in that is that you will not be mixed up with the ordinary crowd in the city of St. Louis. We have designated Mr. Brown for the evening as something apart from us; but Mrs. Brown takes her place with the rest of us, and Mr. Brown goes with you. He must wear this badge. He cannot wear the St. Louis badge for to-night; but you can see that in this large group, this catch-as-catch-can, this Greco-Roman wrestling match, we desire that fifty in round numbers of people who are our honored guests may be kept somewhat apart from the crowd. Such has been the demand for tickets that I am very sorry to say that I could not get enough tickets this morning to bring here for you. I, therefore, by direction stamped on my own personal card the emblem which I beg you to use this first evening. It cannot be used the second time. I regret that I had to use my own card, but it was because the committee found it impossible to get other tickets for you. Now may I ask two or three things? First, I wish to know how many of you there are and how many ladies there will be in the party, and when and where the automobiles are to come for you. At the hall you will be taken care of, and arrangements to that end have already been made, so what I am now concerned about is getting you there. Dr. Smith has a word to say on the program, but before I make way for him I am requested by the trustees of Barnes Hospital, of this city, owned by the Faculty of the Washington University Medical School, and, barring the John Hopkins in Baltimore, the greatest medical school found in the United States, to extend an invitation to the Commission through me, coming direct from the Rev. Dr. J. W. Lee, who represents the Board of Trustees, for luncheon and inspection of the plant. I told them that the only possible day would be Saturday and that it might be arranged in connection with what is projected, a supper Saturday evening for the members of the Commission and a few gentlemen of the city at one of the country clubs. It occurred to me that the two might be combined. You might adjourn from here to the luncheon at the Barnes Hospital, and be taken from there to the Country Club and then return. That is for you to decide, and I wish for you to express your decision to Mr. George Warren Brown, who is here. The other things I would ask to have decided immediately, and you can designate your wishes to the Secretary. Dr. Smith, in charge of the program to-night, has a word to say. Let me first say that if there is anything else that the Local Committee, which has no authority, but only good will, can do for your comfort while you are here, you have only to command us.

Dr. E. Combie Smith: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the

Commission, the Committee on Program does not design that you should be the recipient of favors without an opportunity of expressing your appreciation. We have therefore assigned to you, if it be your pleasure, the duty of responding to four toasts. The time allotted to each speaker is not to exceed, if possible, the limit of ten minutes; and these are the topics which, with your patience, I will read: "United Methodism's Response to the Call of Patriotism," "United Methodism and the New World Order," "United Methodism and World Evangelism," "United Methodism in an Age of Efficiency." If it be possible, the committee would consider it a great courtesy if some of you will respond to these toasts. I would like for the names of those who are to respond to be handed to me at as early a moment as possible, in order that they may be inserted on the program, which halts in its completion awaiting this consummation.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): What is the pleasure of the Commission?

John M. Moore: I move that we accept the invitation for this evening and say to the committee that we will be ready for them at the hotel at 6:15.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): There is another invitation. What disposition is desired to be made of that?

Edwin M. Randall: I move that the Secretaries be made a committee for arranging the responses that have been asked for by Dr. Smith.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

E. B. Chappell: I do not see how we can determine at this moment whether we can accept an invitation for Saturday. That matter must necessarily be postponed.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I hear no motion relative to that matter.

Edgar Blake: I move—

Bishop McDowell: I rise to a question of extraordinary privilege. I know that we will suspend everything to receive Bishop Hoss. If he will come forward, I will present him. Some of you have heard of him and all will be delighted to become acquainted with him. Brethren, I present Bishop Hoss.

Bishop Hoss: I have come again to join the Methodist Church.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The Secretary informs me that Bishop Quayle is present. If he will come forward, I shall take pleasure in presenting him.

Bishop Quayle was presented to the Joint Commission, as was also Dr. Albert F. Smith, pastor of Centenary Church.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): There are still one or two preliminary matters.

Bishop McDowell: Dr. Blake had the floor when I broke in with the question of privilege.

Edgar Blake: We have received an invitation from the local committee for a luncheon Saturday and a visit to the Country Club. It seems somewhat early yet to determine whether it would be possible for the Commission to accept that invitation. I am sure all of us desire to do so if we find it practicable. I move, therefore, that the Joint Chairmen and the Joint Secretaries be constituted a committee to report on that at the proper time.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

John M. Moore: I move that the hours of meeting and adjournment of this Joint Commission be from 9 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. in the morning and from 2:30 P.M. to 5 P.M. in the afternoon.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Is not nine too early for the meeting under this Congressional time?

John M. Moore: I think not.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): If some of you will be kind enough to get Congress to appeal to the signs of the Zodiac in addition to the hands of the clock, it will accommodate some of us. This matter of the time is getting to be a personal matter with some of us. I do not know your influence in Congress, but if you have any I trust you will exercise it.

John M. Moore: It will be satisfactory to me to put it at 9:30 to 1.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I was not speaking of that. I was just bound to go off on this clock business that Congress has been dealing with.

John M. Moore: It is suggested that I make the hours from 9 to 12:30 and 2:30 to adjourn at will.

Rolla V. Watt: Is it too late to offer an amendment?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): No.

Rolla V. Watt: I move to amend by making the hour for morning meeting at 9:30. I appreciate this suggestion of the Chairman's.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I would not have so much force given to my suggestion.

Rolla V. Watt: From 9:30 to 12:30, three hours, is enough.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, resulted in a tie of 18 to 18.

F. M. Thomas: I want to know the motion, so that I can vote intelligently.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The motion is 9 or 9:30. You have the deciding vote.

F. M. Thomas: I will make it 9:30.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Nine-thirty has it.

W. N. Ainsworth: I move that the adjournment will be at 1 o'clock instead of 12:30.

John M. Moore: I accept that, if my second will.

M. L. Walton: I seconded your other motion, and I accept this.

A vote being taken, the motion was carried.

W. N. Ainsworth: Now I offer another amendment, that we meet in the afternoon at 3 o'clock, instead of 2:30, and adjourn at will.

John M. Moore: That suits me.

A vote being taken, the motion was carried.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): What is the next business?

F. M. Thomas: The Committee on Procedure was ordered to prepare a program for this meeting.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I remember that the Committee on Procedure was called at Savannah—that is, there was a call for a meeting of the Committee on Procedure; and, having been elected Chairman of that Committee, I called a meeting here yesterday. I regret to say that only two of us were present and I heard from only one other member of the Committee—namely, Dr. Blake. Two of us who were present are prepared to report, if the Commission cares to hear the report of two men.

Bishop McDowell: In my desire to be present, I adjourned an Annual Conference on Monday evening at half-past five to take the train at seven o'clock, and I got here last night at eight or nine o'clock. I couldn't get through any faster. I am sure it would be the pleasure of the Commission to hear the report of those members of the Committee on Procedure who were able to meet yesterday.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The two of us who met in accordance with the announcement made at Savannah report that we continue the consideration of the question of the Status of the Negro; and having completed that, we take up the matter of the Judicial Council; and having completed that, we take up the question of Regional Conferences. The report is in your hands.

Bishop Mouzon: I seriously question the wisdom of the method of procedure which has been recommended by two members of the Committee on Procedure. It is of great importance that

we should, if possible, perfect the main outlines of this general plan of unification that we have been working on. We should put behind us everything that is possible for us to put behind us. We have been reminded again and again that nothing that we have done here has been finally done, but that everything has been adopted tentatively. Of course, many of our people do not know what the word "tentatively" means. They do not know that evertyhing that has been adopted tentatively has been adopted by a show of hands and doubtless by a majority of each Commission voting in favor of it. I think we should limit speeches to five minutes and take up the report of the Committee on Conferences. The first report that we should take up should be the report of the Committee on Conferences. We have gone so far with that report that it will be possible for us in a short time, I think, to perfect it and put it behind us, letting it be adopted by the Joint Commission and then by the separate Commissions, according to rule. Then I would suggest that we take up next the report of the Committee on the Judicial Council, which is nearly perfected if I mistake not, and perfect that; and then, in whatsoever time may remain, I suggest that we take up the report of the Committee on the Status of the Colored Members of the Church in the Reorganized Church, and, if possible, complete that. Therefore, I move as a substitute for the motion before us that we take up first of all the report of the Committee on Conferences.

The motion was seconded.

A. J. Lamar: I was the other member of the Committee on Procedure who was present and arranged the plan announced by Bishop Denny. It seems to me the plan we suggest is the wisest plan. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is now just about three weeks off. If we are to make any progress at all at this time, we must make a somewhat definite report to that General Conference. Every one recognizes that the crucial questions before us, to which the General Conference of our Church will want an answer, are:

1. The status of the colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the reorganized Church.
2. The boundaries and the powers of the Regional Conferences.

We have done nothing at all to settle those two questions. We can take the things that are easy, the things that are almost entirely matters of detail, and settle them; and when we have consumed the time of the session in settling them, we will not have any answer to the question which is in the minds of both Churches, certainly in the minds of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is the prominent question. I think we did

wrong in the beginning. I think we have largely wasted three sessions of this Commission because we did not pursue the policy outlined in the report of your Committee on Order and Procedure. If we had taken up first the most difficult questions, we could have decided long since whether we could or could not agree on a settlement of those questions, and we would be much farther ahead than we are at this time. With all respect to the judgment of Bishop Mouzon, to adopt the substitute that he has offered will be simply to make this meeting a repetition of the meetings which have preceded it, and the result will be that we of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, will go to our General Conference with a vague, misty report, which means nothing and will be utterly unsatisfactory. I trust that the report of the Committee on Order and Procedure will be adopted.

Bishop McDowell: I should have been present at the meeting of the Committee, but it was absolutely impossible, for the reasons that I have already stated. I am not at all particular myself as to which of these two orders you take. I am willing to begin with the consideration of the report of the Committee on Conferences, with the understanding that we are to finish it. That carries with it the whole matter of the power of the General Conference, the powers of the Regional Conferences; and the geography of the Regional Conferences carries with it inevitably the whole question of the episcopacies and the itineracy in the episcopacies. I am willing to take that up right now and go clear through it, as Bishop Mouzon has suggested; but if that order is taken, I want before we begin to consider it to agree to go clear through also with the status of the negro in the reorganized Church. I do not quite understand Bishop Mouzon as intimating that we shall in such time as is left consider that subject, although those were not the words that he used.

Bishop Mouzon: All the time there is.

Bishop McDowell: There are certain brethren who have a minimum of time to spend here, and I do not want the status of the negro left as an unfinished topic by this session, if other topics are to be finished. I do not think Bishop Mouzon suggested that, but there might be that inference from his remark. I am not particular whether we shall take up the negro first and agree or disagree on that, or take up the Conferences and agree or disagree on that, but I am sure that we ought to sit until we do both of those things and everything involved in them if we do any of them. If we complete either, we should complete all.

A. W. Harris: I move that we now go into executive session.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

H. M. Du Bose: I find myself in hearty agreement with the plan of procedure proposed by the committee. I had intended to offer at the opening session this morning a resolution covering that point, and I am personally prepared with this morning's session to take up the order indicated by the committee, and before the end of the session reach a definite conclusion, so as to make a motion that the Commissions have separate sessions and that each Commission, having a session of its own, commit its statement in writing; and that the views that the Commission may definitely express, in other words, the ultimate of all that cannot be done on this crucial question, be brought in the two reports together and see if they can be reconciled —and if they may be to make a common report on them, and if they cannot then to make such report to our General Conferences. That was in my mind, and I was prepared to move it. I put myself on record as being heartily in favor of this order. I am also heartily in favor of the suggestion which has been made, and I trust will take the shape of a motion—I shall make it myself if somebody else does not—that speeches be limited to five minutes and only one speech from each member during the discussion. Many of us cannot remain over Saturday night. The next week or ten days will be full of work for us who are in the General Conference and who have connectional duties.

Rolla V. Watt: I indorse everything that Dr. Du Bose has said, except that idea of separate meetings of the two Commissions. I think that in holding separate meetings we have lost much valuable time. I want these matters thrashed out in joint session. I am in favor of the report of the Committee on Procedure. I believe we should take up the negro question where we left it off and see if we cannot agree. I trust the report of that committee will be adopted.

E. C. Reeves: Brethren, I belong to the Judiciary Committee, and cannot settle that question without going into the negro question. There is hardly any question before us but that some branch of it touches the negro question; and I, therefore, am in favor of the program laid out by the Committee on Procedure, that we settle this question of all questions, and then, if we settle that, we can easily settle the others.

Edgar Blake: I am quite in sympathy with the remark made by my friend Mr. Watt in reference to going into separate sessions. I agree with him that we have lost much time through that method of procedure, and I certainly hope that the Commissions at this early stage of the game will not be preparing or presenting any ultimatum to each other. I hope that will not

come at any time. I confess that to my mind the report of the committee does not appear to be the best method for us to follow. We devoted practically all the time, with the exception of two working days, at Savannah to the consideration of the negro question and did not settle it. There are other matters that are quite as fundamental to the success of any plan we may propose as the status of the negro membership in the reorganized Church. From my point of view I believe there is a more logical course for us to follow. I think all of you have this printed outline, prepared and sent out by the committee, which gives you the foundation upon which to build this work.

Bishop Hoss: I shall be glad if that plan is discussed. Perhaps I might understand it then; I hope I shall be able to; I have not heretofore.

Edgar Blake: I want to call attention to the fact that there are certain unfinished items in this report. It seems to me it would be wiser, and we should get along faster, if we would take up the unfinished items in this printed plan and proceed with them. That would make the first item for our consideration the boundaries or areas of these Regional Conferences. I am certain that this is a very vital question, and one upon which it is necessary for us to reach an agreement—an agreement of such nature as will commend itself to both of our executive bodies. I doubt if there is in the entire plan any item more fundamental than this one. Up to the present time it has had no consideration whatever by this Joint Commission. It was before us at Traverse City, but was postponed in order that the Joint Commission might have more time to study the plan. I do not believe we should postpone this item until the last in the procedure of this meeting. I am certain you will be in trouble if you do so. If you discuss this item, you will come to the status of the negro and then to the Judicial Council; and I believe if we were to take this plan here and consider the unfinished items in order and go through with them, we should make haste and we should do a better piece of work than if we take a little here and a little there, and something somewhere else, without reference to logical development and coördination. I, therefore, move as an amendment, or substitute, that we take up the unfinished items in the printed plan in their order.

Bishop Mouzon: I trust that the Commission will not misunderstand the purpose I had in view in moving a substitute for the report offered by the Committee on Procedure. I do not desire to back off from this question, which has given us so much concern and which has taken up so much of our time. If I made use of the words, "Then in so much of our time as may

remain, let us take up the report of the Committee on the Status of the Negro," I made use of unfortunate language. If I were to let that language stand, I should suffer myself to be misunderstood. I am not backing off from that question of the status of the colored man in the reorganized Church; but what I desire, brethren, and I hope you will give attention at this point, is that we may have opportunity at least for one day, to associate one with the other, the Southern Commissioners with the Northern Commissioners, and to talk about this matter somewhat, around the lobby and in our rooms, in order that we may discover whether or not we are to take very seriously what has appeared in the Church press since our meeting in Savannah. If we of the South are to take very seriously what has appeared in the press of the Northern Church, and if you of the North are to take very seriously what has appeared in some quarters in the Southern Church press, a very critical situation has developed, and personally I should like to have opportunity at least for a day to meet my brethren of the Northern Commission and talk with them privately before we take up the discussion of this matter. I believe we shall make haste if we shall go a little leisurely.

Bishop McDowell: Why not talk it out here?

Bishop Mouzon: It is better to take a little time to talk these matters over between ourselves before talking in public. "Why not talk it out here?" Somehow or other, I always make better headway when I talk with Bishop McDowell in private than when I talk with him in public. That is why I am urging just a little delay in taking this up, that we may have opportunity to see just where we stand before we go further with it. I am not backing off from it, but endeavoring to approach it in the wisest and best way. I do not object to Dr. Blake's motion at all.

Bishop Hoss took the chair as presiding officer.

Bishop Denny: For about two weeks, every day at Savannah we discussed the important and delicate question of the status of the negro in the proposed reorganized Methodist Church. The discussion was supposed to be completed until nearly every one in the Commission had spoken. Everything was done except to vote. We did not get to vote. It seemed to the two of us who were here that, having discussed that matter, the wisest thing the Commission would do was to proceed to vote on that matter. Dr. Blake's view of logic does not agree with mine. I do not say mine is correct, but I just lack the ability to see how it is more logical to discuss a question up to the point of action and then sheer off and take up another question and discuss it. In addition to that fact—and

I do not desire to take up your time more than to state the grounds on which we bring this report before you—at every point in every question we discussed we met this question, and really we have settled nothing until we have settled this question. If we are to make any headway at all, we must see whether it is possible for us to reach an agreement on the status of the negro in the reorganized Church. That being the case, the committee presents this report to you. Dr. Lamar has already called attention to the fact that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is just three weeks off. Some of us have met here at very grave inconvenience. I do not know when I spent a costlier day than I spent yesterday, not to meet those who were to meet and not to have word that they would not be here. The College of Bishops of our Church is to meet, with much business before it. The Board of Education is to meet, the Board of Missions is to meet, the Board of Church Extension is to meet; some of us are members of all those Boards, and all this must take place before the General Conference. While heretofore we have remained to the end of the meeting, at this time we shall be forced to leave within a few days; and so, in view of the fact that we are confined to a very few days here by the necessities of the case, that we have discussed the whole question up to the point of exhaustion of the time allowed, that nothing remains except to see if we can agree on the vote, your committees should give you the report. In our judgment it is best to continue until we can see whether we can settle this question. If we lay it aside, we have not reached a practical settlement on anything, no matter what we would do with the report of the Committee on Conferences.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I am in the uncomfortable situation that I agree with Bishop Denny's logic, but with Dr. Blake's conclusion. The difficulty is not in the logic of Dr. Blake, nor in your logic, but lack of logic in the action of the Commission that started in to debate and consider the question of the report of the Committee on Conferences. We go on to that, then we leave it unfinished and shift to the Judicial Council. We go on to certain points of that and leave it unfinished, then shift to the status of the negro, and that is just exactly the position this Commission is in to-day. We have debated at great length every one of those three reports and have not finished any of them. Bishop Mouzon takes exactly the right position. What we should aim at, even if it comes to pass that the whole of our work cannot be finished, even if it comes to pass that the question of the status of the negro be an unsettled matter so far as the Commission is concerned, I still think if we would dispose of all

the other matters here and if your Commission should go before your General Conference and our Commission go before our General Conference and say, "We have disposed of every subject which came before the Joint Commission for its examination save and except only the question of the status of the negro in the reorganized Church," we put the test upon the General Conferences of both Churches and upon the membership of both Churches to find a solution of the one thing that stands in the way of a unified Church. If this Commission were to agree upon all the matters arising here out of the report of the Committee on Conferences and of the Committee on Judicial Council, and should finally agree upon all these points, yet disagree upon the status of the negro, I think that we shall have made a vast step forward, and the common, everyday membership of our Church standing back of us will force us, whether we will or not, to agree to the settlement of that one crucial question. That is the situation I want to get the Commission in. All along I have said that if we can clear up everything else, and all be under the stress of doing this one thing, it will bring a result that can be brought about in no other way. The other members get up and say that the question of the jurisdiction and boundaries of the Regional Conferences is undecided, and that is tied up with the Status of the Negro; and they find an excuse not to vote on the status of the negro, but would be compelled to vote if that were out of the way. You all know that. You are talking in the corridors of the hotel and in private conversations and in your rooms, and the statements are made that this question of the boundaries of the Regional Conferences means keeping the two Churches apart just as before. I do not believe that is so. I want to get a vote of the Commission upon that thing. Let us face the facts that we of the North are not afraid to trust you of the South in Regional Conferences where you have all the territory, and you are not afraid to trust us of the North in Regional Conferences in the territory where we have it all. Let us get rid of the little element of this fuss, which seems to exist in spite of everything we have done and can do until we finish those things and get them out of the way, and feel that we are here as God's children to-day trusting one another the same as we would trust our own brothers, for after all we are members of the same Church, we are the younger brothers of Jesus Christ; and if we cannot find a solution of these problems it is a mighty sad thing for the sister Churches represented by the members of this Commission, and for that reason I am in favor of Bishop Mouzon's motion.

H. M. Du Bose: I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

Joseph W. Van Cleve: Will you tell us the parliamentary situation, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The question is perfectly proper, of course, otherwise it would not have been asked. The Committee on Procedure reported a suggestion for an order for the Commission, that the first thing to be taken up should be the status of the negro in the reorganized Church, then the Judicial Council, then the report of the Committee on Conferences. Bishop Mouzon moved as a substitute that we reverse that order and take up the report of the Committee on Conferences, then the report of the Committee on Judicial Council, and then the status of the negro. The question has been called for.

C. M. Bishop: Was not there a substitute offered by Dr. Blake?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): It was not seconded.

George Warren Brown: It was not?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): No, it was not.

Joseph W. Van Cleve: I wanted to second it—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): But did you?

Joseph W. Van Cleve: No.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): It was not seconded.

A vote being taken, the question was ordered.

A further vote being taken, the substitute offered by Bishop Mouzon was carried by a vote of 20 to 14.

Bishop Mouzon: I now move that speakers be limited to five minutes.

The motion was seconded.

H. M. Du Bose: Do you not mean also to include that a second speech may not be made by the same speaker unless the floor is unclaimed?

Bishop Mouzon: I am under the impression that we have such a rule already. I did not make the motion, because I think we have that rule already.

H. M. Du Bose: All right.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I hope you will not regard it as impertinent, but may I say to you that good Constitutions are scarcely ever made when speakers are limited to five minutes?

Edgar Blake: In view of the fact that the first item in the report of the Committee on Conferences, the area and boundaries of the Regional Conferences, is so important, and up to the present time no discussion or time has been given to that, I wish to move a ten-minute rule to apply to that item and then a five-minute rule to apply to the items that follow which have been discussed at some length before. There are members

here who desire to speak on that first item and cannot do it properly in five minutes.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): It will require an amendment. Is that motion seconded?

The motion was seconded.

Bishop Mouzon: I am entirely willing to accept Dr. Blake's amendment if my second will accept it.

The second accepted.

M. L. Walton: I want to make a statement against the pending motion. Let us not have exceptions; let us have general rules. Certain people think one thing is more important and others think something else is more important. If we keep on making exceptions, we shall soon have all exceptions and no general rules. I think we can settle all of this in discussions under the five-minute rule. One person might not cover the whole field, but between us all we will cover the whole argument and probably repeat a good deal. I am in favor of the motion originally made, that we observe the general rule of five minutes with reference to all these matters as they may come up, and make no exceptions to that rule. Otherwise we shall have exceptions and no rule of limitation on time. To this I am opposed.

Bishop Hoss: I think an exception should be made in my favor, as I have not been able to make my speeches, and if I don't get them out before this session of this Commission I don't know that I ever shall.

Bishop Mouzon: I would move that all time limit be taken from Bishop Hoss.

F. M. Thomas: I feel a delicacy in speaking, although I have spoken little in the general meetings. I think we make a mistake to limit speeches to five minutes. To come down to the last meeting and limit speeches to five minutes on these important questions is a mistake. I believe in the enforcement of the ten-minute rule. I was in favor of that at Savannah, but it hardly seems wise for gentlemen who have exhausted themselves speaking at great length to limit gentlemen who have not spoken at all. Now, this is not said in pleasantry, but in all seriousness, and after reading over all of these speeches during the past two months I have seen that there must be a wonderful orientation of views if we are to arrive at agreements upon these questions about which there is such a profound difference. I do not know that any one can be convinced; but certainly, as Bishop Denny says, five minutes is too little time to give to it if a man wants to make a worthy deliverance on the question. I do not say that I am going to offend you with a

speech, but I am opposed to applying the five-minute rule at this time.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): In discussing the geography and the boundaries of the Regional Conferences, the five-minute rule does not apply.

E. B. Chappell: The ten-minute rule applies?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That is the general rule.

Bishop Leete: You mean that in discussing the whole question of Regional Conferences, their boundaries, etc., we are under the ten-minute rule?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): My understanding of Dr. Blake's motion was that his amendment applied simply to the question of the geographical boundaries. Am I correct?

Edgar Blake: That is the only matter unfinished that we have. We have already adopted the geographical boundaries: "There shall be the following Regional Jurisdictions, each having its own Regional Conference"—and then follow the areas and the boundaries.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): My point was, was your amendment limited to the question of the geographical boundaries?

Edgar Blake: My amendment is limited to Subsections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 of Section 1, under Article VI.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Those are the geographical boundaries.

Bishop Leete: We talk about things we have adopted and agreed on. We have not adopted anything except tentatively; and inasmuch as we have adopted nothing absolutely, how can we get at the fundamental question involved in it? Are we to be tied up in the discussion of certain things unfinished, or can we take the things adopted tentatively? I feel that there is a great question involved. If we are going to have liberty anywhere, it should be on the main question, and I would like to see this matter handled in no narrow spirit. Ten minutes on the boundaries, and then only five minutes on other important matters! I would rather have liberty on the general topics. That is a fair way to get at it.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The question is on the amendment.

David G. Downey: Is a substitute in order?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): An amendment to the amendment is in order.

David G. Downey: I move as an amendment to the amendment that in the discussion of Article VI., Regional Conferences, the five-minute rule shall not apply.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That amendment is already before us.

David G. Downey: I understood you to rule, and Dr. Blake to say, that the only thing before us was as to the geographical boundaries; and Article VI. takes in the whole matter of Regional Conferences, including boundaries, members, and powers.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I beg your pardon. You run through the whole of Article VI.

David G. Downey: Yes.

Rolla V. Watt: I move that all we have before us be laid on the table and that we proceed under the ten-minute rule.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Are you ready to vote on the amendment to the amendment? The amendment is that there shall be an exception to the five-minute rule so far as all the sections of Article VI. of the report of the Committee on Conferences is concerned.

Edgar Blake: I have not the slightest objection to Dr. Downey's motion, if the one who seconded mine will accept it.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I do not recall who seconded your amendment.

Bishop Hoss: I rise to a question of inquiry. Do I understand that Dr. Blake's amendment involved the reopening of the whole question of the Regional Conference?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): No, sir; his amendment is that in the consideration of Subsection 1 of Article VI. the five-minute rule shall not apply. The amendment of Dr. Downey is that the five-minute rule shall not apply to the consideration of any of the sections of Article VI. down to Article VII., on page 3.

A vote being taken, the amendment offered by Dr. Downey was carried by a vote of 26 to 15.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The amendment to the amendment prevailed; and while that as a fact parliamentarily settles the whole question, to comply with the parliamentary requirements I will take a vote on the amendment as amended.

A vote being taken, the amendment as amended was carried.

Bishop McDowell: I do not understand the question.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The question is— Is it desired that the question be taken over again?

Bishop McDowell: No.

H. M. Du Bose: I shall not presume to instruct the Chair, but I trust that the Chairman will be careful in observing his watch.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Why emphasize this? Because I did not call you down at Savannah on that long speech that you made?

J. R. Pepper: I desire to move that the final adjournment of this meeting be at five o'clock Saturday afternoon.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

F. M. Thomas: I would like to explain a matter which I am in a sense responsible for. It seems that at Savannah, before we adjourned, there was a suggestion—I find there was no resolution, but it seems that there was a suggestion that we undertake no social festivities in St. Louis. That entirely slipped my mind. I had to be in St. Louis last week. I tried not to come, but found that I had to come to see about the hotel and church, and I found the Local Committee making some arrangements with reference to entertaining us while here. If I had remembered that suggestion at Savannah, I certainly would have told the Local Committee about it, but as Brother Brown was the Local Commissioner I supposed it was his duty to call to my mind anything that had slipped my mind, therefore I wish to apologize to the Commission for my failure in that matter.

George Warren Brown: Just blame Commissioner Brown.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): If you will allow me to interject just here—as a matter of courtesy, I shall be present at the banquet to-night, though I am not much given to banquets when we are on work of this kind. Without intending to use a word that will reflect on anybody else, I do not approve of them. They are dissipating in their mental as well as their physical effects—at least they are to me. I think I ought to state to the Commission, as a matter of courtesy as well as a matter affecting the procedure, that I have been the acting Chairman of our Commission; but now Bishop Hoss is here, and it will give me great pleasure to turn that responsibility over to him.

Bishop Hoss: There is a great word going around in the Church, the word "prerogative." That is a word that I very seldom use, but if I have any "prerogative" in this case I turn it over to you.

Bishop Denny: If Bishop Hoss were just inclined to turn over to me burdens, he could provoke me; but he turns over to me so many privileges as well as so many burdens that I cannot get angry with him, but only in definitely close brotherly relations to him. Well, I have to bear this burden. I can be present at the banquet only a very short time. My purpose in going at all is simply to show my courteous appreciation of the invitation. Nothing can be expected of me at the banquet, and I shall stay certainly not longer than fifteen minutes. I need not go into the reasons for all this. I am off of a very hard trip, in which I was pressed to the utmost of my physical vigor. I have ahead of me a good deal of what will be

exceeding hard work, and I am taking this action on that account.

Bishop Hoss: The chances are that the General Conference will take something off the Bishops.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): But until they do we have to bear it.

John M. Moore: I am not sure that I understand the method of procedure, or what is exactly before us; but if I do, we are to begin with Article I.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: We are to take up Article VI.

John M. Moore: We are to take up each Article and make any amendment that we choose to make and then pass on down: Is that the idea?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I really do not feel authorized to answer that question from the chair.

John M. Moore: I think it would be well for us to change the form of statement in the first five articles, and I have written out the form of statement I would suggest; but, of course, I am not a committee on this subject. I think each of these articles should begin with an enacting clause. Instead of saying "The membership of the Church shall be divided into local societies, one or more of which shall constitute a pastoral charge," it should read: "There shall be pastoral charges," etc. In the next one, instead of what we have, I would say: "There shall be a Conference composed of all the members of the local societies and resident members of an Annual Conference, and such others as the General Conference may determine," etc. You will see that I have not only changed the wording but some of the contents of that article. I do that for this reason: There is a very great desire on the part of many of our people to simplify this statement as much as possible, and not to put into the Constitution matters that should be determined from time to time by the General Conference by its own statutory process. We say in the latter part of this article: "It (such Conference) shall elect such a number of delegates to the District Conference as may be fixed by the General Conference; provided, that only those members of the Church who have reached the age of eighteen years shall be entitled to vote in the Church Conference." I would think it better to leave that to the General Conference. We say a Quarterly Conference shall be organized in each pastoral charge, shall be composed of such persons and have such powers as the General Conference may determine. I think that should read, "There shall be a Quarterly Conference organized in each pastoral charge," etc.

ARTICLE IV. DISTRICT CONFERENCES.

There shall be held annually in each district of the Annual Conference a District Conference, to be composed of the traveling, superannuated, supernumerary, and local preachers of the district, of delegates from the Church Conference, and of such other members as may be designated by the General Conference.

Provided, that any Regional Conference shall be allowed, upon the majority of two-thirds of the members present and voting and two-thirds of the Annual Conference present and voting, to transfer the duties of the District Conferences to other regularly constituted bodies, and to discontinue the holding of the District Conferences. I would put that in the Constitution. I am indicating an amendment. I understand that the Methodist Episcopal Church has District Conferences—has provisions for them—but they are not always held. The District Conference is not really a necessity in our work, but in our Church in the South we have used it everywhere and at all times and it has become a very important matter. It seems to me the Regional Conferences might well be given the power to determine whether or not they want to hold these District Conferences. It seems to me that should be left as a matter of regulative work on the part of the General Conference to the Regional Conference. Then in the Annual Conference section I make no change except the enacting clause, "There shall be," etc. Then in Article VI., instead of putting it, "There shall be the following Regional Jurisdictions, each having its own Regional Conference," I would put in first the enacting clause, "There shall be Regional Jurisdictions, each having its own Regional Conference. The Regional Jurisdiction shall be constituted as follows," etc.

Edgar Blake: In view of the fact that the Commission has passed on Articles I., II., III., IV., V., and the matter suggested by Dr. Moore, with some slight exceptions, what seemed to be matters of editorial revision, I move that we take up Section 1 of Article VI.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

John F. Goucher: I move that there shall be eight Regional Conferences.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We are on Article I. under this motion.

John F. Goucher: We are under Article VI., Section 1, under this motion. It says, "There shall be the following Regional Jurisdictions," and it goes on to name them. I wanted to say, "There shall be eight Regional Jurisdictions, each having its own Regional Conference."

The motion was seconded.

John F. Goucher: Among many reasons which I shall not have a chance to refer to for offering this motion are these: The aim and object of the Regional Conferences, as I understand it, is to secure local representation. I do not believe in a union that is absolutely cast-iron and copper-riveted. In my judgment the best possible system of union is the federation which is represented by the United States Government. I deem it that we are wise in having the General Conference as a centralized power to legislate for all connectional interests, but to give the largest possible autonomy for local self-government in these Regional Conferences. Therefore, in the Sub-Regional or Central Conferences the territory is represented. That is the virtue which has come to us in demonstration with the action of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I thought it was very good—that it might do intensive work characterized by homogeneity of environment, absolutely impossible except by some process of that kind; and this is taking that demonstrated principle and undertaking to divide our Church into certain Regional Jurisdictions to be characterized by homogeneity of environment in which the Church can find its best intensive application. I think eight Regional Conferences will give larger opportunity for better classification and much more efficient interpretation than six. I am not ready to give the delineation of those eight, but the purpose is to make most efficient the principles which have been demonstrated in the life of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and further demonstrated in the Methodist Episcopal Church in that in Eastern Asia and Southern Asia and in Europe similar matter has been developed naturally. It is evolution from the very necessity of the case, that they may have a homogeneity of environment and local interpretation of the general principles of the whole Church, and so make for a unity which will be representative and comprehensive and intensive, and in my judgment if we have eight of these Regional Conferences we shall have a better opportunity for the differentiation of work that will carry with it an approximate homogeneity and be very much more efficient.

R. E. Blackwell: How would you divide them?

A. F. Watkins: Dr. Goucher said that he was not prepared to divide them.

Bishop Hoss: We are headed for a destination we never intended to reach when we began these deliberations, and which I hope we shall not reach now. What do we want with eight Regional Conferences? It has been one of the chief arguments in favor of union that it would bring together all the conflicting elements in every part of the country and allow them to operate upon one another. I should like to know what influ-

ence a Tennesseean is to have in New England under this arrangement, and a Tennesseean ought to be allowed to have some influence anywhere! If you are going to have eight Regional Conferences, you are going to have your bishop elected by a little handful of men, against which I most earnestly protest. I do not want any small bishops in the Methodist Church. We have had enough of them, and there ought to be a day of better things. According to this schedule here the district composed of Missouri, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas now would have only one hundred delegates, and a bishop for that region is to be elected by those one hundred men. I have been a bishop myself in Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma, and I do not believe that they would be satisfied with a bishop elected for them by one hundred men. I want a bishop to represent something larger than that. I should like to know how you are going to divide up and get the eight Regional Conferences. Dr. Goucher, before I vote for any measure I want to know how it is going to turn out. In what direction are you going? What are to be those Regional Conferences? Are you going to leave off New Jersey and New York from New England or Pennsylvania? Are you going to cut loose Delaware and Maryland or the District of Columbia from the Virginia Conference? It seems to me that you will have a very small Regional Conference if that is done; and then, more than that, these Regional Conferences are simply tentative anyhow. That is a word that we should understand the significance of at the present time. I do not know that I ever heard the word "tentative" so often in my life as I have heard it in the discussions and writings of this Commission. If we are going to have Regional Conferences at all, I want them fixed in their permanency and their stability guaranteed. I am opposed to making six or eight Regional Conferences, and then giving the General Conference at its own pleasure power to wipe them all out. I am very much in favor of the Quadrennial Conferences as they were proposed in the original meetings of the Commission, but they were very different things from the Regional Conferences proposed now. I am not in the same atmosphere that I was in then at all. I do not feel as if I were headed for the same place, but I do not want to make a speech; I want to make my speech later on.

Bishop McDowell: The matter of the geography of the Regional Conferences is of very great consequence. There are two theories with reference to it, and one is that there should be a very small number of these Regional Conferences, which would make the Conferences themselves very large. I think in the plan adopted at Oklahoma City the suggestion was made that there should be three or four Regional Conferences—was it not?

Bishop Hoss: That came from Chattanooga, I think.

Bishop McDowell: We desire to conserve two or three things. We desire to conserve what has been called local homogeneity and autonomy of interest, similarity of interest. We desire at the same time to conserve certain impressiveness that can only be obtained by size; but there are still other things that in the original adjustment were carefully conserved. We are not simply seeking rearrangement of the Church, but a unification of the Church; and the Regional Conference must be so adjusted as to avoid sectionalizing the Church, whether that sectionalizing shall take place as between the North and the South or the East and the South or the West and the South or between the North and the East or the Eastern South and the Western South or the Eastern North and the Western North. I think Dr. Goucher's suggestion is one of the suggestions that we must consider. It is true this would not make as large Regional Conferences as we had thought of; but small Annual Conferences are represented in the General Conference, and there is no definite law that requires that these Regional Conferences shall at the present be all of the same size. In some sections of the country the area is large and the population relatively small. In other sections the area is smaller and the population is large. I can propose what I believe would be a good adjustment on the basis of eight Regional Conferences that would preserve the principle of local homogeneity, comparative similarity of interest, and that would avoid sectionalizing the Church as between the North and the South, which of all things we wish to avoid, and that would at the same time make Regional Conferences that would be large enough to be sufficiently impressive to do their work. Now the matter of the election of bishops, which is one of the things we have tentatively passed, is involved in this; but, brothers, we have two or three things to reconsider and go over again, in the business of the episcopal election and in the business of the episcopal administration, before we are finally done. If Dr. Goucher will allow, let me state a proposition or two that will indicate how this matter would fall if divided into eight Regional Conferences. I will not go through all of it, because that would be a little bit too complicated; but may I suggest how it might fall, and I would use Conference boundaries rather than State boundaries in this matter, because with us—I do not think quite so much with you—we have a number of Conferences that overlap State boundaries, due to the peculiar shape of the State. A lot of them are of that general character. Let me make, therefore, a proposition for a Regional Conference that would embrace the following Annual Conferences, all of them in the North: Maine, East Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New England, New England Southern, New York,

New York East, Newark, East German, Eastern Swedish, Genesee, Central New York, Northern New York, and Troy—which makes a total of 560,000 members. That region would all be in the North. Then make another Regional Conference, which would embrace the following Conferences: Philadelphia, New Jersey, Wyoming, Baltimore, Baltimore (South), Wilmington, Virginia, Western Virginia, and West Virginia—making a total of 682,000 members, and would be nearly equally divided at that point between members who are now members of one Church and those of the other. I stand here to say that we are exceedingly anxious to present a geographical plan that may be so clear that it will carry in the Church. I do not believe that we can carry a geographical plan to put the capital of the nation into an exclusively Northern Jurisdiction; you could not carry it in the South. By exactly the same token I do not believe we could carry a geographical plan to put the capital of the nation into an exclusively Southern Jurisdiction. As near as I can figure this out, we should put the capital into a Regional Conference almost exactly balanced as to membership, as near as can be, without getting some converts somewhere to pull the matter up or, as some might think, to pull the matter down. Then I suggest, and this is a simple suggestion, another Regional Conference that shall embrace North Carolina, Western North Carolina, Blue Ridge, Atlanta, South Carolina, Upper South Carolina, Georgia, North Georgia, South Georgia, St. Johns River, Florida, Holston, South Holston, Tennessee, Central Tennessee, Kentucky, South Kentucky, and Louisville, which would make a total of 900,000 in round numbers.

H. M. Du Bose: Does that include the Memphis Conference?

Bishop McDowell: No. There is another suggestion with reference to grouping that would make a Regional Conference of this sort—namely, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and Louisville, with the Conferences that would be properly adjacent to them in the region. I don't want to tire the body—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Your time is up.

Bishop McDowell: I want to lay this out as a specimen of how this matter could be done. I myself, if I may have a single word, do not care to have bishops elected by small bodies. I believe bishops might be nominated by the Regional Conferences and elected by the General Conferences or by the whole Church, and that is the way to accomplish that.

W. N. Ainsworth: It seems to me we shall be compelled to vary from our rules, and I move that Bishop McDowell be given enough time to finish his outline of this plan.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Bishop McDowell: I have two outlines, both greatly subject

to modification. I am not sure that I have them in full detail all the way through. I only started—

H. M. Du Bose: Give the remainder of your first, then.

Bishop McDowell: Regional Conference No. 4, subject to serious modification, as I said a moment before: Pittsburg, Erie, Central Pennsylvania, Detroit, Michigan, North Indiana, Central German, Northeast Ohio, Ohio, West Ohio, and Indiana.

Edgar Blake: How many members would be embraced in that jurisdiction?

Bishop McDowell: There would be 1,034,000, all Northern. Regional Conference No. 5, Northwest Indiana, Rock River, Central Illinois, Illinois, Chicago German, Central Swedish, Minnesota, Northern Minnesota, Wisconsin, West Wisconsin, Northern Swedish, Northern German, Northern Danish, Iowa, Upper Iowa, Northwest Iowa, Des Moines, Northwest German, Western Swedish, and Nebraska, making a total of 689,000 members.

Bishop Hoss: Where does the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, go?

Bishop McDowell: That is mostly in the southern part of the State, and will come in a moment. Regional Conference No. 6, Southern Illinois (North), Illinois (South), St. Louis (both Churches), St. Louis German, Missouri (both Churches), Western Missouri, Memphis, Arkansas, North Arkansas, Little Rock, Alabama, North Alabama, the two Alabamas, North Mississippi, Gulf, Southern German Texas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, making a total of 856,000 members. Then we come to Regional Conference No. 7, which would be geographically large but numerically not so large, because it has not the population and the membership. It would embrace North Dakota, Dakota, two Montana Conferences, North Montana, Oregon, Puget Sound, Columbia, East Columbia, Idaho, Colorado, Denver, North Dakota, Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico, with a total of 212,000. Regional Conference No. 8 would embrace Kansas City—I have not got these Conferences run out.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Southwest Missouri, in our Church.

Bishop McDowell: That would embrace the Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas group. There is a little different adjustment possible in the middle that would throw Pittsburg and the Conferences surrounding it, Cincinnati and the Conferences surrounding it (excluding Indiana), and Louisville and the Conferences surrounding it—you see I have at least the residential idea—with the Conferences around, making a total in that group of 898,000, reducing the Chicago group somewhat, which would make 932,000, taking 100,000 off up there. That, I think,

fairly states in the large the general outline. I thank you for the extension of time.

Bishop Mouzon: I confess that the motion made by Dr. Goucher and the paper presented by Bishop McDowell have surprised me and disappointed me. I am not at all in sympathy with the motion made nor with the plan outlined. It will be remembered that, lying back behind the paper adopted at Oklahoma City and the paper adopted at Saratoga Springs, there was a kind of agreement entered into at Chattanooga. And both Commissions came together having that paper before them and instructed to develop and perfect a plan in harmony with that paper. It is perfectly clear, to any one who has seen the progress of these discussions and the development of the plan of unification up to the present point that a majority of the Southern Commissioners have receded considerably from the plan of the Regional Conferences that was in the minds of the brethren at Chattanooga and in the mind of the General Conference at Oklahoma City. We are called upon this morning to recede yet further from that plan, and practically to abandon it, if I understand the meaning of this motion and the implication of the remarks that have been made. We have often spoken of the status of the colored man in the reorganized Church as being the *crux* of the matter. My impression, since our meeting at Savannah, has been that the Regional Conference, as a matter of fact, is the *crux* of the matter; and it seems to me to-day that I am correct in that impression. There are many people in the M. E. Church, South, who prefer a smaller number of Regional Conferences and not a larger number. Some of us have been led to agree to the plan of six Regional Conferences that had been proposed; but if eight Regional Conferences, why not twelve? Why not sixteen? I believe there are about sixteen episcopal areas in the M. E. Church in the United States. Are we now again invited practically to abandon the plan of Regional Conferences and to consent to episcopal areas instead? Then, if my ears did not deceive me, I heard reference made by the first speaker to the plan of Central Conferences that had been worked out in the foreign fields by our brethren of the M. E. Church. We are entirely unwilling that the Regional Conferences, worked out by the Commission at Chattanooga and indorsed by the General Conferences of the two Churches, should be done away with and that we should now substitute something like your Central Conference for that Regional Conference. The objection is somewhat general in the M. E. Church, South, that the Regional Conference as developed has been largely shorn of its autonomy. I fear that the Regional Conferences proposed here to-day will find themselves shorn entirely of their

autonomy; for I understood Bishop McDowell to suggest that, after all, the Regional Conference ought not to elect the bishops, but only nominate the bishops to be elected by the General Conference. We should be entirely frank with one another at this point. We shall not agree to that now, and we shall never agree to it. And if your small Regional Conferences now proposed are to *elect* bishops, why, we shall have practically a diocesan episcopacy, and nothing would more surely tend to break up the Church into fragments than a diocesan episcopacy. I believe that the arrangement for six Regional Conferences, which we have now before us in the report of the committee, is a logical arrangement, bringing together certain sections of the country that are homogeneous and have interests in common, but this plan now presented breaks States in two and puts together sections that have no homogeneity at all. My dear brethren, certainly I should be one of the very last men to take a stand that would look in the direction of sectionalism anywhere, and this is no time for any one to think of developing or perpetuating sectionalism; but it is altogether possible for one to go entirely too far in trying to avoid sectionalism, and he may run into the very thing he speaks of avoiding by talking about it too much, trying to invent too many ways to escape it, thus showing that he himself is under the limitations of his own sectionalism. It may be that I have totally misunderstood the plan that is proposed. I hope I have, but I confess I feel very much disappointed over the presenting of a plan of this sort at this time.

I. Garland Penn: I have a proposition to make just at this point. I was not quite sure at first, but listening to the speakers makes me sure that this is an opportune time for the presentation of the proposition. I may say in advance that I think we have drifted too far from the basis of the agreement at Chattanooga. Mr. Chairman, I have a proposition here to introduce concerning the number of Regional Conferences and their boundaries, but was not so sure of my ground. Since hearing the address of Bishop Mouzon, I am certain that the introduction of this proposition is now opportune. We have gone far away from the expressed and implied agreement at Chattanooga, which represents the basic principles upon which the two Churches have been negotiating. It was understood that there would be but four Regional Jurisdictions, and I therefore submit the following as a substitute: That the composition and boundaries of Regional or Jurisdictional Conferences be recommitted to the Committee on Conferences with instructions to consider, with other propositions already made, the following:

There shall be four Regional Conferences, three of which shall have their boundary lines running from North to South of the territory covered

by the United States and the fourth shall be made up of the colored membership of the Churches now negotiating a unification of their members, and such other colored Methodists as may elect and are accepted to become a part of the same.

Mr. Chairman and Brethren, this would give us an Eastern Regional Conference, composed of the following States: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. A line drawn on the east from Buffalo to Tallahassee and on the west from the western boundary line of Minnesota to Galveston would give us the Central Jurisdiction, composed of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana. All west of the western boundary of the Central Jurisdiction to the Pacific Coast would compose the Western Jurisdiction—viz., North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, California, Hawaii, and Alaska. The Colored Conferences in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and such other Negro Methodisms as elect to become and are accepted as a part of the reunited Methodist Church, would constitute the fourth jurisdiction. I submit this as in accord with the agreement understood to be one of the basic principles of the Chattanooga report of the Joint Commission of the two Churches, especially as concerns the place of the negro in the reorganized Church.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Do you offer that as an amendment?

I. Garland Penn: Yes, as an amendment.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny); Is that amendment seconded?

Rolla V. Watt: I second it.

Claudius B. Spencer: In settling this question we must be animated, first of all, by extreme common sense and fair play. When we come to apply them we are confronted with three types of Methodism in this country, and we may as well take them into account as we make our exploration into the regional and geographical distribution of the country. There is the South. Let us say so; and it seems to me that it would be the part of wisdom and fair play and good sense for us to say that the members of this Commission who come from the South understand the situation there better than I can in my place and certainly better than others who come from places much more remote from the South. Let us say that the territory in the South ought to be put in their hands; and the territory in the North ought to be placed in our hands who are daily up against

its problems. In the second place, the objection to the proposition of Bishop McDowell is that it robs the unified Methodist Church of its power in social reconstruction and the making of a better world. Dr. Warren, whose name we all venerate, used to observe to me on more than one occasion that one reason why Methodism was not more effective than it was, was that the New England Conference has no reference to State boundaries, so that New England Methodism does not speak for Massachusetts, we will say, or other localities. For that reason it seems to me in making this division we should bear in mind State lines as much as possible, in order that the Conferences in that State can proceed with solidarity and social impact. In the next place, coming around to the remarks of Bishop Mouzon, after consideration and reflection, it presents itself to my mind in this way; it seems to me that we should have a Northern series of Jurisdictions and a Southern series of Jurisdictions, for, as I have said, we have three Methodist types; we have in one the Northern and in another the Southern. And now I come to what I consider a crucial point; we have also a border type. Now, why should we take account of the extreme North and the extreme South and not take into account the Conferences of the border, where the question is acute and where the influence and power of regions far from them would be

This map gives the division into the six jurisdictions proposed in the Savannah tentative understanding. It is obvious that it pays no attention to the existence of border Conferences with their problems most serious and peculiar to themselves.

not only irritating but would be a catastrophe? I live in the border, and I have tried to work out this proposition so as to satisfy the people of both Churches in a little sketch I have made here and which I would like to pass around among you. You remember that wonderful man whose influence abides and lingers upon this Joint Commission still, Bishop Wilson. He said: "There are Methodists who, if the division should be improper, would consider that they were delivered into the hands of the enemy." We might as well face that fact. There are such, and they are good people; and they are numerous in the border. For that reason I have thought that if we could have this uniform principle, three Northern Jurisdictions, three Southern Jurisdictions, and three Border Jurisdictions, we could settle this matter without difficulty. I see the smiles going around, but if you will look at the little map I have given you, you will find that the ultimate complexion of

The analysis of areas distributed by Dr. Spencer is as follows: Areas I., II., III. being the Southern areas, 1, 2, 3 being the Northern areas, and A, B, C being the Border areas.

it is not changed. I have in this little map which I have drawn put the State of Kansas into the power of the Southern Church, if it wishes to exercise it. When you come to reflect upon the principles that are brought forward here, I do not believe it would excite unfavorable comment. For the question is not, after all, when you come to count them, whether the Church of the South has a few more or many more in this new geo-

graphical division for the border Conferences than the North. It is a fundamental question of these Churches and these Conferences, which have homogeneous mixed problems different from the other, to sit together around the same table and solve them without the intrusion of those who are on the outside. For example, if I may read them to you, I have put here into one of these border jurisdictions the Baltimore, Delaware, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Holston Conferences, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Baltimore, Western Virginia, Kentucky, Louisville, Holston, Tennessee, and Memphis, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, all of which are homogeneous. Those men face the same problem. They respect each other. They are not at enmity with each other; but there are plenty of them on both sides who would resent people coming in from a long distance. In the next place, if this proposition meets favor, you put the capital of the nation in a border Conference, and the bishops from the North and those of the Church, South, would have equal authority and prestige. There would be bishops elected both from the North, and the Church, South. In the second one of these border areas I put Missouri, St. Louis, Kansas, Southwest Kansas, Northwest Kansas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Missouri, St. Louis, Southwest Missouri, East Oklahoma, West Oklahoma, Little Rock, and North Arkansas, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. There you have a group of homogeneous interests, if there ever was such in this land. Brothers, I have tested them. I have polled them to find what the sentiment in the area was, and I have found it congenial; but among those who have accepted the idea of Regional Conferences there are those who strongly resent being thrown over bodily into a condition where they would be submerged, engulfed, and drowned out by a vast majority of others who come from a district which does not understand their problems. Before my time expires I want to refer to the third area, which will interest those coming from the far West. You will understand that when you come to the continental divide and go on the Pacific Slope you find a condition different from ours. What I am trying to say is this: that when you get to the Western Slope, beyond the continental divide, you find a group of States which will turn their faces toward the Pacific Ocean. I have put together here a series of Conferences, every one of which has members in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and also in the Methodist Episcopal Church. True, Dakota is in that area, and Dakota does lean toward Minnesota and the East; but when you get beyond Dakota you will find territory beginning to look toward Portland and Seattle. This third one has not quite so many thou-

sands, but if you look at them you will see that they are homogeneous Conferences. Beginning with Montana, you go on to Idaho, Columbia River, Oregon, California, South California, Nevada, and Utah, in the Northern Church, and Montana, East Columbia, Columbia, Pacific, and Los Angeles, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In every one of those the two Churches are working side by side, and in no place can you find men who are more anxious to get together than there. The thing is true from the area in which I come; and throughout Kansas and Oklahoma they want to get together. Down there, there has been a proposition to the effect that if we fail to provide means they will take the matter into their own hands. Now all through these areas, A, B, and C, those men are unwilling to have themselves thrown into a vast area with a great many people not interested in their problems, and the proposition I submit does not let them be swallowed up entirely.

Bishop Cooke: I would like to deliver my soul on this matter of Regional Conferences, having never spoken on it before. I may not be able to remain during the entire session and I want to say just a few words from my heart about this whole matter of the Regional Conferences. With regard to what has just been said, I think nothing could be more disastrous to both Church and State, now and in the future development of our country and Church, than bunching together the Northern Conferences and bunching together the Southern Conferences, thus keeping up the old lines of sectional division. Nothing has been so hurtful to our national unity as these lines of division in the Church and State. I am opposed from conviction to taking sectionalism out of politics and perpetuating it forever in the Church. I do not believe we were sent here to do that thing. We were sent here to unify the Church, not to disrupt it. We were sent here to bind the people of the several sections into one body in Christ Jesus. Some are thinking all the time of representation, of equalizing representation in the Regional Conferences. I am not thinking upon that line at all. What I am thinking about in Church union is the union of the people. Settle that first, and settle the other matters later on. I am thinking of the unifying of the nation. Unity of the people—unity of the nation—will never come to pass, no matter how you may deceive yourselves with words, when you have actual division underneath the words, the division between the North and South. The thing that is needed now in this critical period of time is unity in our country. If you travel through the East or the Northwest, you feel differently from what you do down South, and I have a profound conviction to-day that the South is yet to be the savior of the country. But you can never save the country if you allow yourself

to be shut off from the North by lines running through the Church east and west. What we need is Southern brethren going upon the Northern platform and Northern men going upon the Southern platform—bringing about a fusion of the people of the country, a lining up of all in unity; but this sectionalism and these plans in your Regional boundaries you are making here are overthrowing that very thing, because no one region will ever wait for the other. Each region will have different laws and rules and regulations, and when you will pass out of one region into another you will be practically going into an entirely different Church. We have different conceptions of union. There was no conception presented this morning analogous to the government of the United States. There is nothing that men of affairs and students of history need to be more careful of and ever watchful of, than specious argument based upon false analogies. There is no analogy between the government of the United States and the Church union proposed by our General Conferences. There would be analogy, if you call them divisions of the Churches as you talk about divisions of the States headed up in the Federal government at Washington. There is union in the head, but what kind of union is there between the different States? As Bishop Hoss said and very properly and very logically said, what kind of a union is there between Maine and Florida? We have said that these Regional Conferences are for the cultivation of local interest. That seems to be a lexicographical substitute for an invented necessity. There is no sincerity or reality in that. Maine has no interest in Florida. Florida has its own legislature, its own Governor, its own State powers, and Maine has hers. Where is the unity? What is the use of trying to deceive ourselves with mere words? We were sent here to unify the Church, not to divide it; but with these Regional Conferences with such regional powers we are dividing the Church again. We may deny it, and keep on denying it; but you do not do away with the thing. Where is your episcopacy? Were we sent here to destroy the itinerant general superintendency?

E. C. Reeves: That is what we are doing.

Bishop Cooke: Of course, and we know it, no matter what we say to the contrary. You know very well you have not got itinerant general superintendency in regional superintendency as localized in your regions. We all know that. And we were not sent here to do that. I want to say to you to-day, and I am not saying it out of my mere desire, the M. E. Church and the M. E. Church, South, will never accept that kind of a plan, because it is not what we were sent here to do, and it is not a plan that will work for the glory of God and the per-

petuation of unity of these two Churches. We are committed to a plan, but not necessarily to this kind of a plan. We are committed to a regional, but not necessarily this kind of a regional affair.

R. E. Blackwell: What do you propose, Bishop?

Bishop Cooke: One thing at a time. Now we are face to face with these conditions, and what shall we do? I do not know of any better way to make a beginning than to give careful consideration to the plan which Bishop McDowell has proposed. It may not be ideal. He does not present it as ideal or as fully wrought out, but as a bridge by which the Conferences of the North can be tied to the Conferences of the South and by which the Conferences of the South can be tied to the Conferences of the North. My prayer to God is that this Church may be united and that our people of the North and South may be in reality one. I care not about representation in the General Conference—those things will take care of themselves. I want Southern thought and Southern feeling and Southern tradition and Southern everything brought into the North. I would not corral the brains of the nation in the several sections. Why, in many of the cities of the North you go into the streets and you hear as much of foreign languages spoken as you do of our own. There is where the conflict is coming, and what we want is a union of our people in everything which will make for a true and genuine unity.

John M. Moore: We are charged with a very important responsibility. We ought to look at the problems before us in a very practical way. I do not think anybody could imagine that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, would concur in any such divison of territory as that proposed by Dr. Penn. There is no use talking about drawing lines from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico and expecting to make three divisions of the United States and expecting our people to agree to that. They are not going to do it and there is no use in discussing it. Now take up the question that Bishop McDowell presents to us, eight divisions having memberships ranging from 900,000 to 212,000. That is not practical. We are under orders from our General Conference. Certain principles have been adopted, and one of these principles is that Regional Conferences shall be formed. We did not make those provisions. They were made for us. If we make eight of these divisions, or nine, as Dr. Spencer suggests, you can readily see that some of these Regional Conferences would be so pitifully small that the representation would not be capable of choosing bishops or even nominating them. That would be wholly impracticable. Much is said of sectionalism. I was born in Kentucky. I live in Tennessee. I have had residences in Missouri, Texas, Ohio, and Connecticut. These Northern residences were during my

school days. You are not going to destroy sectionalism by putting Florida in with Maine. You create friction. Why not let the divisions come together in their own way and work out the problems of the Church? If you are going to put them where they are evenly divided, there is forever the contention whether the North shall win or the South shall win. Southern opinions prevail in our Church, and that is why we do not join your Church. If the doors of the Methodist Episcopal Church are open to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, we would not go in. We have a very good form of government. It might be that you would come into our Church, but we do not want you. You are altogether too big. There is a certain sort of existing prejudice with regard to the relationship of the two sections that prevents either from joining the other, and all we have to do is to make arrangements by which each section should work out its own destiny for its Church in its own way; and I think that with the six Regional Jurisdictions we can do these things, and I am opposed to eight or nine or three, because I do not think they will allow the sections to work out the problems as well as the provision we have made, and we need not be afraid of developing unusual sectionalism. I am opposed to sectionalism, but in a certain way I am in favor of sectionalism. I do not think I am hurt by being a Southern man or you by being a Northern man. I believe that by being a Southern man I can still be an American, and I am interested in filling the Nationalized Church with units that have respect for other divisions and that will work out their lives in their own sections, and you need not be afraid of us and we need not be afraid of you. I think we can take care of our Church, and we have no reason to be afraid of you. I believe the system we have tentatively laid out will be sufficient for the work we can do.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): There yet remains only one minute before adjourning. Are there any notices?

The hymn, "O for a thousand tongues to sing my great Redeemer's praise," was sung, and the Commission was dismissed with the benediction by Bishop Hoss.

Afternoon Session, April 10, 1918.

The Joint Commission met pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order by Bishop Denny.

The devotional exercises were conducted by Rev. W. N. Ainsworth. Prayer was offered by Dr. Ainsworth. The hymn, "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah," was sung.

Dr. Stuart led in prayer.

The hymn, "I love to tell the story," was sung.

The roll was called and the following Commissioners were

present: Bishops John W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, from the M. E. Church; Bishops Collins Denny, E. E. Hoss, Edwin D. Mouzon, W. B. Murrah, from the M. E. Church, South. Ministers: Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, Edwin M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, John J. Wallace, from the M. E. Church; F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, John M. Moore, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, H. M. Du Bose, W. N. Ainsworth, A. J. Lamar, from the M. E. Church, South. Laymen: George Warren Brown, Abram W. Harris, Charles W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, Alex Simpson, Jr., (Dr. C. M. Stuart, Dr. James R. Joy), Charles A. Pollock, Rolla V. Watt, from the M. E. Church; M. L. Walton, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, E. W. Hines, J. R. Pepper, E. C. Reeves, H. H. White, from the M. E. Church, South.

The minutes of the morning session were read, corrected, and approved.

Bishop John W. Hamilton took the chair as presiding officer.

Letters were read from the San Joaquin (Cal.) Valley Methodist Ministers' Association, the St. Joseph (Mo.) Methodist Ministerial Alliance, the Philadelphia and New Jersey Methodist Episcopal Preachers' Meeting. Dr. Harris presented a letter from Bishop Johnson, which was read and referred to the Committee on Conferences.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): It is not necessary to take any action relative to the communications.

The Secretary read a telegram from Bishop Cranston stating that he was delayed by a fire which broke out in his house just as he expected to leave and that he expects to be here tomorrow morning.

Secretary Harris: I have a letter from Bishop Johnson in regard to Regional Conferences in relation to Africa. It seems important. Shall I read it, or simply turn it over to a committee?

The reading was called for and the said letter was read, as follows:

NEW YORK CITY, April 8, 1918.

The Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the Joint Unification of Methodism.

Dear Brothers: It may be that in writing you concerning some of the items of the tentatively adopted constitution now before your Joint Commission I shall only reveal my ignorance. My excuse is long separation from the periodical literature of our Church. At the risk of saying some things that may have been often said, and perhaps fully considered by you, I feel that I must express myself on one or two points in the proposed constitution.

You will expect me to be interested in the proposition of the Central

Conferences, which touches the work to which I have been assigned by the Church.

I am at a loss to understand why the Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions embracing the work among colored people in the United States and the Continent of Africa should constitute a Central Conference. The wording of this section is a trifle ambiguous. Does it mean work among colored people in the United States and work among colored people in the Continent of Africa? In this case, what is meant by "colored" people in Africa? The term "colored" in Africa has a different significance from that which it bears here. In many sections of South Africa the term "colored" applies to Asiatic Indians, Arabs, and people of mixed parentage, and does not include the natives, who are classified separately.

It seems to me that there is little in common between the American negro and the Bantu African. Of course he is of like color, but, if that be the bond of association, other peoples might well be included. The negroes' African ancestors were widely differentiated linguistically from the Bantu, and all our work in Africa, aside from that of the Mediterranean Basin and Liberia, is among the Bantu tribes.

Righteously deprecating the hyphen, we cannot classify the negro in this country otherwise than as an American. Our Constitution accords him that high privilege. He is acclimated here and knows no other home. He is not familiar with the language of any black man in Africa save that of his kinsman of the Republic of Liberia. The Bantu life also is as foreign to the negro here as are the Bantu tongues.

Domiciled, acclimated, and enfranchised in this country, the negro should maintain his ecclesiastical status here, whether that be in a Regional or a Central Conference. How can he be transported to Africa?

Nor should Bantu Africa be brought here, any more than should the peoples of the Orient or India or other places for which Central Conferences are proposed.

The membership of the four Mission Conferences of Bantu Africa is wholly white, although it is to be hoped that, as the natives are trained, their gifts, graces, and usefulness will be developed to a degree that will warrant their entrance into Conference relationship. For many years the Church has had a white Missionary Bishop for Africa. If Bantu Africa and the American Negro are to be associated in Central Conference relationship, white missionaries and white episcopal supervision should not be imposed upon the new ecclesiastical body. There are nineteen Annual Conferences among the "colored" people in the United States, and these Conferences would, and should, determine the complexion and administration of such Missionary Conferences as might be associated with them.

There is one other point that materially affects the work under my supervision. It is proposed to place the Madeira Islands with the Central Conference including Europe. May I say that the missionaries concerned would much prefer to retain their present relationship? So earnestly do they desire this that they have cabled their wish for no change both to the Board of Foreign Missions and to myself. The Islands are Portuguese. Territorially the major part of Bantu Africa allotted to our Church is also Portuguese. Thus we have many problems in common. Moreover, we are linguistically akin. Interchange of missionaries is thus possible. I earnestly recommend that Madeira maintain its relation to the West Central Africa Mission Conference.

With every good wish, yours very sincerely, E. S. Johnson.

Secretary Harris: That relates to those races that will be before us presently.

The first paragraph, which was in the nature of an apology for offering the information, was not read.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): What will you do with this paper?

Bishop Mouzon: I move its reference to the Committee on Conferences.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Bishop Hoss: I have a letter from Bishop Candler expressing deep regret that it is impossible for him to be here. His youngest son starts for France this week. He is a lieutenant in the army and his wife is very anxious to see him off. He says that he has so completely neglected his family for thirty years to serve the Church that he feels he can be excused in this emergency. The young man is a noble young man of the same appearance and character as his father, and I do not blame Bishop Candler for not coming here. I hope and pray that the young man will be shielded from the calamities of war. He is only one of the many of our boys who have gone to the front, and it will be a great misfortune if anything happens to prevent him from getting back. He is the kind of a young man we need in the future upbuilding of the State, able, educated, upright, and I am in close sympathy with Bishop Candler at the present time.

Secretary Harris: I have a resolution from the Methodists of Oklahoma in which they protest against the adoption of the plans proposed by this Committee.

Bishop Hoss: Is that signed by anybody?

Secretary Harris: No.

Bishop Hoss: You are perhaps aware that there was a university with trustees from your Church and ours. Your trustees threw up their whole interest in the university and our trustees declined to join with them and surrender the property, went into court and sued for it, and have a judgment in their favor. The judgment, I think, states, however, that if you still wish to continue your connection with it your rights will not be impaired; but the fight was made by our trustees and they won the case in court. Now I don't know which side it is that is doing this protesting. I should like to know who it is that is entering this protest.

Claudius B. Spencer: That was transmitted through me. It was a report adopted unanimously in Oklahoma City referring to our institution at Guthrie.

Secretary Harris: That could be improved by proper punctuation.

Bishop Hoss: I am a full believer in never giving up anything.

E. C. Reeves: I want to know whether it is "you-uns" or "we-uns."

Edgar Blake: I move that the paper be laid on the table.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Frank Neff: Let us not be discourteous to them. It is not going to hurt anybody.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): It seems that there is a doubt, though I declared that the motion was carried. I will take it now that the motion does not prevail and that the paper may be read.

Thereupon the paper was read, as follows:

The Trustees of the Oklahoma Methodist University, at Oklahoma City, April 2, after the formal meeting of the Board adjourned, adopted the following by unanimous vote:

"We put ourselves on record as heartily in favor of Methodist unification at the earliest practicable time. We are much opposed to the tentative program as published in the Church press and specify the following points of objection:

"1. The plan is destructive of our world-wide Methodist economy. If it is adopted, it will break the Church up into a fragmentary and sectional administration, which will in large part destroy the influence of our great Church.

"2. The creation of a new Methodist Church in which the negro is excluded from the full privileges accorded other races will never be acceptable to us. We hereby voice our protest against any such arrangement as that suggested for the negro in the plan published.

"3. It is our definite conviction, based on overwhelming proof, that such a plan as the one proposed will destroy a large part of our interests in Oklahoma and cause our ministry and membership to enter other Churches in large numbers."

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): What shall we do with that paper? Let it be a matter of record. Is there any other miscellaneous business? If not, we will return to the matter before us. Who had the floor?

Secretary Harris: No one.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): Who will have it?

A. J. Lamar: May I inquire which one of the numerous propositions is before us?

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): I might call on the Secretary, but it is my understanding that the whole of Section 6 is before us for discussion, with the provision that each person may speak ten minutes. Am I right?

Secretary Harris: Yes.

Judge Charles A. Pollock was recognized.

Bishop Mouzon: A point or order. The Chair is in error.

Bishop Denny: May I state the position, having occupied the chair?

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): Surely.

Bishop Denny: A motion was made by Dr. Goucher that there should be eight Regional Conferences. A substitute was

offered by Dr. Penn that there should be four, three white and one colored, and that the lines should be drawn from North to South and that the adjustments of the lines should be determined by the Committee on Conferences, to which the matter should be referred, and we were on that substitute.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): I was not expected to preside, and I did not carry the matter in my head, but I remember it now. The substitute is before you.

Charles A. Pollock: I want to ask a question. This plan, which is printed here in large bold type, has undoubtedly been very carefully thought out; and certainly not having been present at the time when it was evolved, I would like to hear the discussion of the one who prepared it—I would like to have him tell why this was prepared and given to us rather than something else. I do not know how it is this comes before us or who prepared it.

John M. Moore: Dr. Blake.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): They call for you to enlighten us, Dr. Blake.

Edgar Blake: I am not Chairman of the Committee on Conferences, but simply one member of that Committee; we have nine others. Bishop McDowell was the Chairman of the Committee. It seems to me that one question that has been raised this morning is not quite germane to this discussion—namely, as to whether we shall have Regional Conferences. Both General Conferences have approved of the Regional Conference scheme, and it would seem from the action of both General Conferences that the Commission was committed to that by virtue of that fact, and the question for us to consider is not as to whether we shall have these Regional Conferences, but how many of them and how shall the boundaries be determined and what areas shall they contain?

David G. Downey: And their boundaries?

Edgar Blake: And their boundaries. I am referring to this particular section as to their areas and boundaries. Let me say concerning this matter, that the Committee on Conferences discussed this matter somewhat, though not at length by the entire Committee, and the matter was then referred to a smaller committee of four. That Committee made its report to the full Committee at Traverse City. There was a long and very careful consideration of this matter; having before us the suggestion of Dr. Goucher for eight, and other suggestions, it was decided by the Committee, I think with practical unanimity, to recommend that there be six of these Regional Conferences with the boundaries as indicated in the printed report. The matter came before the Joint Commission at Traverse City, and for want of time to give careful consideration to this question it was

referred back to the committee for further consideration. The matter was then referred by the committee to a subcommittee again. The subcommittee held a meeting in Chicago and carefully canvassed the whole situation again. We reported to our full committee at Savannah, and again, with a single exception, the full committee for a second time voted to recommend that there should be six of these Regional Conferences with the boundaries herein named. This is the second time therefore this matter has come before you from the committee. I doubt if there is any question this Commission will have presented to it that has been more carefully considered and upon which more conscientious work has been done than this list of Regional Conferences with their boundaries as we have them here. There are certain things that guided the committee in its work. The committee did not think for a moment that it could work out an ideal arrangement for these Regional Conferences, for the reason that the conditions from which and to which we must work are not ideal. We had to take what we had and do the best we could with it, all things being considered. There were certain guiding principles to which the committee worked. One principle was that we could secure so far as possible homogeneity of interest within a given jurisdiction. It seemed to us that it was really fundamental to the success of the reunion scheme that all the interests in them, so far as practicable, should be somewhat similar. Second, it seemed to us that it was desirable to so arrange the boundaries and the areas of these Regional Conferences as to permit of the easiest and most effective administration of the same. In other words, the aim was to secure sufficiently compact areas to permit of reasonable handling. I do not think we have secured that in every case as largely as we desired, but we have made a long step forward in that direction. The third guiding principle was that of so arranging these Regional Conferences and Jurisdictions as to avoid anything like sectional solidarity, so that there should be no solid North and no solid South, no solid East and no solid West. That was the thing we had in mind. A new factor came into the case at Traverse City. There you saw fit to change the plan somewhat concerning the make-up and boundaries of the Regional Conferences, and you provided that the delegates from the Annual Conferences of a given jurisdiction to the General Conference should constitute the Regional Conference of that jurisdiction. You will recall that you gave those delegates power to elect bishops for their jurisdiction and also to control all the distinctively regional affairs. You also decided that the number of delegates to these Annual Conferences should not be less than one hundred. That made it positively necessary for

us in working out the plans to see to it that so far as practicable we should secure such numerical balance among these jurisdictions as would give to each the full quota of one hundred. I think the principle of homogeneity has been recognized and has been accomplished in this plan. There was a time when seventy per cent of the population of New England was of foreign birth. I think now over fifty-five per cent of the population of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey is of foreign parentage. Forty-nine per cent of the entire foreign-born people in this country is located in that division. The great foreign population of America settles in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Indeed, I believe seventy per cent is too little. I think eighty per cent is more nearly correct. Forty-five per cent of the entire manufacturing output of America is in that section. If you will study the subject closely, you will find that that particular division represents as high a type of homogeneity of interest as any division formed. I do not need to go forward. Brethren, I submit that the thing to guide us here is neither prejudice nor sentiment. It seems to me the only thing for us to do is to face the facts and to decide the matter on the basis of fact. I have not found any scheme in which Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, and West Virginia are not put together. I do not think the matter is of great consequence as to whether Washington falls in the jurisdiction in which our Church has the majority of membership or the Southern Church has the majority. The question is, Does it fit in the scheme and does it contribute its part to the homogeneity of the thing? I should be ashamed to haggle for a moment over the question as to where the capital of the nation should be located. The capital of the nation will not be swallowed up by any particular jurisdiction. Thank God it belongs to all America! Now concerning some of the other jurisdictions: I need not speak of the second, third, and fourth ones, but in regard to the fifth one. Some criticism has been made concerning that, but it is doubtful if there is a single area that is more homogeneous than this Northwest. The objection seems to be simply to the size. I think there are eight or nine great trunk lines that run east and west in that area. In some respects it has as easy transportation from the standpoint of travel as any other region. I think the size of this area would have been cut down if we could have done so and retained the numerical balance with the other jurisdictions. Now, let me say one more word.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): I take it, from your putting both your speech and your illumination of facts together, you have run over your time.

On motion of Judge Pollock, duly seconded and put to a vote, the time of the speaker was extended.

Edgar Blake: I have only just received the details of Bishop McDowell's regional plan. I have not had time as yet to make a thorough study of it. But even a casual glance would indicate that there are certain results of his scheme that make it undesirable. If we agree with Dr. Spencer that a State should be kept intact in the regional plan, then Bishop McDowell's scheme is seriously defective. For illustration, the State of Pennsylvania would fall into three separate Regional Jurisdictions, and the State of New York would be divided between three jurisdictions, and some of the other States would be divided likewise. If there is any value in the retention of the State as a unit, as most of us will agree, then it would seem to be a serious objection to any plan that it divides a State. Again, his plan overlooks the value of establishing a numerical balance between jurisdictions. For instance, I find one jurisdiction that would have a total membership of only 212,000, and on the basis of membership would be entitled to only thirty delegates in the General Conference; but under our proposal that every Regional Conference shall be entitled to one hundred delegates, the jurisdiction which I have mentioned would have a representation three and one-third times greater than its membership would entitle it to.

A. W. Harris: Why not change that?

Edgar Blake: Change it; you would still give thirty delegates authority to elect a bishop, or a majority of those thirty, say sixteen, to legislate for the distinctively regional affairs of its jurisdiction.

David G. Downey: I think as Commissioners we need to keep one or two things clearly in our thoughts. The thing I feared would happen has happened. That is to say, certain things were tentatively agreed upon, subject entirely to agreements upon matters that had not been discussed, and now we are told that having tentatively agreed upon some things, such agreement must be practically binding upon things that have not been discussed. That is to say, the practical outcome is, you have agreed upon certain things but tentatively, and these other things on which you have not agreed hang upon them and therefore you must accept them. This morning somebody indicated that it was a strange thing that we should talk about the number of Regional Conferences, but, brethren, I think I am correct in the statement that the number of Regional Conferences has never been agreed to, not even tentatively. I think it has not been discussed before the full Commission. We asked in Traverse City for certain things to be furnished us. We asked for a diagram practically. We were told that it would

be furnished us, but it never has been. I called attention to that fact at Savannah, but this information has not been given to us and a statement was made that there had not been time to prepare it and we haven't received it yet; and now we are met with the statement that no particular plan has been so thoroughly considered and discussed as this plan of the Regional Conferences. That unquestionably is true with reference to the subcommittee, but unquestionably it is not so with respect to this Commission as a body. We have never had the information on which we could study the plan which we ought to have, and which is necessary for us to have in making up a competent statement. I call your attention to the fact that this was adopted at Traverse City: "The foregoing is contingent on agreement on the matters yet to be considered." This matter is yet to be considered, and it is necessary for us to give it proper consideration. I am perfectly free to confess that I much prefer the outline of the diagram presented here by Dr. Spencer to the general statement that we should have eight or six Regional Conferences. It seems to me the plan presented by Dr. Spencer is more likely to give us homogeneity of interest and unity of administration. I am not so much impressed with the argument that we must always keep a State intact, and have Conference boundaries coinciding with State boundaries. I am sure we understand that there are mountain ranges running through States that divide the eastern from the western part, and it would be much more likely to get homogeneity of administration in some States by not having the State entirely in one Regional Jurisdiction. I am sure Region No. 5, no matter how many railroads it has, would never have anything like homogeneity of interest or unity of administration. I am not attempting to argue whether we should accept this or that or some other plan, but the whole matter is now up to us for the first time. It is printed in large type in the paper sent out by the Secretary, which shows that it has not been tentatively adopted. And if we do not desire to adopt it in the form in which it is presented, we should not be held from our privileges by saying that there are other things which you must change. Of course, everything must be harmonized in what we adopt, but this matter of the Regional Conferences is basic, and it seems to me the matter is before us in a perfectly full and frank way for discussion. I wish we had the information we ought to have and that we have asked for several times. I simply state that from the facts presented I much prefer either the plan presented by Dr. Spencer or the plan suggested by Dr. Goucher or Bishop McDowell to the plan presented by the Committee. I know that we shall have to be exceedingly careful to

avoid creating new and greater sectionalism than what we have.

Bishop Hoss: I did not have the privilege of being present at Traverse City. I saw the reports, however, that went out from the meeting at that place, and I noticed that they agreed on some things. I noticed it was declared that it was not worth while to look for anything from me, that I was a Bourbon, that I was classified along with Bishop Denny. Now there may have been some justice in putting Bishop Denny in that sort of a place, but it was most preposterous that any one should say that I was anything like a Bourbon. I am an East Tennesseean. There is one thing about East Tennessee that I am frank to say: Nobody is neutral down there. Everybody is on one side or the other. Sometimes they manage to get on both sides before the conflict is over. I know a good many men who fought on both sides in the Civil War, and I know one who did that is now drawing a Federal pension, for he was two years in the Federal army. Furthermore, I wish to confess that I am not scared by sectionalism. You cannot abolish the facts of geography. The north pole is in the same place that it was when Dr. Cook discovered it. By the way, Dr. Cook is a Methodist, I understand. He didn't belong to our Church, however. I have crossed the equator several times, and without any formal instructions from anybody I find it is in the same place now that it was when I first made the trip across it. You cannot guard the question of homogeneity without having reference to geography. I do not object to being called a Southerner at all. I said to Dr. Hamilton that I wouldn't be a resident of Mount Zion unless it had a southern exposure, and he said that according to his information Mount Zion was on the side of the North. He was always ready with an answer. I am glad of the fact that I am an East Tennesseean. I like it better than any part of the country. I love all the people in it. As I said a while ago, they are all on one side or the other. The Western Reserve of Ohio never held a company of people who were more rigidly Republican than they are more rigidly members of your Church, and there are never any more pronounced Southern Methodists than are hidden away in those same mountain ranges. We used to have an old figure up there named Gabriel Page. He was rather pronounced during the war, and had to get out of East Tennessee when the war was over. It was made uncomfortable for him, and he went up to Virginia and rented a place near Emory and Henry College. While I was there, the presiding elder from your Church, with a pocketful of missionary money, made a tour through the country and stopped at Zion Church, a little congregation of seventy-five to eighty people just above Bristol.

The people were divided and all split up, and our people thought that if Zion went to pieces the cause was lost, so they sent for Page to come and answer. And he took the text, "Who is this uncircumcised Philistine that cometh out against the armies of the living God?" There was a good deal of bitterness at the close of the war. My father was a Union man, as yours was—just as strong a Union man as could be in that country. He had been a devoted follower of Henry Clay all his life, and he died with a belief that the country had suffered a great loss when Clay was not elected President. But after the war was over he couldn't vote the Republican ticket. He held his nose and voted the Democratic ticket for fifteen years, but he always did it under protest. I have three brothers-in-law in the North who were captains in the Confederate Army. My father didn't much relish taking them into the family, though he became very much attached to them before the end came. He sent me up to the Ohio Wesleyan University to get my education, and I had a most delightful time there. Sometimes it was pretty hot, but they didn't make it any hotter for me than I did for them. I have the most delightful memory of William G. Williams and Frederick Merrick, who were saints on earth if there ever were any. They were bitter Northerners and Republicans; but I don't think of them now that way, and I don't see why we should hold such sectional prejudices. You cannot maintain homogeneity without reference to the geography. You can't do it. It is just as necessary to keep a geographical outline in your mind as anything can be, if you are going to preserve your homogeneity. While I am confessing for myself, I may as well confess for Bishop Denny. His old grandfather was in your Church and lived until ninety years old. I suspect he had his prejudices pretty bitter too. He was the father of John A. Collins, who figured so prominently in the General Conference of 1844. I know Bishop Denny is very proud of him. I don't know whether you believe that is so or not, because he is so much of a Southerner that you doubt whether he could be proud of anybody on the other side; but I know he has a very profound reverence for his grandfather. We are all creatures of local environment. We are all more or less affected by environment. The man who says he is not does not understand himself, and does not know what he is talking about. I am not responsible for the fact that I was born in Tennessee any more than I am for the fact that my old Dutch grandfather was born in Pennsylvania and moved down to Tennessee. By the way, he got away from Pennsylvania before slavery was abolished up there and he brought all his slaves with him. My mother's folk were Virginians, and they emancipated their slaves, but this old

Dutchman, who had a keen eye for the main chance, kept all his to hand and gave them to his children. He was a very good man, but he had his prejudices, and came away from Pennsylvania because of that fact before slavery was finally abolished in that State. Now I wish to say some other things while I am on this matter in this general way. We have got to have regard to the prejudices of people in any plan or scheme we may bring in. I saw a statement in the paper the other day dealing with the question of the color line, and saying that no group of people in the Church had the right to determine for themselves the things that concern their own interests in the Church, and everything must be determined by the Church for everybody in it. I do not believe a word of that. I believe as fully as Bishop Hamilton, and that is pretty strong, that you cannot turn a man out of the Church without his own permission. If he has been a decent member of his Church and has led a godly, upright life, you cannot by legal enactment of any sort assign him to one division rather than another. You may put him in a different Conference if you want to, but that does not affect the question of his relationship. I believe as fully as you do that the 350,000 colored men and women who are members of your Church have identically the same rights as anybody else, and if they are put out they have a right to sue you and get their share of the property, every dollar of it they are entitled to, just as much as we did in 1844 and just as we would again if you would attempt that game with us. I say all that, and I believe it as fully as anybody can believe it. I have the kindliest feeling for the colored brethren, but I confess it does not make me feel comfortable for some of them to write about the matter as they have been doing.

Bishop Hamilton: You have a lot of friends among them.

Bishop Hoss: Yes, and they love me in spite of all my faults; and that is the only way I want people to love me. If they don't love me in spite of my faults, I will excuse them from loving me at all. Now, brethren, I don't know what we are going to do. Here we have this petition that was offered here to-day, and what does that petition mean? It means that a large group of excellent brethren down there who are leaders in your Church, who stand at the forefront in educational matters, are very much afraid that they are going to come under the dominion of the Southern Methodists down there. You talk about Southerners being prejudiced and alarmed about possibilities of that sort. They are not half as much alarmed as these people are. At the General Conference at Minneapolis you made special provision for taking care of your people who happened to drift to the South, and you warned them against

the possibility of getting into our Church. That is a matter of record. I do not object to Southern Methodists going to your Church when they go up North, and if I went up there again I would do again as I did when I was a boy. I was a member of your Church all the time I was up there. Our people who go North have this reason for not joining your Church, which I don't think you have among us. I never heard in my life from any one of our pulpits a single speech to which any Northerner could lawfully object. I didn't hear that old brother Page, I just heard of him. That is one side, as well as the other; the narrowness is not all with us. You have it, and we have it, and we both have enough and to spare. If you have any lack among you, let us know and we will supply you on short order. I sincerely love all Methodist Churches. I have been profoundly interested in this question of union. I would that it were possible for me to relieve all of the difficulties of the situation and bring all Methodists together. But, brethren, we have never known as serious a task as this before. We have come to face it. Don't be sorry sometimes that everybody cannot be as wise as you are, that the Colored Methodists, in particular, are not as wise as you are.

Bishop Hamilton: No.

Bishop Hoss: I confess I sometimes do feel sorry everybody is not as wise as I am! These questions are up, and I pray God that we may not have any hardships. If we cannot agree about this question before us (and I do not see how we are going to agree with the articles that have been published in the newspapers the last few weeks), I don't want to go into a Church where I am abused. I don't take it very kindly when it is affirmed that I am antagonistic to the colored people, that I am against them. I have written more against mob law as applied to colored people than any man in the Southern States. I have written more vehemently and more persistently. Some brethren who are just waking up to the situation forget the fact that I always did. But I know the difficulty in the way on our side and on your side. Do you know what we have done since the war for the colored people? You have had every opportunity to give them civil promotion, and you have not done it. You have never sent one of them to Congress, and there have been many of them among you intellectually worthy of that honor. You have never sent one of them to the United States Senate, and you are not going to do it. You have never elected one of them a bishop.

Bishop Hamilton: O yes, we have.

Bishop Hoss: O no, you have not; I know about that. You elected them bishops and sent them to Africa. You would be willing to elect a score of them to send to Africa, but you

have never had one of them preside over a Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church here. It is not our Church alone that is to be censured, and I do not think you are going to elect any of them full bishops in your Church. I do not think you will. I may be wrong, but this is my judgment. I sat behind Dr. Buckley in the General Conference at Cleveland when they were considering the election of a colored bishop. Dr. Buckley was Chairman of the Committee on Episcopacy, and he brought in a report that the time had come when it would be just and right to elect a colored man to the episcopacy; but there were three young fellows sitting behind me and two very fine ladies, and one of them said: "There is nothing in that." Now don't misunderstand. I say there are colored men who are worthy of that honor, and whom it would be proper to elect; but as long as you have as many candidates for the office as there usually are, I don't think you are going to elect a colored man. I have spoken frankly, but let me say right here that this plan before you now, about which you are hesitating and about which seventy-five colored editors in South Carolina are protesting and objecting—that it not our scheme. That is the Rogers plan. It is not ours. If you want to reject it, reject your own plan, but have the frankness to say so and don't charge it to us.

Bishop Hamilton: We don't intend to do that.

Bishop Hoss: I don't think you do, but the other fellows will do it; and I want now to protest against that being charged to us. Let us hope that somehow or other, in God's own way and in God's own time, he is going to work this thing out. Whenever a great thing is up, sometimes for a long time it looks as if it could never come to pass, but at last God puts his hand to it. O God, put Thine hand into our troubles, give us the right spirit, the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, help us to love one another, to be gentle with one another, to be forbearing toward one another, to be kind toward one another, and in Thine own way bring the right thing to pass.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): If none of you have anything to say, I would like to say a word in behalf of New England. I am not going to make a speech on the whole subject. I will hold my watch and will use about two and a half minutes. I would not rise now, except that nobody else seems disposed to do so. This is what I want to say: I have great trouble with my homogeneity. I was born in Virginia, but that doesn't seem to count with you brethren. Now, in the matter of geography, I am in favor of mountains and rivers and lakes and prairies, but I am not in favor of that in the Christian Church nor in the Methodist Episcopal Church. I want only one homogeneity there. That is what I am after. Now the trouble you

have arranged in this plan with New England is that New England is torn off, a section of this country with 500,000 more foreigners than there are natives in New England, and you have at the same time given us, by the speech of Brother Blake, with which I agree, a city problem. We will never settle the question in New England until the whole Church takes a hand in the settlement of it; and when you begin to segregate the Church, about the worst section we will have to deal with will not be the South, but will be New England. I have been there forty years, I know every mountain and lake in it, and I tell you if you turn over to the foreigners this matter of homogeneity, where is Methodism going to be? The only salvation in New England is in the whole Church taking hold of it, and you brethren in the South ought to do it. You have no foreigners relatively in the South to-day. Look at the cities of New York and Boston with such majorities of the population foreign-speaking. I went out to San Francisco and made a special plea, after all the appropriations had been made, for the city of Boston; and after they heard the plea they appointed me Chairman of a Committee and Lieutenant Governor Wallace, Secretary, to originate a new scheme in appropriation—namely, instead of distributing here and there one hundred dollars, two hundred dollars, or five hundred dollars, we would plan to take a certain city and give an appropriation that would amount to something to put it on its feet. We voted $25,000 to be the lowest sum to be appropriated, and the first $25,000 was voted to Boston and has gone there. If you are going to cut New England off in such a way that the homogeneity has to take care of New England, and elect a bishop down there, it is the last place in the world I want to be bishop if I have to take care of New England simply on the resources of New England. That is all I want to say, and when I come to speak on the matter generally I think I can say something of this kind about some other sections; but you brethren don't know the problems of the North and possibly we don't know yours, and here is a problem that must be a national one and the whole Church must somehow or other help us to save New England.

Edwin M. Randall: It is very little I wish to say this afternoon to take the time of this Commission, rather to reëmphasize something I said at Traverse City in regard to the proposed organization of the Church into these Regional Conferences. I wish first to express my regret with Mr. Downey that the information we asked for at that time and which we were assured would be given to us has not been furnished. It would help us some to work out some suggestion that might make this plan more practicable. But it falls to a few representatives of our Commission who hail from the largest and most

impracticable division there is in the whole plan, not only because the size of it is so great but because certain portions of it are as remote from certain other portions as any portion of the other five regions is from any other portion of the entire five regions. More than that, it is a region wherein we have before us immense problems comparable to, if not surpassing, those of New England. We have there the one great frontier remaining in this country. Alaska is embraced within our region; and I saw a statement not long ago, based upon the official figures of the United States Government, that there is in Alaska land suitable for agricultural purposes sufficient in amount to sustain a future population of ten millions of people. That fact is almost too great for ordinary persons to appreciate. The magnitude of that country and the amount of it capable of agricultural development are scarcely dreamed of, and that is only one of a number of simply immense resources of that country. There and in the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific Coast region, to say nothing of the great plains region, we have before us almost illimitable problems in the future development of our Church, and we have the smallest membership of any of the great divisions proposed for the Church. We are the youngest and therefore the weakest in financial resources. We need the entire Church behind us, the entire Church needs to be behind us in the great problems we have before us, and our people out there do not feel that it would be good statesmanship to set us off by ourselves in this manner. We do not feel that territorially we make an area that is practicable under the plan that we have in this scheme before us. Moreover, we do not wish to be set off and separated from the rest of the Church, and there is a feeling among our people out there—a very profound feeling—that the result of this plan will be the segregation of various units of the Church and that it will make for division among us and work against unification, that it is not wholesome, that it is not for efficiency and will not best work out the mission of our Church to this land and to the world. I am free to confess, after such examination as I have been able to make of it, that I am more impressed by the plan proposed by Dr. Spencer, and I am much better impressed with the suggestion that came from Bishop McDowell. I wish those plans might be worked out with such data as have been gathered by the committee that has these matters in charge, and any other data available. I regret very profoundly that we are in this situation so near to the meeting of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, South, and I am profoundly impressed that the proposition that is before us is not what we ought to have, that it is not practical, and that it will not meet with the support of the brethren in our Church, at least in our great Northwest.

Rolla V. Watt: Dr. Downey referred to some promised data, and so did Dr. Randall, but I don't know what they mean. In the meeting at Savannah we had the distribution given and the overlapping jurisdictional lines. We all received that data. What promised data do they refer to?

Bishop McDowell: In addition to that I ought to say, as Chairman of the Committee on Conferences, that we did expect to put into your hands more complete statements as to Regional distributions, but we are not able to do that.

Edgar Blake: It is a matter of regret to me that this additional information has not been procured. If it had been, we wouldn't have some trouble that we now have. New England stands first in number of members and second in financial resources. The section that Dr. Randall talks about stands third. They have been talking about Alaska. How long have we been in Alaska? I think twenty-five years, and we have 107 members up there.

Edwin M. Randall: May I say a word as a matter of privilege? When this report from the committees was brought before us at Traverse City, in connection with the discussion there were statements made of facts and figures that led me to believe that the committee was in possession of data showing the membership of the various Conferences in the two Churches as related not only to Conference lines but also to State lines.

Bishop McDowell: That was given at Savannah.

Rolla V. Watt: That is what I referred to.

Edwin M. Randall: What was that information?

Rolla V. Watt: It shows the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the different States and sections.

Edwin M. Randall: It gives the data as to the divisions made, but not the data that would be used in making those divisions and in making up the aggregate.

Alexander Simpson, Jr.: How could that be done? Every man would have a new lot of figures.

Edwin M. Randall: There are the original data from which you can make any grouping that you see fit.

Rolla V. Watt: I live out in the district that Dr. Randall refers to, and I know that there is more criticism with reference to that general plan than anywhere else; but that criticism comes from those who have not studied the question for one-tenth of the time that we have. I do not think the criticism is very serious. I rather like some of the suggestions of Dr. Spencer's proposition with reference to the Border and the West. I am satisfied we are not going to have any trouble among the brethren. We are all on good terms now and we will overcome any difficulties; but I do believe that the West has interests that are different

from those of the East. I believe the West is a section that deals with matters on different lines from the East, and I do not see any harm in adopting the plan laid out by the committee. I do not say it is perfect or that it does not need readjustment. However, generally speaking and agreeing that we must have certain membership to constitute a jurisdiction, I do not see how the plan could be very well improved; I would not mind it if Minnesota and Iowa were cut off and Arizona and New Mexico taken in. I do not object to Minnesota and Iowa, but they belong to the Middle West and Arizona and New Mexico belong to the West. Now, I come to these meetings at more sacrifice of time than any other man except Dr. Randall; but he is a Methodist preacher and can get away, and I am a business man and can't well afford to get away, and I do protest against the tremendous waste of time at these meetings. I hope to-morrow we will get down to business and that the Chairman will hold every man strictly to his time.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I have held every man to it except our good brother Bishop Hoss, and it was by general consent that he was not to come under the rule.

Bishop Leete: I thought I would say a word with reference to the matter of the Regional Conference, with reference to its place in this plan as directed by the General Conference. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church directed us to try to make a plan of unification in harmony with the basic principle of the Chattanooga agreement. They afterwards relieved us of even holding closely to that by giving us liberty to consult concerning any plan and to adopt any plan that seemed reasonable; and even charged us further to make any concessions in the interest of harmony that we might find it in our feelings to make. So our charter is a pretty large charter; but with reference to basic principles I hope never to be connected again with anything that has basic principles or tentative agreements. I want to know what principles you mean or what you intend to do with the tentative business before I get any farther with it. My ideas of the basic principles of the Chattanooga agreement are these: For example, I do not think the question of the kind of Conferences is a principle at all. That is a matter of organization, as I understand it. It is a matter of expediency and good judgment. As I understand the Chattanooga agreement, the basic principles of it are about these: First, it is an agreement to give the largest measure of local autonomy without the destruction of central authority. Second, it is a principle of fair distribution of authority, power, influence, or whatever term you may wish to use. I would like to use the mildest possible one, because there were to be four divisions to that, and the so-called Northern Church would get two of the

divisions, the colored people one division, and the Southern Church one division. This is about the actual numerical difference, so that it is a distribution according to membership, and is fair. The third principle was one of cosmopolitan relationship in the Church, racial justice to all the children of men. The colored people were to have a proper place in the work of the Church so far as the government was concerned, which would not mean anything different in connection with the social relation, but would have to do with the discussion of business. As I am able to analyze them, the three basic principles in this Chattanooga agreement are racial justice, proportionate representation, and the principle which I first named in my remarks. We have got away from those principles in this agreement. Every one of them we have destroyed. Neither Church is satisfied with this Regional Conference business, and neither Church is going to be satisfied with this Regional Conference business. It seems to me what the Churches expected of us was to produce a maximum of unification with a minimum amount of reorganization. I think that is what they wanted of us. The people do not want to be reorganized any more than is necessary. They want unification with very little reorganization, and my feeling is that it would be perfectly competent, as I see, for us, if such a proposition were up, to favor a plan which would continue Methodism substantially as it is to-day, but which would merge into large Conferences the small Conferences in the territories where there is overlapping in Churches. What I mean to say is this: We could have no proposition which would meet with greater favor than if we were to propose to merge our small Conferences in large territories. That would practically take all of our small Border Conferences and put them in the Southern territories. If we had agreed to do that and to perpetuate the large Annual Conferences—increase them by putting the small overlapping Conferences into them—and had been able to trust each other as to connectionalism, the whole matter would be solved. Allow the Annual Conferences a measure of local autonomy which would enable them to discharge all the functions necessary locally and at the same time avoid the constant accusation that we are trying to draw lines across the country. I feel as strongly opposed to the suggestion that there is a difference between Iowa and California as I feel opposed to the suggestion that there is a difference between Maine and Florida. The men from Florida and Maine, and the men from Iowa and California, will be got together, not as men from those States, but as a great Christian body. We should be opposed to any other idea in both of these cases. We ought to have a Methodism that can look into the faces of all its people everywhere,

which can allow the local governments to take care of the local institutions, and nevertheless, like the United States Government, have a strong centralized authority which, by the way, has never been so centralized as it is now under Democratic Southern administration—and I am in favor of it, I will say. I wish we could get away from this maximum of reorganization, which the Church will not stand for on either side, and get back to simplicity in organization such as we had away back years ago, serving all, and having a general superintendency in some form and a General Conference with some shadow of reasonable powers, a Church in which every child of man everywhere, so far as the business side of it is concerned, with a perfectly clear understanding on all social questions, can have his place in the councils of the kingdom of God.

A. J. Lamar: If I understand Bishop Leete (and if I do not I would like to be enlightened), it seems to me that it is his thought that we should all come into the Methodist Episcopal Church as it is to-day. Now, there has not been a time since 1844 when organic union was not perfectly feasible and perfectly possible from their side on those terms. The doors of Southern Methodism are wide open. We will receive you brethren into our communion gladly and give you good government under our laws as they stand now; but you would not accept that, and we cannot accept your invitation to come into your Church that way. We have to have the Regional Conferences.

Bishop McDowell: Dr. Moore said this morning you did not want all of us to come and join you.

A. J. Lamar: I am perfectly at liberty to speak on that, because there is no possibility of it being realized.

Bishop Leete: Before it is forgotten I would like to say this: There is this difference in the matter, which Dr. Lamar for the moment has forgotten, I am perfectly sure, and that is that the proposition I am making would in the course of time place about 400,000 of our members under your Conferences without any protection of any kind for themselves, with $26,000,000 of property. That is a little different from asking everybody to come into our Church.

A. J. Lamar: But, if you please, the General Conference is the legislating body. An Annual Conference cannot legislate. The Annual Conference has no power to make any laws on any subject. That inheres in the General Conference, and the General Conference would be just as it is now, so there is no use talking about that. We have to have Regional Conferences. Both General Conferences have said so, your own as well as ours, whether you believe in it or not and whether I believe in it or not. The General Conferences have adopted that as a basic principle and we of the South are pledged; and if we are to get a

system which will stand a chance of receiving the approval of our people, we have got to see that those Regional Conferences have sufficient power to give adequate protection to the minority. That was the design of it, and we must insist upon it. It cannot be otherwise.

T. N. Ivey: I move that we adjourn.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): I have recognized Brother Du Bose.

H. M. Du Bose: I was hoping that we could get a vote on this matter; but I will make my speech, which will be brief. I am on record as being an Asburian Methodist in the matter of reunion. Interpreting that term for myself, it means real union. I announced that first through the press before we had any meeting of this Commission, and I announced it on the floor of the Commission at Baltimore. I have not changed my wish or preference in that matter. What I now long to see would be a truly reunited Methodist Church. I recognize the impossibility of a true idealism of that conception, and therefore very early fell in with the idea of Regional Conferences. What I have in mind now, and what I propose to say in seeking the floor, is that I could not as a Southern Methodist ask to have the territory of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, remain intact with the accretion of the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church within what is generally spoken of as Southern Methodist Church territory and at the same time require or expect a division of the territory of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New England. I would not be willing to vote for or to see the South remain intact and the territory of our sister Church divided. That constituted the second horn of the dilemma, and I early conceived the necessity of the Regional Conferences. I doubt if by any process whatever—though I seconded the Doctor's motion this morning hoping something might grow out of it—I doubt if at any time or as a result of any amount of deliberation and discussion we will fall upon a plan more nearly acceptable or with better chance of getting before the General Conferences than the one we have. We have worked it out after careful and laborious study and devotion to the whole question of solving the difficulties; but we do not and cannot remove them all, and it occurs to me (and I state this with deliberation) that if we find ourselves unable to carry this plan before our General Conference there is no plan we can carry, and I see no possible rearrangement of the matter on any better basis than the one we have it upon.

E. C. Reeves: I shall detain you but a minute. I am sometimes called a free lance. I do not agree with a good many of my friends and sometimes I hardly agree with myself. As to this question of Regional Conferences I speak freely, because

both General Conferences have adopted it. I believe it is an abomination, and I want to go on record and I want my children to read it when I am dead and gone. I am opposed to it, and if it ever does come some of you will live to see the days of trouble that it will bring upon us. When you give me a call to make a Constitution for a new Church, my Church is gone and your Church is gone and we have a new slate. If I cannot trust you in the future, I am not ready for unification. If you cannot trust me, you are not ready for unification. I will trust you to settle the other questions and to settle this question about the great African Church; but if I trust you to settle some things, you ought to trust me about some things. I don't know what new questions will come up. I may be in a majority. I may be on the big side. You don't know what question is coming up. It is my Church and it is your Church, and it is not the Southern faction or the Northern faction; we will be only one Church. We must be one in spirit or we had better not get together. I do not believe this question will ever work well with our people. What do we want with these Regional Conferences? To protect us down here? We can't trust you, if that is what we are after. I don't want it. It makes us sectional. It has destroyed our general superintendency. It is at war with our idea of the episcopacy. I do not want to live to see the day—no, I don't—I do not want to live to see the day when superintendency is cut down to a mere presiding eldership. I want to see our bishops free to go everywhere and every bishop will be my bishop, and not any little two-by-six fellow in a Regional Conference be my bishop without permission to go out anywhere. Oh, brethren, let us get away from that kind of an episcopacy. If I cannot have a full-grown bishop, I don't want one. I admire them. I respect the office. I revere it. I was taught that way. If you are going to have them little "me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four, no more," I cannot respect them. I have said what I want to say, and I wanted to put myself on record as against this whole Regional business.

T. N. Ivey: I move that we adjourn.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried, and the Commission was dismissed with a benediction by Rev. Robert E. Jones.

SECOND DAY, THURSDAY, APRIL 11, 1918.

Morning Session.

The Joint Commission was called to order by Bishop Cranston at 9:30 A.M.

Hymn 530, "O Thou, in whose presence my soul takes delight," was sung.

Prayer was offered by Bishop Cranston.

Hymn 312, "O Happy Day," was sung.

Prayer was offered by Dr. W. N. Ainsworth.

Bishop Hamilton took the chair.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops E. E. Hoss, Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, W. B. Murrah, Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, J. M. Moore, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, H. M. Du Bose, W. N. Ainsworth, A. J. Lamar, Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. N. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, J. R. Pepper, E. C. Reeves, H. H. White, E. W. Hines, G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, I. E. Robinson, H. W. Rogers, Alex. Simpson, Jr., Rolla V. Watt, J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock. Rev. C. M. Stuart, alternate.

The minutes of the last session were read and approved.

Bishop Denny took the chair as presiding officer.

Claudius B. Spencer: At the suggestion of a number, and after conference with them, I have prepared this paper, which I would like to submit:

Whereas in the initial meeting in the interest of the unification of American Methodism, held in December, 1910, in the City of Baltimore, there were present representatives of the Methodist Protestant Church; and whereas that Church was represented in the Committee of Nine that drafted the original proposed basis of unification through reorganization; and whereas the Methodist Protestant Church was represented in the perfected plan submitted and in principle adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and whereas we have not observed the presence of representatives from the Methodist Protestant Church in our midst in the sessions of the Joint Commission since 1916; and whereas there has been no formal statement made to this Joint Commission of the present status of the Methodist Protestant Church as related to the unification of American Methodism; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Joint Commission respectfully requests the Chairmen of the Joint Commission to present in writing to this session of the Joint Commission a statement of the existing status of the Methodist Protestant Church in relation to the unification of American Methodism; and we request the Chairmen of the Joint Commission to communicate to the proper persons in the Methodist Protestant Church our feeling of fraternity for their Church and our hope for organic union with them.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): What is the pleasure of the Commission?

H. M. Du Bose: We have an order pending. Is not this new matter?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): It is new matter, and can only come before us by common consent. Before we take this

up, we should hear from Dr. Todd, who has the Sunday services in charge. Is there any objection? If not, we shall be glad to hear from Dr. Todd.

Dr. Luther E. Todd: I come to ask how many of you will be here over Sunday and how many are willing to occupy pulpits and how many times. There are forty or fifty of our Churches that are exceedingly anxious to have you in their pulpits on Sunday, and while I have learned indirectly that you think you may adjourn on Saturday I am hoping that you will stay over the Sabbath and give us the benefit of your presence on Sunday. So, if you can, I would be pleased to find out to-day in your own way just how many will stay and the hours you are willing to preach, so that the committee which meets this afternoon will make the assignments and get them in the paper. I have a number of invitations for you. One is to go to the top of the highest building we have. Last evening we took you to the depths and now we want to take you into the sky. Then to-morrow afternoon we want to take you for an automobile ride through our parks. I also have an invitation for you to have lunch in the great Barnes Hospital, which is a very unusual institution. I bring these matters to your attention and will be pleased to have a report from you as soon as possible, so that we shall know how to act.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): What will you do with this courteous invitation?

Frank M. Thomas: There is no way for me to know.

Dr. Luther E. Todd: Will it be possible for those who remain over to write on their personal cards the hours A.M. and P.M. that they would preach? Hand those to Dr. Thomas, and he can communicate with me.

W. N. Ainsworth: I think this matter had best be disposed of now. I move that every minister who proposes to be in the city on Sunday consider himself subject to assignment.

The motion was seconded.

David G. Downey: The difficulty with that is, we do not know whether we are going to be here Sunday or not. If the Commission is still in session, we shall be here. If it is not, for myself I expect to leave St. Louis on the first train. We have voted to adjourn at five o'clock Saturday afternoon, and I hope that will be adhered to. That being so, it seems to me that only those members of the Commission who have determined to stay in St. Louis are available.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Dr. Downey's remarks are more in the nature of a suggestion than a motion.

David G. Downey: Yes.

A vote being taken, the motion of Dr. Ainsworth was agreed to.

John M. Moore: I move that we accept the invitation for the drive to-morrow afternoon at the close of the session, in order that we may get fresh air and a little recreation.

Edgar Blake: I appreciate these courteous invitations that come to us and I also appreciate the need of exercise in the open air, but it seems to me we need rather more vigorous exercise right here in the meetings of this Commission and that the affairs that we are called together here to consider ought to receive the first of our attention and all of our attention for the time being, and I hope we shall make no social engagements until we complete our work here.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Is there anything further to be said on the motion of Dr. Moore?

John M. Moore: I hope the Commission understands my motion, that we accept the invitation to drive at the close of the session to-morrow afternoon at 5:15. There is an hour between that time and supper when we shall not be engaged, and we ought to have some fresh air and exercise.

Claudius B. Spencer: It is very evident that the two Commissions composing this Joint Commission will need to have some separate meetings, and when are we going to have them unless to-morrow evening? How can we do this if we go off on a drive for that hour and then end up with the dinner? Of course, as it is said, it is only a little drive; but we need that time and I don't think we can go on it.

A. J. Lamar: I propose a substitute, that our Secretaries be instructed to reply to all of these brethren that, while we appreciate very highly their hospitable offers, we find it impossible to accept any social engagements owing to the pressure of our business.

The substitute was seconded.

Edwin M. Randall: I do not see how that proposed ride to-morrow evening between the close of this sesson and supper will interfere with our business, and I think we will be in better shape for the ride.

A. W. Harris: I move that the question be now put.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Thereupon, a vote being taken, the substitute of Dr. Lamar was carried by a vote of 22 to 8.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We have now before us, as I understand by general or unanimous consent, the paper offered by Dr. Spencer.

Edgar Blake: I do not understand that unanimous consent was given. I would suggest that consideration of this matter be delayed until we finish the matter we are now upon.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Make a motion then.

Edgar Blake: It is not necessary.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I think it would be better, since this matter did come before us.

Edgar Blake: Then I move that the consideraton of Dr. Spencer's paper be delayed until we complete the consideration of the item we are now on.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The question before you is the question under consideration yesterday.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: It seems to me that all that can be properly said on the question has been said, and I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): There are one or two things, it seems to me, that need to be cleared up so that we can vote intelligently. The first question is on the motion made by Dr. Penn, which was a paper directing the Committee on Conferences to consider certain proposed lines.

John M. Moore: Some of our brethren have just come in and I would be glad if you would state the full motion.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The motion that was made by Dr. Blake is the list of the proposed Regional Conferences No. 6 as appearing on page 2 from the top of the page down to "members" of this printed pamphlet, which is without special heading, but which we understand to be the report of the Committee on Conferences. While that was under consideration Dr. Penn offered a substitute.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Dr. Goucher's came first.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Thank you. Dr. Goucher's was that in Section 1 we should insert the words which substantially stated that there should be eight Regional Jurisdictions. He wanted to substitute the words "there shall be eight Regional Jurisdictions." As a substitute for that Dr. Penn proposed that there should be four Regional Jurisdictions divided by lines running north and south among the white membership—three of those—and one membership of the Colored Methodists in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and that his paper should be committed for perfection to the Committee on Conferences. Have I stated that accurately, Dr. Penn?

I. Garland Penn: Yes.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The motion, therefore, is on the substitute.

Claudius B. Spencer: I rise to a question of parliamentary inquiry. In order to get that plan of mine I had to step to the hotel, and I didn't hear the motion made by Dr. Goucher. I

thought the general question was pending, and not the specific motion. For that reason I did not make a motion that the plan I submitted be adopted, and I rise to make a parliamentary inquiry as to whether it would be legitimate to do so now, to move that as a substitute for everything before the house.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): My understanding was that you presented it as a suggestion, and not as a motion.

Claudius B. Spencer: That is so and I have explained the reason. I was absent from the building or I should have made the motion.

M. L. Walton: I move that we consider the proposition as having been offered.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I am sorry, but we are under the previous question.

M. L. Walton: I ask unanimous consent.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Unanimous consent is asked, and it will take unanimous consent for a vote on Dr. Spencer's motion. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. Shall I take Dr. Spencer's motion first? Of course, it would be out of order without general consent.

W. N. Ainsworth: A further inquiry: Did not Bishop McDowell make a definite motion?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): No, sir; he only undertook to illustrate.

Bishop McDowell: I was only illustrating the effect of Dr. Goucher's motion.

Bishop Leete: An inquiry: We are now in a rather important moment in our proceedings, and I just want to raise the point, do not we vote by Commissions?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): It would require a majority vote of each Commission to pass any of these resolutions as the Chair understands the rule adopted in Baltimore.

Bishop Leete: I feel that we ought to have meetings of our separate Commissions before we take the vote on this matter. It is an important matter.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): It is within the province of either Commission to call a meeting of that Commission. Is that meeting called?

Bishop Leete: I have no authority to call it.

John F. Goucher: Are we not working under tentative proceedings?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We are working under unanimous permission to vote on Dr. Spencer's substitute.

John F. Goucher: Are we not voting tentatively on this as heretofore?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I so understand it.

Bishop Leete: If that is the case, the matter of the majority of each Commission is not important.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I have not the Baltimore proceedings before me, but my recollection is that the rules adopted at Baltimore were that no action of the Joint Commission should be deemed valid unless passed by a majority of each Commission.

Bishop Leete: That does not cover the point, because a vote might be taken and a matter might be carried in this Joint Commission and then afterwards by a count it might be determined the other way. We ought to know whether we are voting on a proposition tentatively or whether we are voting really as a final action.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Allow the Chair to make the decision, and if it does not commend itself to the Commission the Commission can reverse it. Let me decide therefore that a call by Commissions can be made, under the rule, even on a tentative vote. Is that decision of the Chair appealed from?

Several Voices: That is correct.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Then that stands as the order of the Commission.

David G. Downey: Will the Chair also rule that this vote we are now taking on this particular matter, this part of this paper—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): No, we are on Dr. Spencer's suggestion. That is before us by unanimous consent.

David G. Downey: But practically an amendment to this and the vote on it ought to be on the same basis as a vote on the other.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Certainly.

David G. Downey: Will the Chair also rule that this is the same sort of a vote, tentatively, by which we have adopted the other matters?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Certainly; but if either Commission desires to have a separate vote on this, it is within its rights to call for such a separate vote.

Bishop Leete: Let me raise this point, although it may be of no value. We are voting on a matter of great importance, with the presence of six or eight men who did not hear the discussion of yesterday; and we are handling provisions which are going to be largely discussed throughout the Church if they are adopted. We are under the embarrassment that some of our editors are Commissioners and some things have been published as having been adopted that were really only tentatively agreed on. It is a question whether it is wise to go ahead and vote on these matters without a further chance to these men who have not heard the discussion to become posted on it. I think this

action is rather hasty and I think it is unfortunate that debate was shut off from these gentlemen.

Alexander Simpson, Jr.: And all those who get here to-morrow will be in the same shape that these eight are. I make the point of order that debate is not now in order.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The point of order would be well taken if it were on this paper which has been discussed, but it was on the question of a suggestion by Dr. Spencer.

Alexander Simpson, Jr.: That was not what Bishop Leete was doing.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I certainly can be within the parliamentary rule to meet also Mr. Simpson's point of order when I say that Bishop Leete is not on the floor now.

Bishop Cranston: A matter of privilege: There are some of us here who do not know what has been going on, as has been already suggested. I confess I would not know how to vote if this matter were pressed to a vote right now. I do not know whether I should vote for four, eight, or six. I stand committed to the Chattanooga business from the beginning, but if it were possible to have a more definite statement of the matter I would like to have it.

Bishop Denny suggested that perhaps it would clear the matter up more speedily and avoid further complications to have a call for separate Commissions and go over it in that manner and acquaint ourselves with the situation.

W. N. Ainsworth: I earnestly hope that we shall adhere strictly to the order for the previous question.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We are acting under that; but here is a question of high privilege under the rule which would take precedence of that, that either Commission has a right to call for a separate meeting of the Commissions.

W. N. Ainsworth: Which I hope we shall not have, but that we shall proceed to vote.

C. M. Bishop: Would it not be necessary, in order to get the matter clearly before us, for the Joint Commission to determine at length what it is that is to be submitted to the two Commissions? Are we not in process of perfecting a measure or motion upon which we will vote, which will lay before the separate Commissions the right then to act? But if we retire into separate Commissions and vote on these subsidiary motions and then come together and make another effort and a second motion, we shall spend the whole day at it, so I suggest that we proceed to talk it over until we perfect what we are on.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The only question other than a vote is the question, "Shall there be meetings of the separate Commissions?"

George W. Brown: I am heartily in favor of the expressions

of Dr. Bishop. I think we should go forward and vote on the previous question, and then we can have meetings of the separate Commissions. We are going to fritter away all our time on this matter. We have only a few hours left in St. Louis in which to do the work, and I am conscientious in saying that I think we ought to do something.

H. M. Du Bose: A point of order. The Chairman has already made a statement which may or may not have covered all the points; but if the Chair will make a statement now on the several motions it will enlighten the brethren who have not been here—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): You call for a statement of the question?

H. M. Du Bose: Yes.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The question is, as the Chair understands it, that by unanimous consent we are to vote first on the suggestion of Dr. Spencer, offered yesterday in connection with the map which he proposed, in which there should be nine Regional Conferences. Dr. Goucher had offered a resolution that the last line on page 1 of this report should have the words "the following" stricken out and the word "each" inserted, making it read: "There shall be eight Regional Jurisdictions, each having its own Regional Conference." Dr. Penn offered as a substitute that there should be four Regional Conferences, the outlines of which should be determined by the Committee on Conferences, though he made a suggestion as to a possible outline. The order of the question will be Dr. Spencer's suggestion, Dr. Penn's substitute, and Dr. Goucher's motion.

Edgar Blake: Would it not be well to state, for the benefit of those who came in for the first time this morning, that we have before us a recommendation of the Committee on Conferences that there be six, with the areas and boundaries named, and that the motion for eight was made by Dr. Goucher?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Dr. Goucher's motion was offered as an amendment.

Edgar Blake: And it was an amendment to the proposal which came from the Committee on Conferences.

Henry W. Rogers: It is necessary for us who were not here yesterday to know just what this proposition of Dr. Goucher's involves. What additional Conferences do you propose to add if you increase to eight?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That was left undetermined.

E. B. Chappell: Could we not by common consent give the movers of these three resolutions three minutes each to explain them?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Anything can be done by unanimous consent.

E. B. Chappell: We can do that, and then these brethren who were not here yesterday will know what they are voting on.

Bishop Cranston: I rise to withdraw any objection to a vote. I had the thought that we are voting on this proposition for a second time, or finally. But I understand this proposition of six Regional Conferences has never been tentatively adopted.

Rolla V. Watt: I object to talking on the proposition without its being read. A lot of people don't know what Dr. Spencer's amendment is. I think a statement of three minutes from each is in order, and unless we have that we will not know what we are doing. I hope the motion will be stated by the proponents or by the Secretary, so that we will know the purpose of these amendments, especially Dr. Spencer's.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The Chair is trying to carry out the will of the Commission. Is there any objection to three minutes being given to Dr. Spencer, Dr. Goucher, and Dr. Penn?

E. B. Chappell: And to Dr. Blake—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and Dr. Spencer has three minutes to make a statement of his suggestion.

Claudius B. Spencer: The plan that is outlined in this map takes into account the personality, the psychological and the social life of all of the areas in which this country is divided. There will be three Regional Conferences for the South, three for the North, and it also takes into account the problem of the border. It is according to the uniform principle of three in the North, three in the South, and three border Conferences. I was thinking when I studied this map that an analysis of the border Conferences would show that our own denomination possibility was in the ascendancy; but I was glad when I found that I was wrong in that, because it relieves any chance of criticism or subterranean motive to find that two of the Border Regional Conferences, marked A and B, are in the power of the Church, South, so that of the nine Regional Conferences it gives them power over five. This does away with any feeling that there is any attempt to overreach them in any particular. Looking at this western C, it does break up that area as it is in the original definition; and in each of these sections in the West there is a Conference of the Church, South, and a Conference of our Church, so that each one will have a border Conference.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We are now to hear from Dr. Penn.

I. G. Penn: My proposition is really genuine unification. In this report and the amendments offered we have gotten very far from the Chattanooga basic principles upon which the

two Churches have been endeavoring to unite. Under my proposition you will understand there will be but four Regional Jurisdictions, and I submit the following as a substitute: That the composition and boundaries and jurisdictions of the Regional Conferences be recommitted to the Committee on Conferences with instructions to consider the following: There shall be four Regional Conferences—three white Conferences, the lines dividing which shall run north and south, and the fourth shall be made up of the colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church and such other Colored Methodists as may elect to come in. This would give us an Eastern Regional Conference, a Central Regional Conference, a Western Regional Conference, and a Colored Regional Conference.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We will now hear from Dr. Goucher.

John F. Goucher: I propose, instead of dividing the area into six, that it shall be divided into eight. I do that with the idea that there should be not less than six hundred thousand members in any one Regional Conference. That will enable us to have very much greater homogeneity of environments of each Conference than if we have simply six. I had attempted to work out a plan for six and for eight, and in working those plans out I found this plan of eight would give less infringement on State lines and greater homogeneity, and it would bring us to a larger representation of the local interests and at the same time not in the least interfere with the general administration. It is only a matter of judgment; and having worked this out with satisfaction to myself, I thought I would feel better if I gave the benefit of my suggestion to the Commission.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We will now hear from Dr. Blake.

Edgar Blake: I am not the Chairman of the Committee.

Bishop McDowell: My personal preference is for a different number than six, and I want the committee to have its representation by one who is in favor of the report of the committee in that regard, so I ask Dr. Blake to represent the committee.

Edgar Blake: The proposition that is before us for six Regional Conferences, as you find them outlined on page 2, is a proposition that comes before us now for the second time from the Committee on Conferences. It has certainly been very carefully considered by that committee. That committee has gone into all the questions that have been raised here with great thoroughness, and after several meetings and weeks of painstaking investigations they make this recommendation for six as being the best according to their judgment. With reference

to the other proposals before us, I was to call your attention to one or two items—

David G. Downey: A point of order?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): What is the point of order?

David G. Downey: Is Dr. Blake going to discuss the other proposition?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I do not know.

David G. Downey: He said "with reference to the other proposals he wanted to call attention to one or two items," and I make the point of order—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): You cannot anticipate a breach of order.

David G. Downey: The statement just made has in it the potentialities of a breach of order.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Dr. Downey's point of order is not well taken. We have to deal with actualities.

Edgar Blake: According to the rules of our own General Conference and its practice, whenever motions are offered as a substitute for a recommendation that is before us from one of our committees, the representative of that committee has a right to speak upon all phases of the question involved. I do not care to do that if the brethren don't want the information; but it has been stated that there are brethren here who did not hear the discussion yesterday and they ought to know the bearing of these propositions upon the matter before us. If you don't want the gentlemen to have the information, I don't want to proffer it.

David G. Downey: We are not under the General Conference rules, but under a point of special privilege, and Dr. Blake's only privilege is to explain the division of six.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The Chair will rule that Dr. Blake up to the present time has been in order.

Edgar Blake: Let me correct my friend Dr. Downey: This is not a privilege for me.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Dr. Blake, you have but three minutes.

Edgar Blake: I understand and you can take this out of my time. Dr. Downey can prevent the brethren from getting information if he desires—

David G. Downey: I object to that statement.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Dr. Blake has the floor.

Edgar Blake: That is about all you have done up to the present time.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): You are out of order, Dr. Blake.

Edgar Blake: I am, and I withdraw the remark.

Bishop McDowell: There is evidently confusion as to the

character of the statement that was to be made. I don't understand that, as Chairman of the Committee on Conferences, I can now, under the previous question, debate the subject. I understood that the permission that was granted was to explain the three different propositions, and Dr. Blake was to explain the report.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Dr. Blake had consumed two and a half minutes—

Bishop McDowell: But Dr. Blake was asked to explain that report of the committee under the same consent that was given to Dr. Spencer, Dr. Penn, and Dr. Goucher, and I hardly think that Dr. Blake should be charged with the time consumed by these interruptions. I think Dr. Blake ought to have his full three minutes to explain the report of the committee.

Abram W. Harris: I rise to ask for the same thing.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Is there any objection? Without objection, Dr. Blake can proceed.

Rev. Edgar Blake: I have nothing further to say except to repeat that this recommendation comes before you from the Committee on Conferences after the most painstaking investigation of the subject, and it is the best that can be done as the Committee on Conferences sees the matter.

Joseph W. Van Cleve: A parliamentary inquiry.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): State it.

Joseph W. Van Cleve: I wish to ask, Does this amendment involve a recommitment to the committee?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Only one motion was made to recommit, and that was by Dr. Penn.

Rolla V. Watt: I certainly want to say—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Unless you have a question of order you are not in order.

Rolla V. Watt: I want to say that the latter kills it and this makes it alive.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): You are out of order. Let us confine ourselves to order. If you put a man in the chair—and this occupant has no special desire to continue in it—it is expected from every member on the floor that he will follow the Chair so long as the Chair keeps within the limits of parliamentary usage; and when the Chair announces that a member is out of order, it is the place of that member to be quiet unless he appeals and sustains his appeal. If you will adopt the motion of Dr. Spencer, lift your hands and hold them up until they have been counted by the Secretary. There are ten for and thirty against, and the motion is lost. Now if you will adopt the motion of Dr. Penn, hold up your hands—and against will hold up their hands—and the motion is lost by 10 to 25.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): In connection with this it

is necessary, that some of us may understand what we are doing, to know whether these proposed eight Regional Conferences include both the colored and white work.

John F. Goucher: I made the statement that it was distributed over the same area and the same work as the six.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Then it goes back to the six: Does the distribution in the six include both colored and white work?

Edgar Blake: No.

John F. Goucher: I can answer that it does not.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): And it does not in Dr. Blake's committee report. Now we will take the vote on Dr. Goucher's amendment for eight Regional Conferences.

A vote being taken, the amendment offered by Dr. Goucher was lost by 16 to 26.

Bishop Mouzon: I call for the yeas and nays on the taking of the next vote.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Those who will order the yeas and nays to be taken will please hold up their hands. A requisite number is shown, and the roll will be called.

The roll call resulted as follows: Ayes—Mouzon, Thomas, Young, Moore, Bishop, Chappell, Ivey, Watkins, Du Bose, Ainsworth, Lamar, Walton, Snyder, Maddin, Hyer, Reynolds, Blackwell, Pepper, White, Hines, Cranston, Blake, Goucher, Van Cleve, Wallace, Brown, Harris, Rogers, Simpson, Watt, Pollock. 31. Noes—Denny, Murrah, Reeves, Hamilton, McDowell, Leete, Cooke, Downey, Jones, Nast, Neff, Randall, Spencer, Kinne, Penn, Joy. 16.

Judge Robinson was excused from voting because he was not informed on the question.

A recapitulation was called for and was had, but the result stood as above.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): There were several of us to whom proxies were given at Savannah, but so far as I was personally concerned, having more proxies than any one else, I did not feel authorized to announce any proxy. I understood that was confined to Savannah, and I therefore announce that the motion is carried.

Bishop Cranston: The effect of this vote is to place the six Regional Conferences among the articles tentatively agreed upon.

Bishop Denny: That is the order of the Commission.

Bishop Cranston: It simply places the six Regional Conferences among the articles tentatively agreed upon.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That is the order of the Commission.

Henry W. Rogers: Is there anything before us?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): This report of the Committee on Conferences.

Henry W. Rogers: That is not concluded.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): No, it is not.

Edgar Blake: The next item is Subsection 4, at the top of page 3.

E. C. Reeves: Why not vote in separate order and settle the question once and for all?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We are now proceeding with Subsection 4, on the top of page 3 of this report, which reads as follows:

> Each Regional Conference may, in the exercise of the powers provided herein, make rules or regulations not contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church.

E. C. Reeves: I would like to have a finality on something.

Edgar Blake: The section now before us has already been tentatively approved, but when we examined the minutes of the meeting we found that they showed it was adopted in two forms One read as follows:

> No Regional Conference shall make any rule or regulation contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church.

That was one form; and the other form was, as I now recall, exactly as it is here. The committee recommends the present form, and I move its tentative acceptance.

The motion was seconded.

Bishop Cranston here took the chair as presiding officer and recognized Bishop Denny.

Bishop Denny: I move as an amendment that after the word "any" in the second line and before the word "rule" the word "constitutional" be inserted, so that the section will read:

> Each Regional Conference may, in the exercise of the powers provided herein, make rules or regulations not contrary to or in conflict with any constitutional rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church.

Otherwise, as I see it, the rights of the Regional Conferences are wholly in the hands of a majority of the General Conference, which has not been my understanding of the purpose of the Commission. If we insert the word "constitutional," that will confine the General Conference, so far as the Constitution is concerned, to constitutional questions and will not give to any majority of the General Conference at any time the right to sweep away anything in connection with the Regional Conferences. It seems to me to be a matter of protection.

John F. Goucher: I second this amendment.

Bishop Cooke: I am opposed to that for two reasons: First,

it prevents the General Conference from passing any statutory enactment; second, it confers all statutory powers upon the Regional Conferences. Therefore, outside of a few constitutional limitations, the Regional Conferences are clothed with almost absolute power.

Edgar Blake: Is the suggestion offered by Bishop Denny to prevent, or is it intended to prevent, the General Conference from exercising the powers granted to it under the Constitution?

Bishop Denny: No, it does not mean anything of the kind. It is only intended to prevent the General Conference from taking away the power of the Regional Conferences by a simple majority vote.

Edgar Blake: If the design is simply to hold the General Conference to the exercise of its powers under the Constitution, this amendment is not necessary, for the simple reason that we state here, "Each Regional Conference may, in the exercise of the powers provided herein, make rules and regulations"—but then we go on and say "not contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church." In other words, if the General Conference passes any rule in violation of the powers granted by the Constitution, the Judicial Council would stop it, so I don't see that this is necessary.

Henry W. Rogers: I agree fully with Dr. Blake. I do not see the necessity for this amendment, and I think we are needlessly spending time. If the General Conference undertakes to do what the Constitution prohibits, its action is null and void and of no effect, and there is nothing added by the proposed amendment.

Bishop Denny: Will the Commission allow me to say another word? The purpose of this is simply this—

Rolla V. Watt: I rise to a point of order. The Bishop was very careful about that while in the Chair. The rule was adopted yesterday that we should speak only once on a subject.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The Secretary will read that rule.

Bishop Hamilton: I hope by unanimous consent Bishop Denny will be allowed to speak.

Bishop Denny: I only want to be within the order.

Rolla V. Watt: I gladly agree to the unanimous consent for Bishop Denny to speak. I was simply calling attention to the rule.

Bishop Denny: This is simply a protection. No harm can possibly be done by the insertion of a word. I think some protection is given by inserting it. It seems to me it will be a protection. We know very well that every legislative body has a

tendency to encroach upon its powers and to pass over the lines strictly laid down for it. To state that we have a Judicial Council that will meet this situation is simply to state that there may be a necessity for it. In answer to Bishop Cooke's statement that this would prevent any statutory enactment, let me say my purpose is simply this, to see that whatever powers are conferred on the Regional Conferences shall be protected in the Regional Conferences. The Regional Conferences cannot encroach on the General Conference, and my amendment makes it impossible for the General Conference to encroach on the constitutional powers of the Regional Conferences; and I repeat, if there be no necessity for it according to the statement of Judge Rogers, nothing is lost by the insertion of it. But I claim that there is a protection in it, because we have had evidences again and again of the General Conference encroaching on the Constitution. Whatever may be the case in your Church, we have already discovered it in ours, in spite of the fact that we have a method by which we ought to be able to check that. But even the best men are sometimes guilty of oversight. Now, we have left very few powers to the Regional Conferences. Those powers relate to matters that lie very close to the hearts of the people living in the various regions. They want to see that these powers are completely protected. They want to know that they are not going to be encroached upon at any time by a bare majority of the General Conference that cannot for a moment understand how close those powers are, and the insertion of this word will give to the proposed Judicial Council the right constantly to pass on the question whether any action by a simple majority of the General Conference is an encroachment on the constitutional privileges of the Regional Conferences. If we are to pass this thing through our Churches, we must make them secure in the conviction that all the constitutional provisions granted at the beginning to these Regional Conferences are to be preserved, and are not to be left, as I repeat, simply at the mercy of a majority vote of the members of the General Conference. It seems to me there is a necessity for this. If it be not necessary, and I am mistaken in that, there is still wisdom in it.

Bishop Cooke: By inserting the word "constitutional," as suggested by Bishop Denny, you necessarily limit the General Conference to constitutional questions. Therefore you put a prohibition on the General Conference from going outside of such questions, and it makes it absolutely unconstitutional for the General Conference to pass a statutory law. That, therefore, clothes these Regional Conferences with powers which the General Conference does not possess—that is, the powers to pass all statutory enactments; and a Regional Con-

ference may do anything it pleases without regard to what other Regional Conferences do, so far as it does not violate a few restrictive rules within the power of the General Conference. For that reason, by inserting the word "constitutional," and excluding all other powers of legislation, we get this into a shape that at least a good many of us do not want to be in.

John J. Wallace: I think there is a little deeper question involved than we have yet touched upon in this matter. In Subsection 2, under "Powers," we say:

> Subject to the limitations and restrictions of this constitution, each Regional Conference shall have full legislative power over all distinctly Regional affairs within its area, including the power to fix the boundaries of Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions, etc.

There is the granting of legislative power to the Regional Conferences. Subsection 4 is a re-granting of large powers. Instead of being an inhibition, it is a grant of power. We are giving the Regional Conferences power to do anything that is not contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church, and I submit that this section, with this amendment, should be transferred to Section 2, under "Powers," and should follow Subsection 2. That would make this a simple inhibition or limitation on the power that we have already granted, which we do not need to grant in this section at all, and that would cover the other question.

Bishop McDowell: I appeal to the memories of Dr. Blake and Mr. Simpson. I think what Dr. Wallace has proposed was the purpose for which this was put in, and the place of it is immaterial.

Edgar Blake: May I call attention to this, that this does not appear to be a grant of new powers to the Regional Conferences? There is one phrase that covers that: "Each Regional Conference may in the exercise of the powers provided herein," which powers are those read by Dr. Wallace and also those set forth in paragraph 3. This is no grant of new power, but simply says that in the exercise of the "powers granted herein"; and, so far as I am concerned, I have no objection to either form, but I think the matter is perfectly safeguarded in the form in which it is now.

Bishop McDowell: I understand that Dr. Wallace moves simply that this be put in a certain place. He does not move any change in language. Is that correct, Dr. Wallace?

John J. Wallace: Yes, although I think the words "each Regional Conference may elect" and "the powers provided herein" would go out as being unnecessary and subject to misinterpretation.

Edgar Blake: You can change the form from a negative to

an affirmative and provide that "no Regional Conference shall make any rule or regulation contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church" and let it stand where Section 4 stands now, at the close of the section.

John J. Wallace: That is all right.

J. W. Van Cleve: I would like to move as a substitute for this Subsection 4 the negative form: "No Regional Conference shall pass any rule or regulation contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church."

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Is that substitute seconded?

It was seconded.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The substitute is before you.

J. W. Van Cleve: I think the objection made by Dr. Wallace is a perfectly valid objection and that one of the most fruitful sources of discord is to be found in local regulations which are somewhat indefinite in their interpretation and capable of various meanings. This would seem to be an extension of power. Here are certain powers granted in the original statement, "To make rules and regulations." It doesn't seem to be necessary to repeat that, but it is open to the statement that, while this is not exactly a carrying out of the regulations of these particular things that are specified, it is something necessary to carry out what is specified. Any one who is familiar with the history of legislation and of decisions upon legislation will know how often that question is raised. Of course, his power is not directly granted, but it is implied, etc., and a difference of opinion develops. Some people say it is not implied and, not being expressly granted, the interpretation will depend on the individual standpoint. It may be local, it may be exceptional, and you have opened the way, it seems to me, for a wide divergence of opinion; and it will be exactly the same if you introduce the word "constitutional" in the statement we have here.

Bishop Collins Denny here took the chair.

Edgar Blake: A number of the members of the Committee on Conferences are willing to accept the negative form proposed by Dr. Wallace and Dr. Van Cleve. I think there is no objection to it.

David G. Downey: How would it read?

Edgar Blake: "No Regional Conference shall in the exercise of the powers provided herein make any rule or regulation contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church."

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Is there any objection to this section as thus read?

There was no objection.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That being accepted by the Committee, it becomes the report of the Committee and the vote will be on the amendment to Subsection 4.

Frank M. Thomas: It seems to me we ought to be very careful here. These Regional Conferences are supposed to have a measure of local autonomy. It is provided for in a way in Subsection 2, and you have set forth that it may have certain grants of power not contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church. That is a grant of powers limited. Now, you are putting it in the negative form. It strikes me there is a considerable difference there between saying that a person may do certain things under certain conditions and then saying that he must not do certain things under certain conditions. One is a charter of liberty and the other is a mandatory act, that he shall not. If you are going to guard the Regional Conferences closely (and I think that is right), the General Conference itself should be guarded closely. You will find at the close of the provisions regarding the General Conference you have not the negative, but a direct statement to govern all matters of a connectional character. And if the General Conference violates the Constitution of the Church, the only recourse is an appeal to the Judicial Council, and the Judicial Council may disapprove the act of the General Conference, and then the General Conference may disapprove of the decision of the Judicial Council and refer it to the Annual Conferences. It strikes me if you are going to put a negative in the one section you ought to put it in the other.

Henry W. Rogers: I move the previous question.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Without objection, the question will be taken.

Bishop Murrah: Does that refer to the amendment offered by you?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): It covers the whole question.

Bishop Cranston: Was the amendment offered by Bishop Denny seconded?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): It was seconded by Dr. Goucher.

Bishop Murrah: I would like to say a few words.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Is there any objection to hearing Bishop Murrah?

There was none.

Bishop Murrah: I am in favor of the motion made by Bishop Denny, for this reason: It may not be necessary, but I am very

deeply concerned about the matter of our action here being ratified. I do not want our action here to be a vain thing; and while none of us is prepared to diagnose the situation with absolute accuracy, I suppose we are all more or less influenced by what we think will be the effect on our constituents. I think, as far as the immediate section of the country with which I am most familiar is concerned, there is going to be a very decided objection to a large number of Regional Conferences. We do not want to make any objection to anything that may be done. It has been determined, as far as it can be determined here, that there shall be six Regional Conferences. I believe it will be very helpful if we can show that we are throwing around these Regional Conferences every possible safeguard, and for that reason I believe it will be a helpful thing to adopt the amendment made by Bishop Denny.

Bishop Cranston: Without discussing the details of your actions concerning Regional Conferences, I want to say this, and it comes just now pertinently as suggested by the remarks of Bishop Murrah: Every time you introduce the word "constitutional" you necessarily invite a special criticism. I think the feeling in both Churches is that this complicated machinery is largely due to a lack of confidence between the two Commissions, or between the two Churches, if you please. As I read the minds of both Churches, what we want is a Church reorganized, unified, with as few statements, prolonged discussions, and suspicions as possible, just as few as may be possible; and to put the word "constitutional" here repeatedly is every time to call for a threat on the part of somebody antagonistic to the proposition to raise the question of constitutionality then and there, and whenever that is done it does detract from the merits of the debate on the real value of the question before the house. Any divergence is a distraction, and any distraction at a time when some important question is pending is a detriment to the efficiency of the whole body, a General Conference or any other body. Now let us trust each other a little more fully. It is written here that the Regional Conference may legislate in conformity with the Constitution. That is all you need, is it not? Whenever there is an attempt to go outside of that, is it not sufficient to call attention to that provision of the Constitution and invoke the action of the Judicial Council? Now, remember, brethren, by this unfavorable repetition looking toward protection, you give men who are opposed to any matter—for instance, to the Regional Conference idea—a place to hang an objection and to make an appeal to a spirit which, though prevalent in both Churches, I am sorry to say is not worthy of a place in our attempt under God's guidance to bring together these two great bodies of Methodists.

Bishop Mouzon: Unless the Commission gives me consent, I cannot speak. What is the motion before us?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The question is on the amendment— I beg pardon, I had overlooked the fact that there was a motion for the previous question.

Bishop Mouzon: I would like to say a word or two before this goes to a vote.

Bishop McDowell: Judge Rogers moved the previous question when nobody desired the floor, then Bishop Murrah was given the floor, and I am sure there is no objection to hearing Bishop Mouzon.

Henry W. Rogers: The previous question has not been put.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): No, but that was the fault of the Chair.

Henry W. Rogers: I withdraw the motion then.

Bishop Mouzon: When Bishop Denny first proposed his amendment, it appealed to me and I saw no objection to it whatever. It appealed to me, because it seemed to guard the rights and privileges of the Regional Conferences. But further consideration reveals the fact that there is great danger in what he proposes. The paragraph as now presented to us by the Committee reads:

> No Regional Conference shall in the exercise of the powers provided herein make rules or regulations contrary to or in conflict with any rules or regulations made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church.

"Of the connectional affairs of the Church"—I emphasize that. The General Conference will make many rules for the control of the connectional affairs of the Church. I think the opinion is general that the Constitution of the Church should be as small as it safely can be. We do not intend to write a Constitution as long as the Constitution of the State of Oklahoma. Now, if you say that your Regional Conference "in the exercise of its power shall make any rules or regulations in conflict with any constitutional rule or regulation," then you give to your Regional Conferences the power to make rules and regulations that are in conflict with the statutory provisions of your General Conference. If you definitely say they shall not make rules or regulations that conflict with your Constitution, then it is implied that they may make rules and regulations that are in conflict with the legislative acts of your General Conference.

Bishop Denny: Pardon me, but not by law; as Judge Rogers can tell you, such a thing would not be legal, if you will excuse me.

Bishop Mouzon: Certainly I will excuse you; but many will be saying just what I am saying, and we do need clarification in this unified Church. I shall not vote for the amendment.

Henry W. Rogers: Now I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): If you will adopt the amendment, say "Aye"—and contrary "No"—and the amendment is lost.

W. N. Ainsworth: What amendment was that?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The one I offered.

W. N. Ainsworth: Did not Brother Van Cleve offer an amendment?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That was accepted by the Committee.

George Warren Brown: I did not so understand it.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): My amendment was that we insert between the words "with" and "any," in the second line of that bold-faced type, the word "constitutional."

Alexander Simpson, Jr.: It was between the words "any" and "rule."

The vote was again taken on the amendment offered by Bishop Denny and was declared lost.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The vote will now be on Subsection 4 as it now stands:

> No Regional Conference shall in the exercise of the powers provided herein make any rule or regulation contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church.

What is the use of having those words "contrary to or"? Would not the words "in conflict with" cover the whole thing? However, I will put the vote.

A vote being taken, the section as read was agreed to.

H. M. Du Bose: I beg respectfully to submit a suggestion touching the method of procedure; and I lay emphasis on the word "respectfully." We are adopting this instrument by items and adopting it tentatively. I beg to suggest and to crave the indulgence of the body that we offer as few amendments as we possibly can. When we come to adopt this paper, we shall have opportunity to correct these minor things; so let us move as rapidly as we can and get through the tentative adoption of this before we adjourn. In my youthful years and in the presence of such experienced gentlemen, I hesitate to make that suggestion.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): What is the next question?

A. F. Watkins: Is it not necessary to adopt the item as amended?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): It was not amended.

A. F. Watkins: Was not the word "connectional" put in there?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): No, sir; it was adopted just as passed.

Edgar Blake: What was the form of Bishop Mouzon's motion on which we are acting?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): To complete this report of the Committee on Conferences.

Edgar Blake: Then turn to page 8.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): What about page 6?

Edgar Blake: That is not the report of the Committee on Conferences. It is the report of the Special Committee of Eight. It was suggested by the speaker that we would take up the unfinished items in order, and that would now bring us to the next unfinished item on page 6; but the action was that we should complete the report of the Committee on Conferences, which would bring us to Article 8. Now what is the pleasure of the Commission?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We are proceeding under the vote of yesterday, that we are to complete the report of the Committee on Conferences.

Edgar Blake: Very well. Article IX., Section 1. Let me say concerning this item that at our meeting in Traverse City this item was tentatively accepted by the Joint Commission in a slightly modified form. The form in which it was adopted at Traverse City provided that the General Conference shall be composed of one minister and one lay delegate for each 14,000 members of each Regional Jurisdiction. That is to say, it provided that the membership of the General Conference should be distributed among the Regional Conferences on the basis of their membership, providing that each Regional Conference should be entitled to two delegates in the General Conference for each 14,000 members or fractional two-thirds thereof, and the number of delegates to which the Regional Conference was entitled should be apportioned among the Annual Conferences in accordance with their membership. Your Committee attempted to apply that principle of first granting to the Regional Jurisdiction the number of delegates to which it was entitled and then seeking to apportion those among the Annual Conferences. We found great difficulty in the application of that principle and we proposed this as a much simpler form and we provide that

The General Conference shall be composed:

(*a*) Of one ministerial and one lay delegate from and elected by each Annual Conference within each Regional Jurisdiction for each 14,000 Church members in full connection, or fraction of two-thirds thereof; provided, that each Annual Conference shall be entitled to elect at least one ministerial and one lay delegate; and provided, further, that the total number of delegates elected from a Regional Jurisdiction shall not be less than 100.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We are now proceeding under the five-minute rule.

A. F. Watkins: Before the Doctor goes farther I call attention to the fact that that Article VIII. ought to be Article IX.

Edgar Blake: That is correct. I now move the tentative adoption of this Subsection A.

David G. Downey: State again the difference between this and what we adopted at Traverse City.

Edgar Blake: At Traverse City we provided that each foreign Jurisdiction should be entitled to two delegates for each 14,000 in full connection. That would give the first Conference 140. Then we provided that that 140 should be distributed and apportioned among the Annual Conferences of the Jurisdiction in proportion to their membership, provided always that each Annual Conference should be entitled to at least two delegates. We found great difficulty in the application of that.

E. B. Chappell: Not one of us could find out how many delegates there would be.

David G. Downey: Then you do not limit the total number in the General Conference?

Edgar Blake: That comes later in Subsection 2.

Rolla V. Watt: I would like to ask the Committee, what is the purpose of limiting the membership from any region to one hundred?

Edgar Blake: The reason for that was this: You have provided elsewhere, as I now recall, that the delegates from the Jurisdictional General Conferences should constitute the Regional Conferences for the district and should have the authority and power to elect bishops for the district and also have legislative control of all the regional affairs, and it was felt that less than one hundred delegates was too few a number to be intrusted with so important a duty.

Rolla V. Watt: Doesn't it work out in more than 100 for every region?

Edgar Blake: Yes.

Rolla V. Watt: I move to strike out that part, "And provided, further, that the total number of delegates elected from the Regional Jurisdiction shall not be less than 100."

The motion was seconded.

Rolla V. Watt: The reason I propose that that shall be stricken out is that it would give undue representation in the smaller Regional Conferences, and so long as the matter is practically taken care of we can let it go. There is no reason why any one Conference should have a larger representation. It seems to be a qualification not necessary or advisable, and I hope you will strike those words out.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): My understanding is that

all after the word "delegates" is to be stricken out in Subsection A.

Edgar Blake: We have provided elsewhere in this document that the General Conferences shall have power, with the consent of the Regional Conferences, to change their boundaries or areas, and shall have power to change their boundaries or areas without their consent, with the concurrence of two successive General Conferences. It is quite probable that these Conference boundaries will need to be changed, and as the Church grows new Regional Jurisdictions will have to be provided. We have provided that no new Regional Jurisdiction shall be created with less than 500,000 members.

Rolla V. Watt: Your plan will give more influence to the smaller than to the larger Conferences.

Edgar Blake: No. It seemed to your committee that you have to provide a sufficient number of delegates in those Regional Conferences to entitle them to the exercise of the greatest powers. In other words, on the basis of one hundred, then 51 men decide the quality and the acts of the body. I don't see how anybody would be satisfied to have fewer than that control your affairs.

W. N. Ainsworth: A question for information: Suppose you had a Regional area that would elect eighty delegates to the General Conference on this Annual Conference basis of representation, how would you provide the additional twenty to get that one hundred?

Edgar Blake: That would not be difficult. For instance, you would permit each Annual Conference to elect two delegates for each 14,000 or fractional two-thirds, providing each Annual Conference shall be entitled to at least two. If after you have done that your total is eighty, you have ten ministers and ten laymen to elect, and you have to allot the election of those to the ten Annual Conferences having the largest excess over the 14,000.

W. N. Ainsworth: That does not make that clear.

Edgar Blake: No, but that matter can be covered by statutory enactment and does not need to be in the Constitution.

Rolla V. Watt: That is a very good point.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Are you ready to vote on the amendment offered by Brother Watt? The amendment is that in Subsection A of Article IX. we strike out all the words after the word "delegates." That is the whole proviso.

A vote being taken, the amendment was lost.

A further vote being taken, Subsection A was adopted tentatively.

Edgar Blake: The next provision is:

(*b*) And five ministerial and five lay delegates from and elected by each Central Conference.

This is put in with the report of the Committee on the Status of the Colored Membership, and will come up elsewhere. I do not know whether you want it taken up now or whether you want to delay consideration until you come to the other question.

David G. Downey: It does not seem to me that we can take it up now. It ought to be delayed until we take up the question of the Status of the Negro in the Reorganized Church. A vote on this would prejudge that.

Edgar Blake: I move that we defer action on Subsection (b).

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Edgar Blake: The next is:

(2) The numerical basis of representation of the Regional and Central Conferences in the General Conference may be changed by the General Conference; provided, that the General Conference shall not be composed of less than 650 nor more than 850 ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers.

I think that section was also tentatively accepted at Traverse City, except that we find in working out our numbers for the General Conference that the minimum number in the General Conference under your proposed action would be 650. Therefore we changed the original act at Traverse City, which read "not less than 600 nor more than 800," to "not less than 650 nor more than 850." It is a change of 50 in the minimum and maximum number of delegates.

John M. Moore: I raise the question of the change of the Central Conference—hadn't we already fixed that?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That has not been adopted.

John M. Moore: But we have intimated that we will adopt something that will make a fixed rate as far as the representation of the Central Conferences in the General Conference is concerned, and then the General Conference is not given the power to make that change, as I understand it. It seems to me that the words "and Central Conferences" should be stricken out.

Bishop McDowell: There is a possible provision that Dr. Moore calls attention to and that Dr. Blake, I think, will agree to accept.

Edgar Blake: You mean as to whether you want to fix the number of the representatives from the Central Conferences in the Constitution beyond the power of the General Conference to change? Is that the question?

John M. Moore: We do provide in the Constitution that each of the Central Conferences shall have a certain representation in the General Conference, and we provide for a way of bring-

ing in that representation. Then there is no way of changing that basis, because it is a part of the Constitution; and you cannot leave it to the General Conference to change that basis, because it is in the Constitution.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Is it not "not exceeding" a certain number?

Frank M. Thomas: We have just passed over paragraph (b), fixing five ministerial and five lay delegates from and elected by each Central Conference. That was deferred.

Edgar Blake: In order to avoid discussion, let me suggest the elimination of the Central Conference for the time being. If you decide upon a fixed number for the numerical representation of Central Conferences in the Annual Conferences, it ought not to be changed; but if you provide for proportional representation or a sliding scale, that representation ought to be affected as the membership of the Church fluctuates, as the membership from the Regional Conferences is affected. I suggest that we omit this reference to the Central Conference for the time being and adopt the rest tentatively.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Then the words "and Central Conferences" are stricken out temporarily.

A vote being taken, the rest of this section was tentatively agreed to.

Edgar Blake: The third section reads as follows:

(3) The ministerial delegates from an Annual Conference shall be elected by the ministerial members of the Annual Conference, and the lay delegates by the lay members of the same.

I move the tentative approval of paragraph 3 of Section 1.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Edgar Blake: The next section reads as follows:

(4) The ministerial delegates from a Central Conference shall be elected by the ministerial members of the Central Conference, and the lay delegates by the lay members of the same.

I move the approval of that.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Edgar Blake: The next item is at the bottom of page 10:

(11) To consider and, if deemed wise, to disapprove of the decisions of the Judicial Council upon any constitutional question and to require its submission to the members of the Annual Conferences, the decision of a majority of whom, present and voting, shall be final thereon.

John M. Moore: It is my opinion that that article should not be adopted until we have passed on the powers of the Judicial Council. I think this will not be necessary when we give a proper statement to the powers of the Judicial Council. I am

opposed to the adoption of this section at this time, and I wish it could be held up until we take action on the Judicial Council.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I move that it be deferred.

The motion was seconded.

Edgar Blake: To get along as fast as we can, let us tentatively adopt this, and then if we find that it is necessary to reconsider it we will do so.

John M. Moore: I agree with that.

Edgar Blake: I move its tentative approval.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Does the committee object to the insertion of the word "several" after the word "the" at the end of the first line on page 11?

Edgar Blake: No, we do not object to that.

By unanimous consent this change was made.

J. W. Van Cleve: I would like to move this amendment: That in place of the word "majority" we put the words "two-thirds": "The decision of two-thirds of those present and voting shall be final thereon."

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Is that amendment seconded?

Charles A. Pollock: I second it.

J. W. Van Cleve: I am a little doubtful of the wisdom of submitting a decision of the Judicial Council, men specially selected for a particular duty, to a referendum and allow a bare majority to overturn it. I think a decision of the Judicial Council ought to have a stronger standing than will permit it to be overturned by a majority. It ought to require two-thirds of the popular vote of the Church to override the action of the Judicial Council.

Edwin M. Randall: I wish to second that. The overruling of a decision of the Judicial Council should never amount to an amendment to the Constitution. An amendment can only be made in regular order by a two-thirds vote; and inasmuch as the overruling of a decision will practically amount to judicial legislation, as we may call it, an amendment to the Constitution, I believe it should be on a parity with the other method of amendment.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I am not so eager about the amendment. I don't think it is based on sound grounds. We know that when a question comes from a Judicial Council, if a careful consideration of that body reaches a practically unanimous decision on that question, it goes before the Annual Conferences with a force and power back of it which would carry it through under almost any and every circumstance; and ought to. But suppose the question comes from a decision of the Judicial Council by a majority vote of one: Are you going to have the majority vote of one of the Judicial Council require two-thirds of all the membership of the Annual Conferences voting to overturn that?

In other words, are we not getting a long way from the democratic constitution? Is it not our desire to keep things steady, so that the Constitution of the Church shall not be altered in any way, but that it shall still be subject to the action of the body of the Church? If the amendment covers that, that a unanimous or practically unanimous vote should require two-thirds of the action of the members of the Church, I would assent to it. I think that would be reasonable; but I don't think a single vote in the Judicial Council should be equivalent practically to one-third of the membership of the whole Church or should require one-third of the membership of the whole Church to override it.

George Warren Brown: I would prefer to trust a bare majority of the Judicial Council rather than a bare majority of the General Conference.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: This is the Annual Conferences.

George Warren Brown: Or the Annual Conferences. And, therefore, I am in favor of requiring a two-thirds majority to override the action of the Judicial Council.

Edgar Blake: The question is as to whether you want to amend the Constitution by a judicial decision. That is really the question. We have our fundamental law. Now, the question is whether you want to amend it by a judicial decision, and that is what this amendment offered by Dr. Van Cleve will provide.

J. W. Van Cleve: I think that is a mistake. It appears to me that the effect would be rather to prevent the amendment of the Constitution by a judicial decision.

Edgar Blake: I would like to point out this to my friend Dr. Van Cleve, that when you require a constitutional majority to override a judicial decision you are giving that judicial decision the authority of fundamental law. Am I not right in that? In other words, your motion provides just the opposite to what you intend to accomplish. Now the question comes as to the interpretation of the Constitution. The committee suggests that when it comes to the interpretation of the constitutional or fundamental law the final authority ought to be a majority of the body elected.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Not a majority of the General Conference.

Edgar Blake: Not a majority of the General Conference. I think that is a safe way.

E. C. Reeves: The decision of the Judicial Council is not an amendment to the constitutional law, but simply tells us what the Constitution is.

J. W. Van Cleve: Let us come down to a concrete case. Suppose a constitutional question is raised. It is decided by the Judicial Council, and the General Conference dissents by a two-

thirds majority. Then the majority of the Annual Conferences may approve that judicial decision, and that actually does become the law of the Church; and being on a constitutional question a part of the fundamental law of the Church, until that decision is overruled by somebody you have something that becomes a part of your fundamental law for which only a bare majority of the Annual Conferences has voted. I do not think that ought to be possible. I do not think it should be possible for anybody to say that a judicial decision should become part of the organic law of the Church until it has had the sanction of two-thirds of the General Conference and two-thirds of the Annual Conferences.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Suppose the entire membership of the General Conference did not agree with the majority—say a majority of one of the Judicial Councils and sixty-five per cent of the Annual Conferences agreed with the General Conference: Is it not true that the action of the Judicial Council by a majority of one would be fixed in the Constitution of the Church on that point?

J. W. Van Cleve: A majority of one in the Judicial Council?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Yes, as against the entire General Conference and sixty-five per cent of the Annual Conferences.

J. W. Van Cleve: I think it requires two-thirds of the Judicial Council present and voting to pass on constitutional matters.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Let us see. I will read from Section 9 of the Judicial Council:

> Two-thirds of the Judicial Council shall constitute a quorum. Constitutional matters shall be decided by a majority vote of the entire Judicial Council.

So you see it does not say two-thirds of the Judicial Council.

J. W. Van Cleve: I stand corrected on that particular point.

Edwin M. Randall: In order to have clearly before us the point I wish to make in support of Dr. Van Cleve's motion to amend, we must keep in mind the procedure. We will begin with an enactment of the General Conference that would come under review of the Judicial Council. There will be no appeal from any action of the Judicial Council except in setting aside an enactment of the General Conference. The General Conference will then dissent from the setting aside of its act. In the judgment of the Judicial Council that act of the General Conference will be unconstitutional. It will be like many a law which is passed in accordance with the current wish of the Church—a popular demand, but contrary to what is permitted by the Constitution in the judgment of our judicial experts. Now usually I think, as to the constitutionality, the Judicial Council will be undoubtedly right; and if that enactment of

the General Conference is to stand against the judgment of the Judicial Council it will ordinarily amount to a modification of the Constitution to uphold that enactment. Therefore, I believe it ought to require a two-thirds vote of the members of the Annual Conferences in order to uphold an enactment of the General Conference against the judgment of the Judicial Council.

Henry W. Rogers: I simply want to go on record as expressing the opinion that this entire provision is absolutely wrong. The Church ought to take the position that the State takes. The decision of its judicial tribunal should be final and conclusive. Submitting a judicial decision to a popular vote has been absolutely destroyed and put to one side as unworthy of consideration so far as the judicial tribunal of the State is concerned. That question has been discussed over and over again in the American Bar Association, and every time the American Bar Association has gone on record as absolutely opposed to any submission of judicial decisions to a popular vote. If there is anything in a judicial tribunal, it consists in being so constituted that it can decide legal questions. You cannot decide legal questions by a popular vote, and I wish the whole thing could be revised, because we are on the wrong track in having any such provision at all.

George Warren Brown: Will you make a motion to that effect?

Henry W. Rogers: I am willing to make the motion that this subject be recommitted to the Committee.

George Warren Brown: I second the motion.

Edgar Blake: I hope you will not recommit. I hope you will vote it up or down. It is the principal thing involved here. I quite appreciate the force of what Judge Rogers has said concerning the attitude of the Bar Association, indeed the attitude of the legal profession as a whole; but the question comes here in the interpreting of the fundamental law of the Church, and it seemed to the Committee that it would be wise to make the body elected, twenty-five or thirty thousand laymen who will make up that body—that it was wise to give them the final say on what should be the interpretation of the fundamenal law of the organization. Don't recommit this. Vote it up or down and settle it.

Ira E. Robinson: I simply rise to join with Judge Rogers in his admonition. I don't think we should put in the organic law of the Church the power of the people to override a judicial decision. We have in the two branches of the Methodist Church great lawyers who are able to decide constitutional questions that arise in the Church; and if this provision is to be left in here at all, I greatly favor the amendment requiring a two-thirds vote to reverse the judgment of the Judicial Council.

Bishop Hoss took the chair as presiding officer.

Henry W. Rogers: May I suggest that I withdraw the motion to recommit? and if you will permit me I move that this particular provision be disapproved of.

The motion was seconded.

Bishop Denny: I want to say a word before that is put. Here are two-thirds: In the first place there is an analogy offered where no analogy exists, and yet the analogy is given in order to lay down a great constitutional principle. Here is an example, on the other side, of technically trained men, when they get out of the range in which they are trained, going astray. What is the analogy here? There is not one of you who does not apply it to the theologian, and you understand how it can be applied to the lawyer. What is the condition of things on which Judge Rogers bases his statement? No judge is put on the bench in these United States, and ought not to be put on the bench in any State, who is not technically trained in the law. Therefore, to say that men who have had no technical training should be allowed by referendum to overturn what has been determined by technically trained and especially trained men is one thing. What have we done with the Judicial Council? We will presume that you have taken some of the best men you have and put them on the Judicial Council. Every one of them may be incompetent, but they are the Judicial Council. In the next place you take not less than 100 men out of each Regional Conference for membership in your General Conference. Every one of them is disqualified from service on your Judicial Council. You have left for service in the Judicial Council, not the best men, but only the remnants; and then we have in the Judicial Council—and with this I thoroughly disagree—the wholly untrained men, specially chosen for judicial work, and their decisions you say should not be overturned by a body of men of better training. It is perfectly clear to me that the analogy doesn't hold. If we are going to continue the Judicial Council on the basis on which we place it, surely we ought to be able to say that a bare majority of that Judicial Council shall not be able to determine the Constitution of the Church, and the analogy does not hold, and these brethren have been led astray by putting the thing on a false basis.

Charles A. Pollock: I move as a substitute for all that is before us now that this section under consideration be indefinitely postponed.

Bishop Denny resumed the chair as presiding officer.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Is a motion for indefinite postponement subject to debate? First, the motion was not seconded.

Bishop Hoss: I take great pleasure in seconding that motion

of Judge Pollock's. I think this whole machinery is out of place. We do not need it. It won't work, and the sooner we get rid of the idea that it will work the better it will be for all of us. I am getting along toward the point where I am about to retire from the College of Bishops.

Charles A. Pollock: I think possibly the Bishop misunderstood me. My motion is simply to postpone indefinitely this section.

Bishop Hoss: Oh, you didn't propose to indefinitely postpone the Judicial Council? I will still agree with you. I will vote for your motion; but there is one motion I would rather vote for than your motion, and that is to kill it.

David G. Downey: I think we ought to go a little slow on this matter of either putting aside this section or indefinitely postponing it. I have no question at all as to the legitimacy of the argument made by Judge Rogers and Mr. Robinson in the realm of strictly legal affairs; but when we come to the consideration of Church matters, I do not think we can follow exactly the principles of courts.

Ira E. Robinson: Will you permit a correction? Is not the Judicial Council made up of technically trained men, Church lawyers and civil lawyers, as capable of dealing with the affairs of the Church as the men on the civil bench are capable of dealing with civil affairs?

David G. Downey: I question that, in view of what Bishop Denny pointed out as to whether we will get just the right kind of men. There will have to be a good deal of sacrifice on the part of ministers and laymen who prefer membership in the General Conference to membership on this Judicial Council. But the point I make is, we ought to form a constitution for a democratic Church. We ought not to be tying ourselves up to a little autocratic body with practically absolute power. Now, if you cut this out or indefinitely postpone it, you make it possible for the Judicial Council finally to settle things. I believe that the apprehension is that the final authority may run down to the laity and ministers; and it may be very possible that we would get a decision from a Judicial Council which would be legally accurate, but which would run counter to the great desires of the rank and file of the Church and might stand in the way of progress. Therefore, I am in favor of this provision or some similar provision that will make it possible for a decision of the Judicial Council to be in a sense reviewed by the General Council and the entire membership of the Church voting as a Constitution-making body. The power of making a Constitution inheres in us, not in the General Conference alone, and not in the Judicial Council alone, but in the General Conference plus the laity plus the ministers, and I believe we ought

to have the right to review the exceptional cases which will be called for.

Rolla V. Watt: While I agree absolutely with the conclusions of Bishop Denny, I could not follow his argument, because I believe there are just as able ministers who have not been elected bishops as those who have been elected bishops; and, further, I think there are just as able ministers and laymen who have never been elected to the General Conference as those who have been elected.

A. W. Harris: Oh, no, no.

Rolla V. Watt: Therefore, I think there is plenty of material in the Church for constituting this body.

Bishop Denny: Evidently the Commission agrees with you so far as the bishops are concerned.

Rolla V. Watt: I would be sorry to have this section taken out, and I believe in a majority vote. I believe people can be trusted. They are entitled to be trusted. I believe when you send a measure down to the Conferences you get the opinion of the whole Church. The ministers of the Church study these things more carefully than the laymen, but nevertheless these matters are studied and the decisions are generally correct.

Bishop Cooke: I believe it would be an exceedingly dangerous thing to take this out of this place.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The motion is to recommit.

Alexander Simpson, Jr.: No, the motion was for an indefinite postponement.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Thank you. There is nothing more important than to have proper checks. To take this out and to leave no checks at all upon the decision of the Judicial Council would be to give such power to the Judicial Council that in a very short time the Church would be in trouble. On the other hand, it would put the General Conference in a situation anomalous to that in England and to some places in this country where they give the body that passes the laws the power to judge of the constitutionality of its own enactments. To take this out takes away the power of the General Conference to supervise the decisions of the Judicial Council. Proper checks and balances demand that this stay in, that the Judicial Council shall recognize that there is another power above it, and that the General Conference, in case of division, shall send it down to the people, the source of all power, to know what they want; therefore, with due regard to Judge Pollock, I think the motion to postpone indefinitely should not be carried.

A vote being taken, the motion of Judge Pollock was declared lost.

A further vote being taken on the motion of Dr. Van Cleve,

to insert "two-thirds" instead of "a majority," the same was carried by a vote of 29 to 12.

A further vote being taken, the section as amended was agreed to.

Frank M. Thomas: I want to call attention to the fact that Dr. Van Cleve's motion was in line with the suggestion of the Committee of Nine.

Edgar Blake: The next item is found on page 16, Article XI.

Bishop Mouzon: Before you pass that I should like to ask a question. On page 11, under "Restrictions," the printer didn't get his English exactly right: "(2) The General Conference shall not change nor alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away with episcopacy, nor to do away with an itinerant general superintendency." Why is that changed from the reading of the restrictive rule as now?

Edgar Blake: Does that change the present restrictive rule?

Bishop Mouzon: Yes, and they have "nor" instead of "or."

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Don't quibble over that; there is authority both ways.

Bishop Hoss: There is another difference, "an itinerant general superintendency."

Bishop Mouzon: The rule reads, "shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away with episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." And that word "plan" has been one of the most important words in it, and I should like for it to stay there. The original restrictive rule did not simply say "a plan of itinerant general superintendency," but "our plan."

Edgar Blake: These matters of infelicity in the use of words will be corrected by a committee to be appointed for that purpose.

Bishop Mouzon: But I rise to call your attention to the fact that this is far more than an infelicity in the use of the English language. In this one of the most important constitutional matters before us is involved.

Edgar Blake: That would involve a reconsideration of the item, which I hope will not be done at this time. Let us get through and then go back and consider any of these matters—just defer the matter for a moment.

Bishop Mouzon: I am entirely willing to defer it, if it only finally comes up.

Edgar Blake: The next is Article XI., on page 16:

ARTICLE XI. AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. The recommendation of two-thirds of all the members of the several Annual Conferences present and voting shall suffice to authorize the next ensuing General Conference by a two-thirds vote of its members present and voting to alter or amend any of the provisions of

this Constitution; and also, whenever such alteration or amendment shall have been first recommended by a General Conference, by a two-thirds vote of its members present and voting, then so soon as two-thirds of all the members of the several Annual Conferences present and voting shall have concurred therein, provided that such concurrence shall take place previous to the meeting of the next ensuing General Conference, such alteration or amendment shall take effect; and the result of the vote shall be announced by the general superintendents.

Recommendations.

1. We recommend that, following the adoption of this Constitution, or within four years thereafter, the status of the Colored Central Conference Jurisdiction be submitted to the Annual and Lay Conferences of said jurisdiction for determination; and if a majority of the members of said Annual and Lay Conferences, present and voting, shall elect to accept the status of a Jurisdictional General Conference, said jurisdiction shall be recognized as such, with all the privileges and powers of the same, otherwise the Colored Central Conference shall be recognized as a Central Conference.

2. We recommend that in organizing the Colored Central Conference or the Colored Jurisdictional General Conference the Commission invite the members of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and such other Methodist Episcopal Church organizations composed of members of African descent to consider the feasibility and desirability of uniting themselves in the proposed organization.

I move the tentative adoption of this section.

David G. Downey: I move to strike out, after the word "members" in the fourth line and after the word "members" in the seventh line, the words "present and voting." We have already provided that two-thirds of the members elected to the General Conference shall be necessary to a quorum. Therefore when you have two-thirds of the General Conference present you have a quorum, and when you have a quorum you have the entire General Conference. All that is necessary to say is, "the recommendation of two-thirds of all the members of the several Annual Conferences." The words are unnecessary, and I move to strike them out.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Let me understand that. I understand the Committee to desire that there shall be no vote possible in the General Conference unless there be a quorum present, and to get that in the General Conference there shall be two-thirds of those who are there—that is, of the quorum or more than a quorum. You propose simply a majority of those present there.

David G. Downey: My point is this: You cannot act on a constitutional question in the General Conference without a quorum.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Or on any other question.

David G. Downey: When you have a quorum present, you have the entire General Conference present. That is the law in regard to amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

John M. Moore: If you leave out those words, would it not be necessary—supposing the General Conference had eight hundred members composing it, would it not take two-thirds of the eight hundred?

David G. Downey: No.

John M. Moore: I claim it would, and that is the reason we have put that in there.

David G. Downey: I want to make it clear by saying that it shall require two-thirds of the General Conference, and that means two-thirds of a quorum, that and only that; if more than a quorum is present, it means two-thirds of those who are present.

Edgar Blake: If you omit those words "present and voting," so that it stands "the recommendation of two-thirds of all the members of the several Annual Conferences shall suffice," etc., the question will immediately arise as to whether that means two-thirds of the entire membership of the Annual Conferences or two-thirds of the quorum.

Edwin M. Randall: Of the General Conferences?

Edgar Blake: No; of the Annual Conferences. This very matter came up and caused some difficulty in the last quadrennium. The thing the Committee desires to make plain is that all that is required is simply two-thirds of the vote of the quorum, "of those present and voting." There is no chance for any one then to rise and question that. Putting in "present and voting" in connection with the membership of the Annual Conferences, and putting those words in with reference to the General Conferences, was to make perfectly clear that all that is required was two-thirds of the vote of the quorum.

Bishop Hoss: Two-thirds of two-thirds?

Edgar Blake: Yes.

Bishop Hoss: And not necessarily have two-thirds of all elected?

George Warren Brown: I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, the main question was ordered.

A further vote being taken, the amendment of Dr. Downey was lost.

A further vote being taken, the section was approved.

Edgar Blake: That completes the report of the Committee on Conferences, unless you desire to reconsider items previously carried.

Bishop Mouzon: I move that we reconsider Item 2 under "Restrictions," on page 11.

Edgar Blake: I second that motion to get it before the Commission.

A vote being taken, the motion to reconsider was carried.

Bishop Mouzon: I move to amend Article II. under Restrictions, so that it will read: "The General Conference shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away with episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency."

Edgar Blake: Will Bishop Mouzon permit a suggestion? When we go through, we will correct the language.

Bishop Mouzon: I want it done now. "The General Conference shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away with our episcopacy or destroy"—take out the words "do away with" and put in the word "destroy," and do away with that "an" and insert the words "the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." There I am putting in the *ipsissima verba* of the original restrictive rule that has been in the Discipline of the two Churches since 1808.

Edgar Blake: I hope the amendment offered by Bishop Mouzon will not carry. The restrictive rule as it is here protects absolutely an itinerant general superintendency. Speaking for myself only, I do not believe we ought to bind a Church of to-morrow to a plan of superintendency that was in vogue more than a century ago. So you want to bind a Church to a body of death after the manner suggested by Bishop Mouzon? If you write in those words, that is what you do. If you pass this amendment, any time you want to adopt any legislation affecting the matter of the episcopal supervision, somebody will say that is not according to the Asburian type. It means the binding of the Church to the type of episcopacy adapted to the Church when it consisted of a few thousand members on the Atlantic Seaboard, but not adapted to the needs of a great world Church with more than 6,000,000 membership. I, therefore, hope the amendment of Bishop Mouzon will not carry.

Bishop Hoss: I profoundly regret to differ from my friend Dr. Blake. I have not had the pleasure of hearing most of his speeches, but I have heard uniformly good opinions of him, and I dislike to come in at this late hour in the campaign and protest against any of his views. But I do believe that our episcopacy is now and has ever been right and proper, and for myself I do not care a copper cent for any sort of episcopacy unless it is guarded and protected by the Constitution. What is the use of having a Constitution at all if you do not propose to bind the Church of to-morrow. That is just exactly what we propose to do. That is the very essence of the conflict that Joshua Soule precipitated, and he refused to be ordained a bishop except according to that restrictive rule. That was exactly the position of William McKendree, and he was the greatest man we had in the early days. He was out in the country when those resolutions were passed in the General Conference

of 1820, and when he got back on Monday morning and heard what had taken place he rose and said: "You have done a thing that is unconstitutional, and I must serve notice upon you that I will not obey it." They would have run over Soule by himself, because he was not a popular man, and was not so much in favor; but they couldn't run over William McKendree, the best-loved man in the Church, and when McKendree came with that strong backing he carried the Church with him. He didn't do it all at once. Three General Conferences passed before it was finally, and I had hoped forever, done away with. If we want episcopacy at all—and about that there seems to be some doubt—but if we want episcopacy at all, it is the Methodist episcopacy patterned after the ancient type. I don't object to a thing because it is the Asburian type. I don't think all wisdom began or ended with him. He was not the only man in his day. The General Conference away back there dated this Constitution and considered the question of some change in the plan of our itinerant general superintendency, and it was just before the Constitution was adopted that they refused to pass some changes as to the authority and power. I am not afraid of every brother who pops up to defend something. I am afraid of the brother who is going about saying what he is going to do—you will have members everywhere popping up and saying that it is not any special episcopacy we are protecting, it is just an itinerant general superintendency. I will fight that to the bitter end. I cannot fight it with my tongue as vigorously as I could; but I can fight it with my pen, and I will fight it on the platform and in the papers of the Church. Just now it is going all around our Church, and if you want to see this thing defeated, just make that change. The body of the people in our Church believe in the sort of episcopacy we have had, and they will vote down this thing and bury it beyond the possibility of resurrection.

Bishop Leete: Personally I think it is rather remarkable that this paragraph comes from the source from which it does come. I wish to call attention to the fact that in this preservation of the restrictive rule, under the circumstances, if we are going to have six Regional Conferences having the power to elect their own bishops and yet trim them down in their episcopacy, there is no itinerant general superintendency, and it is really a joke to preserve in the legislation of the Church a very carefully worded restrictive rule concerning something that is gone. As to the matter of an episcopacy, I rather agree with Bishop Hoss. It is not an episcopacy so indefinite as to be particularized by an expression of that kind we need, but an episcopacy capable of being adapted to any condition of emergency. I am on both sides of this question. I have no more episcopal feeling than I had

six years ago. I am perfectly willing that the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church in America should have any kind of an episcopacy it wishes, so far as I am personally concerned. I think the Church should absolutely direct the character and conduct of the man it desires to have in charge of the executive branch of its government. I am perfectly willing to submit absolutely to what the members of Methodism desire with reference to the episcopacy. I say that to clear my own attitude; but I do believe this, that if there is to be any episcopacy more than a mere—I would hardly say glorified superintendency—if there is to be any episcopacy worthy of the name episcopacy, I do believe that there ought to be a very careful indication in the Constitution of the kind of episcopacy we are going to have. I really believe that is necessary for the discharge of the duties of the office in any way that will be satisfactory to the mind of the Church. Personally I deplore the whole Regional plan. I have already said that. I may be unparliamentary in saying that, but the thing I hoped in my heart was that Methodism would get about to what the Roman and Anglican Churches have arrived at a long time ago, a kind of Church government that would be in harmony with the civil divisions of the country. And one reason why I am voting as I have on this matter of the regions is that I would like to see us rather on the basis of State division. I think the State is the true unit of local autonomy. I will say to Brother Lamar that my idea was just as he proposed, to give the legislative power to the State Conference organization. I know in my experience I have found myself very much lacking in the power to localize many interests in the State—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Your time is up.

Bishop Mouzon: Let me make my meaning and my purpose entirely clear. I am not concerned about the episcopacy except as the episcopacy shall render the largest possible service to the Church. I shall be entirely frank to say that my deepest concern is that I myself, since I chance to be one of the general superintendents of my Church, shall be able to serve my Church to the largest and fullest extent of my ability. Episcopacy did not make the bishop; the bishop made episcopacy. That is historically true. That is true of the early times of Christianity. That is true of Methodism. The bishops made episcopacy, and not episcopacy the bishops. John Wesley was, as he himself says, a scriptural episcopos. Francis Asbury was as truly a bishop before the hands of Thomas Coke were laid on his head as afterwards. They were bishops and made the episcopacy, and I believe the only men who can seriously damage the episcopacy are the bishops themselves. I suppose my attitude toward the episcopacy is plain, although my good friend Dr. Blake is of

opinion that at least in some quarters at some time it has been a body of death. Now, an itinerant general superintendency is such a general sort of phrase that it can mean almost anything or almost nothing at all. "The plan of our itinerant general superintendency"—that phrase as here used in the making of this Constitution does not safeguard, does not perpetuate in the Church what you have been pleased to call the Asburian type of itinerant general superintendency; but it is the plan that we are here preparing for that this restrictive rule will protect, and that is the reason I want to put it in here—not that we are trying to bring here into the Church a sort of general superintendency a hundred years old; but we are modifying that in the building of the Constitution, and it is desired that this historic restrictive rule in the identical language used by our fathers, a rule which has served so great a purpose in protecting the Constitution of the Church, should stand just as it is to protect the Constitution that we are here building. I sincerely hope that we shall not in the making of this Constitution provide for anything like a diocesan episcopacy. We desire in the Church which, please God, we shall build some day to continue to have itinerant general superintendency, and this is what I am here endeavoring to secure.

Bishop Cooke: I think we can settle this if we think that the matter is one of definition. Many are led astray for the lack of definition, and an exact definition will settle this. There are two things in this paragraph: First, the Fathers established an episcopacy; and then the second part declares the kind of episcopacy. Now the plan of our superintendency did not mean absolutely that the bishop should travel throughout the entire Church. That was not the idea at all. The episcopacy there established was a plan of episcopacy over against another kind of episcopacy with which they were familiar. It was another kind of episcopacy. There was all about them a Roman episcopacy, a Greek episcopacy, and an Anglican episcopacy just growing out of revolution. It was against that kind of an episcopacy that the Fathers instituted this other kind; not a diocesan episcopacy, not stationary, but a traveling episcopacy. It does not mean that the bishop should travel throughout the connection. That was not the idea, and the proof of that is this: I think it was between 1820 and 1828 when the bishops divided the Church into districts. Remember that—they divided the Church into districts, and there were bishops in the North who never went South for years and years. And they never seem to have considered that they were violating the Constitution of the Church when they divided the Church into districts. The fact is, Bishop George had the idea that he was the sole bishop in his district, and when the first Bishops' Meet-

ing was held in the city of Philadelphia and Bishop McKendree and Bishop Soule came up to that first meeting, Bishop George had the idea that he was the sole bishop in his district and that no other bishop had a right to come into his district, and he would not recognize Bishops McKendree and Soule—

Bishop Hoss: I think you have that reversed.

Bishop Cooke: McKendree was about to bring charges against Bishop George because Bishop George would not recognize him, and Bishop McKendree was about to bring charges against Bishop George on the ground that he was restricting the episcopacy.

Bishop Hoss: Bishop McKendree never presented the charges.

Bishop Cooke: Bishop McKendree's charge was that this plan does not mean that the bishop must travel throughout the whole connection in order for there to be a general superintendency. It can be in districts. Therefore, it is simply a mere matter of definition of what is meant by "plan." The plan is "episcopacy" over against diocesan episcopacy. It does not mean that a bishop cannot travel through the Church, and it does not prohibit him from leaving his district.

David G. Downey: Bishop Mouzon answered the question that was in my mind as to just what plan of episcopacy it was designed to protect by this restrictive rule.

H. M. Du Bose: Would you permit me to make a motion touching this matter? I move that the time be extended until we dispose of this question.

Several Voices: No.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I hear no second to the motion, and Dr. Downey has the floor.

David G. Downey: Bishop Mouzon has said that it is the plan that we are now preparing that he wishes to protect. Then he says he does not wish a diocesan episcopacy. We are in danger, by adopting this phrase, of doing just the thing that Bishop Mouzon and many of us desire not to do, and that is to make a diocesan episcopacy, because we have so hedged the episcopacy about by what we have tentatively adopted that if we tie this up to a plan, and say this plan shall not be changed, we are in a poor predicament. We have already agreed in regard to the powers of the General Conference after their election and have provided further that a bishop shall be assigned by a Regional Jurisdiction to the Regional Jurisdiction by which he was elected or to the Central Conference Jurisdiction for which he was elected, but that any bishop may be assigned to any Annual Conference for presidential supervision if a majority of the resident bishops of the Jurisdiction to which he is assigned concur in said assignment; and provided still further that the General Conference may assign a bishop to

residence within any Jurisdiction with the consent of the delegates of the Jurisdictions from which the bishop is to be taken and to which he to be assigned. That pretty well confines him, and now your proposition is to confine him still more closely by saying that "our plan of itinerant general superintendency shall never be changed." I don't think we want to do that sort of a thing.

Charles A. Pollock: I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

Several Voices: No, no, no.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Wait a minute. You must vote as a body. For experts such as this body is supposed to be, we are not very strict on parliamentary law.

A vote being taken, the motion for the previous question was lost by 19 to 21 on a rising vote.

John M. Moore: I move that this subsection, with the proposed amendment, be recommitted to the committee, that they may bring in some statement in regard to it.

The motion was seconded.

Edgar Blake: I hope it will not be recommitted. We ought to decide this thing here and now one way or the other. It is too late to recommit.

C. M. Bishop: Are you content with the exact language as given here, Dr. Blake?

Edgar Blake: Yes.

John M. Moore: The Committee perhaps would be able to redraft that section so as to protect the ideas of both sides, and it seems to me if they can do that it should be done. They can do that in the interim, and if they cannot they can bring it back.

A vote being taken, the motion to recommit was lost.

Bishop Hoss took the chair as presiding officer.

Bishop Denny: I have no argument to make in favor of the episcopacy. I could not undertake that, but I simply want to call attention to some of the points that occur to me as involved in this proposed committee's report. All that you do, if you adopt this, is to have the name Bishop, and you also say that he shall have certain functions known as superintending functions. He can be no more than a moderator if the majority of the General Conference desires to make him a moderator. Of course he has to travel some, and travel means superintending. If you want that kind of an episcopacy and the Church wants it, the Church has the right to have it, but he need not be given any power of appointment. This would enable the majority of the General Conference to take that out of his hands. He need not be given any power of ordination. This would give the majority of the General Conference the power to take that

out of his hands. That is not necessarily a part of superintendency. All that he might have would be the power to travel around and act as a moderator. There is practically left to him not a solitary right that is known as an episcopal right. The episcopacy will be eviscerated.

Bishop Hamilton: I move that we adjourn with Bishop Denny on the floor.

A. F. Watkins: I have moved, and it was seconded, that the time be extended until the discussion shall be concluded, and it was not in order to move for an adjournment.

Bishop McDowell: I am very sure that no one can speak at this particular moment under the conditions and receive proper and favorable hearing, and I do not think Bishop Denny was having the kind of consideration to which he is entitled, and as far as that is concerned which nobody could get at this time. [A procession of soldiers was passing and there was considerable disturbance.] I think the proper course for us is to adjourn with Bishop Denny on the floor and give him a proper hearing when we reconvene.

The motion was put and carried.

Secretary Thomas: Before the motion to adjourn is put I want to announce that I have received a letter from Mr. Rule, Commissioner, saying it is impossible for him to attend on account of illness in his family. There is also a letter from Bishop Candler saying that he cannot be here.

Bishop Mouzon: A requisite number of members of the Southern Commission desire separate meetings of the Commission this afternoon at three o'clock if we may have them.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): How long do you suppose we should need, so that we can give notice to the members?

Bishop Mouzon: I will explain the purpose of this meeting, so that the Methodist Episcopal Church may have a meeting of their Commissioners and discuss the items. It is desired that we should take up the matters of the Regional Conferences on which we had tentatively voted, so that we can have an official final vote and we would like to meet at three o'clock or as soon as we get through.

John F. Goucher: Time is so very valuable, might not these separate sessions be held to-night?

Bishop Mouzon: I desire to be courteous; but it is the desire of a number of us that as soon as we have tentatively completed each of these reports we should then go apart and pass upon that completed part officially and finally, otherwise we may be wasting a great deal of time.

E. B. Chappell: Aren't we already adjourned?

The Chairman (Bishop Hoss): We are giving notices, after which I will take the vote and we will adjourn.

John F. Goucher: What else is there to consider? It seems to me we might consider the Judicial Council and some other things and have separate meetings at night. We have business enough to keep us occupied during the day.

Edgar Blake: I sincerely hope we will not hold any separate sessions for final action on any particular plan.

The Chairman (Bishop Hoss): Announcements for separate sessions have been made.

Bishop Mouzon: If the motion was made and carried for an adjournment, the announcement I made was out of order. I had no authority to make such an announcement; and certainly, since I have heard from Dr. Blake and others and they do not wish to have separate sessions, it would be a discourtesy to insist on it, so I withdraw the announcement.

Bishop McDowell: The Commission did vote to adjourn with Bishop Denny on the floor.

The hymn, "O Thou God of my salvation," was sung, the benediction was pronounced by Dr. Thomas, and the Commission then adjourned.

Afternoon Session.

The Joint Commission was called to order by Bishop Collins Denny at three o'clock.

Devotional exercises were conducted by Mr. Alexander Simpson, Jr.

The hymn, "Abide with Me," was sung.

Mr. Simpson read the fourteenth chapter of John.

Prayer was offered by Dr. A. J. Lamar.

The hymn, "O for a heart to praise my God," was sung.

The roll was called and the following were found present: Bishops E. E. Hoss, Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, W. B. Murrah, Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, J. M. Moore, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, H. M. Du Bose, W. N. Ainsworth, A. J. Lamar, Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. R. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, J. R. Pepper, E. C. Reeves, H. H. White, E. W. Hines, G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, I. E. Robinson, H. W. Rogers, Alexander Simpson, Jr., Rolla V. Watt, J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock. Rev. C. M. Stuart, alternate.

The minutes of the last session were read, corrected, and approved.

Bishop Cranston took the chair as presiding officer.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): I believe Bishop Denny had the floor when we adjourned.

Bishop Denny: This is a question of what kind of an episcopacy the Commission desires to recommend to the two Churches. My sole purpose in calling your attention to the matter at all is not to advocate any definite kind of episcopacy, but to call your attention to what is involved in the motion submitted by the Committee. There was quite a debate on the responsibility of the bishops to pass on a legal question in the Annual Conference, and it was the consensus of opinion at that time that such responsibility was solely in the hands of a majority of our General Conference, so that that question, so far as our side of the Commission is concerned, is not involved. That would also remain in the keeping of a majority of the General Conference, and could be determined at any time that such a majority desired to do so. There is some difference of opinion amongst us about that, but I give the consensus of opinion. On the other hand, this proposal of the Committee on Conferences really means the evisceration of Methodist episcopacy as we understand it. It would leave in the hands of the General Conference the determination of the term of service. The General Conference could determine, for instance, that a man elected to the episcopacy should hold the office for a limited time, four years. It would leave in the hands of a majority of the General Conference, and I need not repeat that phrase after this, to determine what should be the bond of unity in the Church. Heretofore one of the strongest features of the episcopacy has been the bond of unity and connectionalism in the Church. Now, if we are to retain a connectional system, there must be somewhere a bond of unity; and if it be not lodged in the episcopacy it must be lodged somewhere else. So it leaves it to the General Conference to determine where that bond of unity is to be found. The bishops would no longer have the right constitutionally to make any appointments. That could be done either by a committee of the Annual Conference, as the Methodist Protestants now have it, or it could be done in any other form that the General Conference might determine. It can take away from the episcopacy the responsibility for ordination, because that is not a function of episcopal superintendency. Generally speaking, it would leave us an utterly empty episcopacy with nothing but the name, an episcopacy shorn of all its functions. Is that what this Commission wants to recommend to the General Conference? Have we found that our episcopacy, as at present and from the beginning constituted, has become so outworn and so useless by lack of leadership and of potentialities for the good of the Church that it is best now fundamentally to make such a change

as the Committee proposes to make? If that be your position, you will support the recommendation of the Committee. If you are satisfied that there is still in the Methodist episcopacy, as it has existed among us since 1808, indeed since 1784, something of value to the Church, then the motion made by Bishop Mouzon will prevail. As a matter of course, I cannot argue such a question within so short a time. Then the delicacies of the situation need to be considered. I can go this far, that up to about eight years ago the form of Methodist episcopacy that had prevailed had won my approbation, and that too without any expectation that its responsibilities would ever be laid upon me. I had been accustomed to its leadership in this work. It is difficult to say what would be left in the Constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church if this proposal of the Committee should be adopted. The term "itinerant superintendency" is in itself not a strictly definite term, and it could and it might be cut down to such a point that I believe I am justified in the use of the term "eviscerated." Rather than adopt the recommendation of the committee it would be better to go over wholly and at once to the congregational system. Nobody can discuss such a question as this with any fullness in five minutes, and I shall not therefore attempt to say anything more.

John F. Goucher: I move that Bishop Denny's time be extended.

Bishop Denny: No, thank you; I am not willing to create such a precedent.

J. W. Van Cleve: I am not in favor of the amendment that has been proposed. The subsection says "the plan of our general superintendency." There will be two constructions possible. It will be possible to go back to the original language, which came regularly down from 1808, and say that the plan of superintendency must be that which then prevailed, because the same language has been repeatedly put in the Constitution. The only other construction would be to say that it is the plan of episcopacy which we now set for the reorganized Church. If you take up this proposition, you will find that the functions of that episcopacy are yet to be defined by the General Conference. If the plan is to be placed under the protection of a constitutional provision, it gives to the General Conference the power to adopt functions for the episcopacy which shall immediately become constitutional. I don't think we want to do that.

Bishop Mouzon: Repeat that.

J. W. Van Cleve: If you say that the plan of our itinerant general superintendency means the plan we now adopt, it will be that plan which will be adopted by the General Conference under the authority given in this instrument to fix the

duties of the episcopal office. The functions and duties of the episcopacy are to be fixed by the General Conference according to the proposed draft.

Bishop Cooke: Is that not the statutory law now?

J. W. Van Cleve: That the duties? If that be the case, it does not become a part of the plan of our general superintendency, and the result is we have no plan unless we go back—

Bishop Mouzon: I will beg pardon, it will be fixed, not by the General Conference alone, but by the General Conference and the Annual Conferences.

J. W. Van Cleve: It is not so provided in this instrument.

Bishop Mouzon: This instrument has to go to our General Conferences and to our Annual Conferences before it can be adopted.

J. W. Van Cleve: But this instrument does not fix the functions of the bishops. It provides for the bishops, but gives us no plans. There must either be a plan adopted which is not yet before us, or we fall back to the original plan which is handed down to us by the continued use of those words. That is what I said at the beginning. It is either the original plan or one yet to be adopted. No plan is put down in this instrument. That plan itself will not become a part of the Constitution by the adoption of this instrument. It is provided that the General Conference will do those things—"define the privileges, powers, and duties of the episcopacy." That is one of the functions of the General Conference. That makes it statutory. We have found that the word "plan" is so indefinite, as Dr. Blake said this forenoon, that whenever you touch the episcopacy at any point with an attempt to regulate or manage it by the central authority of the Church in the General Conference, immediately objections come in that the thing you cannot touch is the "plan of our itinerant general superintendency"; and while that original plan has been modified by the bishops themselves to no inconsiderable extent, they have steadily held to the inability of the General Conference to modify it, and the power to amend the Constitution has been held by many bishops to belong to themselves and not to inhere in the General Conference. I think we should prevent just that sort of thing. This does give a specific definition. There shall be, in the first place, a superintendency. Whatever belongs to superintending is there constitutionally. It shall also be a general superintendency. You have a connectional bond fixed by that one fact; and however it may be divided up in its territorial jurisdiction as a whole, it remains a general superintendency. It is itinerant, it may be used anywhere that the Church itself desires to use it; and that is much more specific than if you put in that

word "plan," which is so general that it leaves the gates so wide open that you can drive anything through them you like.

Bishop Mouzon: The objection is raised that the instrument which we are now perfecting hasn't *any* plan for itinerant general superintendency, but merely provides for *an* itinerant general superintendency. The objection is also made that, according to the Constitution which we are here writing, the General Conference may at any time by a majority vote define and fix the privileges, powers, and duties of the episcopacy. We have done no such foolish thing as that. We have written no such foolish thing as that in the Constitution. It is definitely said that, subject to the restrictions and limitations of this Constitution, the General Conference shall define and fix the powers and duties of the episcopacy. Subject to the limitations and restrictions of this Constitution, the General Conference can do anything.

Joseph W. Van Cleve: May I ask you a question?

Bishop Mouzon: Certainly.

Joseph W. Van Cleve: Can you show me any place in this instrument where there is any plan or anything affecting the powers and privileges of the episcopacy provided in the Constitution?

Bishop Mouzon: I am about to show the kind of episcopacy that the plan has in mind. I now call attention once more to the error we fall into when we hold that the General Conference by a majority vote can define and fix the powers and privileges of the episcopacy. Certainly we never had that in mind at all. It is subject to the limitations and restrictions of this Constitution. They can do it by constitutional methods and not by unconstitutional methods; and we are not permitted to enter into any organization where the powers and duties of the episcopacy, by a mere majority vote, can be defined or fixed or limited or done away with. I think that is perfectly evident, now that your attention is called to it. What sort of an episcopacy are we providing for here? We are providing for an itinerant general superintendency—not, as some of our brethren would have it, a diocesan episcopacy or a semi-diocesan episcopacy. Some of us have held that position all the way through, that we should avoid breaking the Church into a lot of little Churches. Do you hear that remark? We are not thinking of breaking the Church up into little Churches; and at the proper time I shall be ready to amend Article VII., on page 10, by eliminating the words "if a majority of the resident bishops of the jurisdiction to which he is assigned shall concur in said assignment." I shall not read it all, it is too long.

Bishop McDowell: We understand it.

Bishop Mouzon: This may hark back somewhat to the days of Asbury, but it is impossible to obliterate history. What is written is written. This is not an Asburian episcopacy, if you please, but it is a kind of episcopacy that we begin with. It is the episcopacy that we now have. If you begin to define, you will have to define and go back and define something behind that, and there will be no end of the process of defining; but the kind of episcopacy that is here spoken of is the episcopacy that we now have, that we will enter into the Church with. That is the kind of episcopacy we shall have. It will mean just as much to us to-day as the words meant to Joshua Soule and others who were interested in this matter in his day, and not in a diocesan episcopacy in the beginning.

Bishop McDowell: I do not rise particularly to discuss the exact form of this proposed amendment or to defend a form proposed by the Committee. I rise simply to say that we have to consider pretty carefully whether a given action that we are proposing is necessary to the business that is before us—namely, the unification of the Churches—or whether it is one of those things that it may be by some thought to be desirable, utterly apart from its bearing on unification. I do not know what demand there is in either Church—I have not been made conscious of any demand, but there may be many demands of which I have not been made conscious—for a departure from the language of the so-called restrictive rule, which language, as I understand, is substantially the same in the two Disciplines; and I do not understand that there is serious objection on either side of the slight line that divides us now to a continuance of the language that has always stood in the Discipline as the language of the restrictive rule. My own conviction has been that we ought to consider those things that will surely and effectively promote union; that those other matters that may be desirable by way of reform in the Church, we would do well to consider when we become one Church, and not complicate the question of union with proposed reforms that do not immediately promote it. For that reason I am myself heartily in favor of the language of the restrictive rule as it stands in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and I understand substantially, if not exactly the same, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I do this not at all in the way of any consideration in the interest of protecting or not protecting a particular kind of episcopacy. I do not need to say at the beginning that my personal interests in and relation to the episcopacy are of such short tenure, for the rest of my life after this union is accomplished, that whatever kind of episcopacy the united Church wants I am sure it ought to have. It is no part of my principles to contend

for episcopal prerogatives. Always I have felt in the office that I have had more prerogatives than I would personally have chosen.

Bishop Hoss: What prerogatives have you? I don't believe a bishop has any prerogatives.

Bishop McDowell: I have more than I personally care for.

Bishop Hoss: I have many duties, but no prerogatives.

Bishop McDowell: I only rose to say that I would personally be glad to have the language of the restrictive rule remain as that language has remained throughout the years, for the simple reason that I do not see that the multiplication of words is necessary to accomplish the union.

Rolla V. Watt: I am in favor of the retention of the clause as printed in the Committee's report. I am old enough to have known all of our bishops since the time of Morris personally, and that is some time, and they have been a fine body of men and I have loved nearly all of them. [Laughter.] I have loved them all according to the Scripture, and I have had personal affections for nearly all of them. Years ago I was a clerk in the Methodist Book Concern, and in that way I became acquainted with so many of our bishops that I knew the kind of stuff they were made of; but I have also watched the development of the Church very carefully, and I happened to be a member of that small committee in Minneapolis that drew up the plan of the area superintendency which is in vogue in our Church, and I was very gratified at our last General Conference at Saratoga that there was not one single protest or petition of any kind or character that came up from the whole Methodist Episcopal Church asking for a modification or abandonment of the area planned. Not only that, but the General Conference in Minneapolis required that the bishops should make report to the General Conferences of the work of their area for the preceding quadrennium, and those reports excited a great deal of interest in the last General Conference. I do not think there has ever been a time in the history of the Church during my close connection with it when such consecutive efforts have been put forward by our bishops for the development of the work particularly placed under their care. In other words, when you handle a particular area for which you are responsible, you are going to cultivate it a good deal more thoroughly than when you have the whole world for your parish. I am entirely with Bishop Mouzon as to Section X. I want to take all of that Regional Conference business out and make the bishops subject to proper assignment to specific work at different times. So that a man may work eight or ten or sixteen years here and some other period of years some other place, and that other place will get the benefit of

the widest spirit of activities, but at the same time giving him opportunity of cultivating the particular field and being definitely responsible for a given field; therefore, to put in words to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency leaves us up in the air as to what is our plan, and this leaves it to the General Conference to determine it.

Bishop Hamilton: I want to ask a question, but before I do so I will preface it with some suggestions that occur to my mind. It has been the case that all through the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church there has been a disposition to criticize the episcopacy, and very largely because that criticism was based upon objection to certain men. You will remember that in the case of Francis Asbury there was such a criticism at one time that he wrote a letter to the General Conference asking the freest discussion of the criticism; and that there might be no embarrassment, he withdrew from the Conference and said he wanted everything that was said against him to be carefully investigated. Ever since I have been in the Church I have found that as we have approached a General Conference there has been some kind of criticism both of the bishops and of the episcopacy. I have heard some rumbling in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and while I have not read the laymen's pamphlet that was put out I have heard enough about it to understand that it is more particularly an attack upon either the bishops or the episcopacy, or both, than anything else, unless I am mistaken. Now, I am getting to the question I desire to ask. This restrictive rule is in both Disciplines and has been agreed to by both Churches and it has been satisfactory to a majority of the Church, certainly to the General Conferences for more than a hundred years. What is wrong with it? What is the object of this new interjection that comes up now? Is there anything behind this that we have not heard or that is not disclosed? That is what I am after. Personally some member has said to me, "It doesn't matter to you; you are through with it"; but I have never allowed my personal interest or personal duties to determine a general principle. I want to know why this is introduced, unless there is to be some tendency toward diocesan episcopacy and a restriction of the episcopal duties. I do not know why it is we should have something injected into a section with which we have been satisfied for a hundred years. If the brethren can tell us why they want to change the restrictive rule of both Churches at this particular time, I would like to hear them. Bishop McDowell, in my opinion, has injected a very proper suggestion. He did not put it in the form of an inquiry; but why is it necessary to unification that we should tear up the whole economy of the episcopacy as it existed a hundred

years ago and as it exists to-day? The episcopacy is not a corpse. It is far from it. The idea of saying it is a body of death and ready for burial when it is one hundred years old and we have been satisfied with it all the time doesn't appeal to me. Why say it is dead? I want to know whether it is an intention to kill it or whether there is something about it that is really dead.

R. E. Blackwell: I want to know about some matters too. Suppose this stands just exactly as here—namely, "Nor do away with an itinerant general superintendency"—would that destroy the restrictive rule?

Bishop Cooke: It is substituted for the restrictive rule.

R. E. Blackwell: I think not.

Bishop Cooke: Oh, yes, it is.

R. E. Blackwell: Well, I am not from Missouri; but I want to know, and I think the restrictive rule will stand where it is now. I am willing to vote for anything, just so we get on. If you want to do away with the general superintendency—and nobody seems to know what our general superintendency means, because it has been changing all the time—we will do that and then quarrel about it when we get into the united Church, but we are certainly going to change the superintendency, because we are going to change and the world is going to change. Nobody in the world wants it as it is to-day without a change in any particular. I am willing to leave it indefinite, so that we can get on; and we can quarrel with it afterwards. Don't take up the whole of three or four days that we have in quarreling about it, when we shall quarrel about it any way you put it. So I will vote for anything anybody wants, so that we can get on.

Edgar Blake: This is in some respects the most significant and interesting discussion we have had on this section or on any section. Up to the time of Dr. Blackwell's speech we had twelve speeches on this subject, eight of them by bishops. I am beginning to think that in this particular case, indeed if not in this matter of unification, the negro in the woodpile after all may be a bishop; and it seems to me, from the discussion we have had on this subject, that this is looming very much, indeed overly much, in the minds of the episcopal brethren. There is no one desiring to do any violence to the episcopacy, but I think there is an honest and honorable desire on the part of many of us to be able to so relate the episcopacy to the tasks of this modern day that the bishop shall no longer be a bishop everywhere but with responsibilities nowhere and amenable to no one. I think the day for that kind of episcopal supervision has gone. The thing we are seeking is to protect exactly what it was designed to protect when it was introduced

in 1808—namely, to provide against the General Conference ever being able to create a diocesan episcopacy. That was the thing designed to be accomplished in 1808, and that is precisely the thing that the Committee is aiming to do here by saying that the General Conference, in spite of the powers given to it, shall never do away with an itinerant general superintendency. It will be impossible to create a diocesan episcopacy under this plan. That is exactly the language we are after. But when we come into future General Conferences of the reorganized Church to deal with the episcopacy, to vitalize its functions, and to bring it in quick, active touch with the field, we do not want some one rising up and saying it is in the restrictive rule that the General Conference shall not do away with the plan of our itinerant general superintendency, and then read into that plan everything that has been in it from the days of Asbury down to now.

Bishop Cooke: May I say in closing a word to call attention to the fact that we have not got into this subject at all?

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Did you speak on this subject?

Bishop Cooke: Not on this subject. I am calling attention to some considerations in regard to this matter:

> The General Conference shall not change nor alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away with the episcopacy, and the plan of our itinerant general superintendency.

"The plan of our itinerant general superintendency," as distinguished from every other kind of episcopacy, is a part of the rules of our government; and now you propose to take out one essential element of this and still call it the rule of our government. You have taken the pillars out from under it and haven't got the thing at all.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): If you will allow me to speak from the chair, I would like to call attention to the fact that the plan referred to by Bishop McDowell, our plan as operating now in our Church, was devised by the bishops in their desire to meet the manifest wishes of the people for consecutive and direct supervision, and yet was devised by the bishops with the general opinion that it was not in any way in violation of the restrictive rules in that it did not do away with itinerant general superintendency. Now, it strikes me that is about all the liberty we really need. I mean to say that whatever liberty is necessary has been exemplified and made use of practically by that devise or change made by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Next I would call attention to the fact that those three words "itinerant general superintendency" following the word "our" may be simply to fix a con-

ception and application of the episcopacy in such a fashion that somebody might refer to it if it were urged that it were a dead body. We want a living episcopacy. Those three words "itinerant general superintendency" are, it seems to me, forever a protection against diocesan episcopacy or anything approximating diocesan episcopacy. My preference would be to leave the words as we have them, "our itinerant general superintendency," illuminated as they are by the existence already of an interpretation of those words. "Our itinerant general superintendency," accepted for years by these contracting parties, illuminated by interpretation, it seems to me would always be suggestive, if not determinative, in the interpretation that might be introduced. If Dr. Blake could get rid of "the plan"—that is the word that really ties it up. If we could have it "shall not destroy our itinerant general superintendency," I think we would have a fair middle ground and perhaps a good solution of the whole matter.

John J. Wallace: I was about to move an amendment to Bishop Mouzon's amendment—namely, the elimination of the words "the plan of," so that it would read: "or destroy our itinerant general superintendency."

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Do you make that as a motion?

John J. Wallace: Yes, sir.

Alexander Simpson, Jr.: I second the motion.

Bishop Hoss: I don't know whether, under the rule, I am allowed to speak again or not.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): This is a new amendment; you are all right.

Bishop Hoss: I am opposed to this amendment. If you cut those words out, you cut everything that is cardinal and distinctive in that restrictive rule. Those of you who know history are aware of the fact that when Ezekiel Cooper was on the subcommittee to report a Constitution he brought in a report that they shall not reduce our ministry nor tamper with the episcopacy. Joshua Soule brought in the report that was actually adopted, and the reason it was adopted was that just before it was adopted Ezekiel Cooper tried to bring in his paper in favor of diocesan episcopacy, and it was to meet that very condition that this restrictive rule was adopted in the very form in which it exists. I don't care a copper cent individually for anything that belongs to the episcopacy. I never sought the office and have not sought to keep it, and I would not turn over my hand to-morrow, especially in view of the lawless agitation going on in the Church. I know what it means. I know it in my own body. I bear in my body the marks of it, but I am interested in the Methodist Church after

I am dead and gone. It is not that I care for my individual rights—or prerogatives, as you say. I detest that word, Bishop McDowell, and I am your good friend; but I do hope you won't use that word any more. I implore you as a brother in the Lord not to use the word "prerogative." Prerogative is something personal that you cannot take away from a man. I have got no prerogatives. I have got a lot of duties that are definite and I am responsible for those duties, and it is a great mistake to think that a bishop is responsible to nobody. I have never been before the Committee on the Episcopacy myself, but in due order of time I am likely to get there. I will never make confession to them when I get before them. I have done my duty according to the law and, as I said this morning, while I don't care individually what you do, yet I am concerned that we shall have the bishops operating according to our present plan. If you do not have that, it does not do any good to say that it is an itinerant general superintendency. There is something more in this restrictive rule than the simple right to go somewhere, and I sincerely hope you are not going to make that change there. I give you notice fairly and squarely that I am not bound by this action, and I am going to fight this thing if I die fighting. I am going to fight it because I love my Church and because I love the history of my Church and because I love Asbury and McKendree and Soule, and I am not going to welcome any episcopacy for small men to occupy a certain corner.

A. F. Watkins: In one of the short speeches that has been made on this subject the statement was made, if I did not misunderstand it, in favor of the retention of the words as they exist at the present time, that they do contain the expression "our itinerant general superintendency." They do contain the words "rule of our government," but they do not contain the words "*our* itinerant general superintendency," but the words are "*an* itinerant general superintendency." I am unwilling that the impression should be made that the present wording has the definitive of that degree of strength. I wished to bring that out and say that I do not favor Dr. Wallace's amendment to the amendment, but favor the original amendment of Bishop Mouzon.

David G. Downey: I would like to hear Dr. Wallace's amendment once more.

John J. Wallace: My amendment was to make the words read "or destroy our itinerant general superintendency."

David G. Downey: According to the amendment of Dr. Wallace, it does contain the words "our itinerant general superintendency," and that is the amendment I favor. I confess that I had some hesitancy in making up my mind, and I am not

very much impressed with the constant reference in some of the speeches to the fathers and to the fact that they made the episcopacy, and that it ought to be retained just because it has come down to us from the fathers. We are not building for the past; we are building for the future. I have no question but that the fathers built well. I have no question but that the fathers were men of God and that they legislated according to their light, and I believe they legislated wisely and well for their day. I reverence the old-time faith and men, but God is with us now as then, and our business is not to hold so fast to the past that we shall tie up the future. What we need to do is to conserve all these essential features and let go some of the things that might fetter and bind us. The word "plan" fetters and binds. It has hindered, and it has been necessary for us to interpret to get around that word. We believe in "our itinerant general superintendency," but the "plan" is something that has been changed, that ought to be changed, and will be changed as the necessities arise, not only to-day but in the days that are to be. I don't want to bind my hand by the past and I don't want to put any fetters on the minds and hearts of the men who are to come after me, and especially I do not want to bind the Spirit of God and hinder it in having free play in its guiding influence upon the hearts and minds of men.

Alexander Simpson, Jr.: I simply rise to move the previous question.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, the main question was ordered.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The original motion of Bishop Mouzon was to make Section 2 read: "The General Conference shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away the episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Dr. Wallace's amendment was to have the last clause read "or to destroy our itinerant general superintendency." The vote will be on the amendment of Dr. Wallace.

A vote being taken and a division called for, it resulted in 27 for and 17 against, so the amendment of Dr. Wallace prevailed.

A further vote being taken, the amendment of Bishop Mouzon, as amended by the amendment of Dr. Wallace, was adopted by a vote of 23 for and 7 against.

H. M. Du Bose: I now rise to present the matter that I have broached several times.

Edgar Blake: No; first we must adopt the section as amended. I move that the section as amended be adopted.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

H. M. Du Bose: I now rise to present and discuss briefly

the matter already broached, the elimination of certain words from Subsection 7 of Section 2, "Powers." I think the proper procedure is to ask for a reconsideration, and I move a reconsideration of the vote by which item 7, under "Powers of the General Conference," was adopted, and I want to offer this amendment: In line 9 of Article VII., beginning at the first line, about four words from the beginning of the sentence, "but any bishop may be assigned by the general superintendents to any Annual Conference for presidential supervision if a majority of the resident bishops of the Jurisdiction to which he is assigned shall concur in said assignment." Then I want to strike out all of line 10, so that it will read: "But any bishop may be assigned by the general superintendents to any Annual Conference for presidential supervision."

The motion was seconded and, a vote being taken, a reconsideration was agreed to.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The motion is to strike out the words "if a majority of the resident bishops of the Jurisdiction to which he is assigned shall concur in said assignment."

Bishop Denny: That was one point upon which we so strenuously insisted, and the striking out of this would do away with the autonomy of the Regional Conferences and would give to the College of Bishops the right to assign a man to a field in which he had not been elected and in which he might not be acceptable. The purpose of the inclusion of these words was to make sure that in each Regional Conference nobody could be put over them as a bishop without their consent, and now here comes an amendment that proposes to strike out the protection that the Regional Conferences have to see that the men who are to supervise the work in their regions are taken away from them. That makes this thing worse and worse as we go along. We propose that each Region shall have the right to elect its own bishop, and that for the reason that we do not propose to say that men shall be put over those who do not want to be under their guidance; and now comes the amendment and says we will strike out all that and allow a bishop elected at any point in the Church to be assigned down here where he might not be acceptable, and we cut the very ground from under the provision that led, I am sure, to a good many votes for that provision.

H. M. Du Bose: The amendment is offered for the broad and comprehensive purpose of fixing the idea of the general superintendency. Since this form of statement was made in the committee a general discussion has ensued, and my observation has been, at least I have noticed the fact, that the charge is made that the episcopacy is being reduced to a diocesan level.

I may be in error, but my idea is that this will shut the mouth of the opposition on that score, and I cannot see that it opens up any peril on the other score. The matter is in the hands of our bishops who are general superintendents and who will know all the conditions, and if there are reasons why a man should not be sent into other Jurisdictions, they will know it. If we cannot depend on them to do justice to the general Church and these Regions, I do not see that we can depend upon them for any other matters, and it was with this view, and as a parity of the action we have just taken practically adopting the general rule as it stands in the old Discipline regarding the episcopacy, that this motion was submitted.

Bishop Denny: There are holes in there through which you could drive a coach and four.

H. M. Du Bose: I opposed this in the Committee and I gave notice that I would offer a substitute. I believe this substitute that has been offered is a protection to the episcopacy and preserves in this Constitution the idea of an itinerant general superintendency. I may be mistaken in that, but if I can construe language it does.

Bishop Denny resumed the chair as presiding officer.

Bishop Cranston: I know that the good bishops are all dying off and going to heaven, but somehow or other I have faith that there will be some men chosen to the episcopacy who will have as full communion with God and as vital relation to the Church and as sincere a desire for its welfare as this Commission or as the ministers and Churches as a body can claim. There can be no act of folly greater than the action of the College of Bishops assigning to any residential area for presidency a man temperamentally or in any other way unfit for that particular service. Let us trust those men who are to come after us. Dr. Du Bose is absolutely right in regard to that clause as to its being criticized because of its implication as against the methods of the past and not favorable to, but actually inimical to, the thing proposed for the future. If we cannot trust the bishops to make rational and fitting assignments of men to preside at a Conference, we might as well stop where we are and disband both Churches. You have no episcopacy left. You have no episcopacy that you can trust. If you want absolute protection, put in there that the College of Bishops by a two-thirds vote may assign any bishop anywhere. I don't care for that, but for goodness sake let's get this thing out.

Bishop Cooke: I seconded the motion of Dr. Du Bose. Will you please turn to page 11, Subsection 2? I wish to show, if Bishop Denny's objection or contention shall be held valid, the delightful consistency of our proposed form of government. The

General Conference shall not change nor alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away with episcopacy, nor to do away with an "itinerant general superintendency," but "a majority of the resident bishops in the jurisdiction to which he may be assigned may do so by not concurring in the assignment." That is a beautiful thing for us to say, that the General Conference shall not do so, and yet we put into the power of the bishops to do that very thing. The General Conference shall not change nor alter the rules of our government nor take away an "itinerant general superintendency," which means that the general superintendent has a right to travel through the connection. The General Conference cannot change that, but according to this proposed plan one man in the Board of Bishops can. I do not care to go further to show the value of the episcopacy. You cannot keep a body of men in the same jurisdiction for any length of time, unless there is an extraordinarily able man as bishop, without producing new conditions. He becomes a ruler of a lot of weaklings or he will be influenced by stronger men. The best possible thing that can happen to Methodism is to have the circulation of the blood of Methodism through the whole body, and the way to prevent any bishop from being moved by a clique of strong, able men whom he must respect. If he regards them he will be ruled by them, and if he does not regard them he will have their enmity. As for myself in the episcopacy, there is one thing clear to me, and that is that the glory of the episcopacy ends with the election.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Your time has expired.

Bishop Cooke: It seems to me my time runs out mighty quick.

Bishop Mouzon: That was a good speech Bishop Cooke made, and I think I will indorse everything he said. I am not at all apprehensive. I am not fearing that the College of Bishops would assign one of their number to a presidency over a group of Conferences where that presidency would be any more seriously objected to than is possible in either Church at the present time. It is altogether possible in either of our great Churches, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific and going into foreign lands, that sometimes a bishop may be assigned to the presidency of a group of Conferences when his presidency is not altogether agreeable. I have no fear at that point whatsoever. I heartily indorse what was said by our good Bishop Cranston, that we ought to be willing to trust to the good sense and piety of the men who are going to come after us. It would be exceedingly unfortunate if a certain group of bishops should manage the affairs of the Church in a certain region and never go out of that region. For then you would develop a perpetual sectionalism, both in the Church and in the country, which nobody desires to-day. I suppose every one

who is familiar with the history of American Methodism knows that Bishop George and Bishop Hedding, particularly Bishop George, were itinerants in the Northeast and Bishop McKendree and Bishop Soule were itinerants chiefly in the Southwest section of the Church, and that that fact had much to do with the discussion.

Bishop Denny: You are off on the history. George did great service down in this section.

Bishop Mouzon: I may be off at some points, but I am not off at that point, for everybody knows that George had been assigned for one year in New England and he insisted that the assignment was for four years and wouldn't come to the Bishops' Meeting, and when he did he wouldn't recognize the authority of that Bishops' Meeting and Bishop McKendree was about to prefer charges against him.

Bishop Denny: You have got that wrong.

Bishop Mouzon: No, I have not. The itinerant general superintendency is one of the chief points of our connectionalism. There is no question of that. If you put a man in a certain region and let him stay there, it might be necessary for new blood to come into that region from another part of the Church, and how is he going to get him in unless he has the presidency of other Conferences so that he might bring it in? We don't want anything that will split Methodism into a group of little Churches, and if you put your bishops all the time into certain regions and keep them there you are not making a unified Methodism, and what we want is unified Methodism. I stand in favor of Dr. Du Bose's amendment.

W. N. Ainsworth: I am very deeply concerned that American Methodism shall have a strong and virile episcopacy, clothed with authority that shall make efficient leadership for the Church. I do not believe the plan of the itinerant general superintendency in its essence is any more violated by the assignment of a bishop to a restricted area for a period of time than itinerancy is violated by my assignment for a given time to a given pastoral charge. I deeply believe, however, that it will not be possible to secure the adoption of this plan for unification of the Church, at least in my section of the Church, unless we shall enter upon it with these safeguards thrown around our episcopal administration. And I believe further: If we recognize the fact that there is a lack of confidence at the present time and shall go into the matter under the conditions here laid down, not ten years will have passed by before the bishops will be falling from one side of the continent to the other; but if you take out this clause which is here found you will be open to one of the most serious attacks that will be launched against this plan anywhere, and I very earnestly

believe it would be defeated on this ground. I think we should enter upon this plan with these restrictions and let the General Conference of the united Church modify it throughout the lapse of years.

Claudius B. Spencer: I am constrained to take your time for a moment and present this case from the standpoint of the border Conferences. Have you reflected that in this proposed division of the Church you have thrown several hundred thousand of our people into Southern Jurisdictions? I maintain that in order to make this transfer without the loss of thousands of them—I believe I am conservative in saying multiplied thousands—it will be most happy if the bishops from the Northern Jurisdiction can administer the Conferences in those border States. I have heard on a number of occasions in these sessions of the Joint Commission statements made concerning what actions were necessary to carry certain constituency in certain areas. I don't remember to have heard such statements made concerning our people, but I can assure Brother Ainsworth that he has touched upon a very tender point among many good people who are not narrow, who are loyal to the traditions in which they were raised, and who believe, as Bishop Alpheus Wilson properly said of his denomination that there were many good people who would think they were being delivered into the hands of their enemies. There are many in the border States who have that feeling, and unless some provision is made at this time it will work against us. I speak with admiration for the men who proposed and advocated this amendment, and I sincerely hope it will prevail; then we shall have one nexus, one point by which we can tide over the Church in the days to come. I am not one of those who are afraid that we are going to elect bishops who are going to deliberately set out to deplete the Church. If there is anybody who has a feeling for protecting the Church, it is those who have shepherd's flocks under them. For the sake of an equitable and harmonious movement over into the new order of things, as well as for all the future, I hope the amendment will prevail.

Edwin M. Randall: We are seeking the kind of episcopacy in which I believe and thoroughly favor, and the threatened loss of which I protested against at the time this provision was adopted. I believe in an episcopacy that will serve throughout the whole length and breadth of our land, but at the present time, in the present frame of mind looking to the adoption of the plan that we may submit to the Church, I do believe that a Church-wide assignment without a Church-wide election will increase in places at least the difficulty of getting an adoption of this plan. I believe Brother Ainsworth is thoroughly right there.

Frank M. Thomas: In my judgment we ought to let this stand where it is. I agree with Dr. Ainsworth that time will cure any local conditions. We may talk very theoretically about the bishopric, and there is no man who respects the bishopric more than I do; but it is not as beautiful in theory as we have sometimes claimed. The College of Bishops sometimes have to assign men—I don't know whether it is true in the Methodist Episcopal Church—under considerable difficulties; sometimes petitions are secretly circulated against a man holding a certain Conference, and they have to deal with those facts. If men who elect men to the bishopric know that these men are to preside over them, they will be more careful about whom they elect, and I believe that, for the present at least, we should leave this just as it stands.

Abram W. Harris: I would like to ask Dr. Du Bose whether his amendment, if adopted, would affect the resident bishops or only the temporary presidents?

H. M. Du Bose: It bears only on the temporary presidencies.

Bishop Denny: It gives a man power to make any appointment for men by whom he has not been elected.

A. J. Lamar: Dr. Ainsworth is exactly right, and some others have referred to the fact that along the border we have a good many people who will be very seriously affected against our action if we adopt Dr. Du Bose's motion and eliminate this provision from our action. I simply call attention to the fact that we have in the heart of the South a very large part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who are not going to adopt anything that we do unless their own autonomy is secured, their right to deal with their own individual local matters. This question of the bishopric is a vital question with them, and I am pretty thoroughly convinced, while I am no prophet, that if you adopt this motion of Dr. Du Bose's and eliminate this provision for protection as they regard it, it will be absolutely impossible to carry your plan through the next General Conference of our Church.

David G. Downey: I had not thought to say anything on this subject; but if this matter is as serious as some of our brethren of the other Church seem to think it is, it is really of great and grave importance. Brethren here say they are not prophets or sons of prophets, yet they do prophesy that if this little restriction is taken away it will suffice to stop unification. I am not a prophet nor a son of a prophet, but I am inclined to believe that if you insist upon the strict letter of the law as set forth by Bishop Denny, as I understood him, that bishops are to be elected by Regions or small areas or Regional Conferences, and are to be confined to them in their presidency practically and absolutely except as they are invited to go elsewhere, you run up

against a very serious obstacle to the adoption of this plan by the General Conference of the Church, North. Personally I would feel inclined to oppose it on the basis that it destroys our itinerant general superintendency. I am heartily in favor of the amendment. You say that unless the bishopric stays as it is you cannot get it through your General Conference. We have the feeling that unless this amendment prevails we cannot get it through ours. We may both be wrong, or neither, but we shall have to vote our convictions.

R. E. Blackwell: I would like to offer an amendment to the amendment that it seems to me will satisfy our people of the South and have it read this way: "But any bishop may be assigned by a two-thirds vote of the General Conference to any Annual Conference for presidential supervision." That would give us an opportunity in the South to check anybody being sent to us if we object to him, because I suppose we should certainly have over one-third—

Bishop Hoss: We only had two for forty years before we separated.

R. E. Blackwell: I believe that would protect us, and therefore I would like to make that motion, to substitute "may be assigned by a two-thirds vote to the general superintendency of any Annual Conference for presidential supervision."

The motion was seconded.

Edgar Blake: I do not have much confidence in these prophecies on either side. My judgment is, if the Commission is able to agree upon a plan of unification, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is not going to estop union simply because the bishops have been given power to assign any member of the Episcopal Board to any Conference in the field for presidential supervision. I have too much confidence in the good sense of the General Conference to believe that such a thing would happen. Now concerning the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I do not think for a moment, even though so good and influential a member as Dr. Downey would oppose it on the floor—I do not believe the General Conference of our Church would defeat unification simply because the bishops were given this power.

David G. Downey: That was not what I said.

Edgar Blake: Then I misunderstood you.

David G. Downey: I said they could withhold the power.

Edgar Blake: Then I withdraw the remark.

Bishop Hoss: We are going to have a General Conference in three weeks, and we are going to have a big lot of bishops there and we can ship some of them North if you want them.

Edgar Blake: There is no bishop from any Southern Church that we will not welcome for presidential supervision. I be-

lieve this is a bugaboo, and that we do not have to take counsel of our fears in this matter. I hope the amendment offered by Dr. Du Bose will carry, and let us trust to the good sense of the bishops to handle this matter. I cannot conceive for a moment that a majority of the Board of Bishops or the College of Bishops would send a bishop to preside anywhere where he would not be welcome. We have to trust some things to those brethren.

A. F. Watkins: I have not heard any defense of the letter of the action as tentatively passed except on the terms of expediency. The broadest term would not indorse it—that is, the terms on the merits of the question itself. I have not been able to withhold the impression made on my mind by Dr. Ainsworth and Dr. Lamar, but I believe this is right. The episcopacy that I would have would be one that is without seam and that is woven throughout from top to bottom. I would have if I could, if it were not for 1844, a restoration of the *status quo ante 1844*; but I say *if it were not for 1844*. Since 1844 I realize that there can be no unification in the Church except by reorganization, and for that reason I plead for the Regional Conferences that amount to something; but I believe just as certainly that no good American ought to do anything that would throw a seam between the North and South, or the East and West; that no good Methodist ought to recognize unnecessarily any sort of seam in this great united Church, if we should have one. I want a Methodism in which Bishop Candler can preside in New England and in which Bishop McDowell can preside in Mississippi. I do not know how much force there is in this latter action, but it may be that it might jeopardize things and I would deprecate it if it did. It may be that it will not and it ought not to do it. If there is one power that is to cement our continent together as Methodists, it is to be our itinerant general superintendency, and have we not for matters of expediency done a thing that seems to neutralize and paralyze in part the power and virtue of that itinerant general superintendency? and, after all, what is our protection down in the Southeastern Jurisdiction against some bishop who would be objectionable to us? It is not through our preachers, who would have the right to say whether he would be or not. It is not with our members, but it is the judgment of our bishops as to whether he would or not. Now with all due appreciation of that sort of protection, would not we have that same protection in the meetings of the College of Bishops when our bishop would be there to say that that man would not be acceptable among our people? We would not lose a thing except on the matter of expediency for campaign purposes. I don't object to campaign purposes, provided it does not interfere with the matter of prin-

ciple. If I believed it would seriously jeopardize our success, I would be willing to throw logic to the winds for the time and pin my faith to the prophecies of Dr. Ainsworth. But prophecies are dangerous things. This thing looks to me broad and right.

E. C. Reeves: On yesterday I remarked that I did not have much love for the Regional Conferences. Some of the troubles that I referred to yesterday are coming up right now. I am in favor of the amendment that is proposed by Dr. Du Bose. I hold before me the six Regional Conferences as they have been decided upon, and Nos. 2, 3, and 6 will be as much of a Southern Methodist Church as it is to-day. If you are not going to let our bishops circulate and bind our union, I don't see that we will have any union. There will be the Northern Methodist Church just as much as we have ever had it. The so-called unified Church will be the most sectional Church that ever was, the most sectional Protestant Church in the United States. That is just what it will be.

Bishop Cranston: You are right.

E. C. Reeves: Of course, I am right. What we want is circulation of the bishops through the Church like the blood circulates through the human body. Why, my dear bishops, I thought you were a kind of "rawhead and bloodybones" who wished to down us until I met you and associated with you and got to love you. If we don't allow our bishops to circulate through the whole Church, and don't allow our officers to circulate through the whole Church, we will have a sectional Church worse than the two sectional Churches of the present day. I know what the trouble is with many of our people. There is a sectional feeling and a prejudice and a lack of confidence North and South. You outnumber us two to one. The Regional Conference system as proposed is an effort for sectional self-control. For my people, in the minority, it is an attempt to control one-half of the Regional Conferences as a protection against possible aggressions of the majority. That seems to be the idea of my good friend and colleague, Dr. Lamar. If my bishops can not go up into Maine, and your bishops can not go into Louisiana, under this Regional Conference system, what unity can there be? There will be no inter-mixture, no more than there is to-day. You have learned a great deal about us down South at these meetings, and we have learned a great deal about you too. That is just a little bit of circulation that we have started, and we want to make that circulation general. I don't want any disjointed Church so far as I am concerned. If I go into it, I go into it heart and soul and without reservation. I am not going to be scared, because you have two to one now over us, that I won't get the men for bishops that

I want. Whoever comes up, they are mine. We can't afford to do otherwise. I can live under any government that you can, and I believe you will do what you believe is best for general Methodism. I will take you and I want you to take me. We must have that spirit, and if we cannot have that spirit let us quit this thing—it is a farce.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The vote is on Dr. Blackwell's amendment.

R. E. Blackwell: Now that I have heard Mr. Watkins and the Colonel, I withdraw my amendment. I was aiming to get them on the right side, and now that they are all right I withdraw it, with the consent of my seconds.

Alexander Simpson, Jr.: I seconded it and I will consent to the withdrawal.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Then we have a vote on the amendment of Dr. Du Bose.

A vote being taken, the amendment was agreed to by 40 to 5.

A. J. Lamar: I rise to a question of personal privilege. My friend Brother Reeves, with whom I was formerly associated in many Church bodies of the South, has unintentionally done me a very grave injustice. He has stated what I was after was sectionalism and that would defeat any plan for reunion. I simply appeal to my brethren here who have been with me in many meetings whether in any of those general meetings they have ever seen anything in me that showed that I did not desire a union of these two Churches.

Several Voices: No.

A. J. Lamar: I should not have accepted a place on this Commission unless I believed honestly that it was desirable and feasible to unite these two Churches. In pursuance of that purpose I have yielded point after point which was against my judgment. I have gone just as far as I can go to the opposite side. I do not expect to go one inch farther. If you will unite on the ground of a real Regional Conference with real powers, and not a mere sham Regional Conference—if you will settle the question of the colored membership in this Church on the basis that as a Southern man I can accept, I go with you. The report of the Committee of Eight is the extent to which I can go on the colored question. The report of the Regional Conferences is being steadily weakened, and I do not know—I will not promise and I cannot promise, with my view of what is right and desirable, to defend the action of this Commission if you emasculate these Regional Conferences.

Edgar Blake: Now I move the adoption of Subsection 7 as amended.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Ought not there to be a change, "and provided further"—There is no proviso before that.

Edgar Blake: Yes, there is.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Yes; that is all right.

A vote being taken, the section as amended was agreed to.

Edgar Blake: That concludes all matters connected with the report of the Committee on Conferences.

Frank M. Thomas: I would like to move a reconsideration so as to offer an amendment to Subsection 6 of Section 2, "Powers," at the top of page 10.

Edgar Blake: I will second that to see what it is.

Frank M. Thomas: It now reads:

> To divide, consolidate, and change the Regional Conferences; but it shall not take away territory from any Regional Conference without its consent, save by the concurrent vote of two successive General Conferences; nor shall it create any new Regional Conference with less than 500,000 members in full connection.

I wish to amend by adding at the close of that clause the following: "Provided that the boundaries of a Regional Conference shall not be changed without its consent for the period of four quadrenniums succeeding the adoption of this Constitution." I move a reconsideration in order to present that amendment to the body.

A vote being taken, the motion to reconsider was carried.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The amendment is now before you.

Frank M. Thomas: My motive in doing this is to bring about unification. I do not suppose there is a man here who knows the diverse views of our two Churches more than I do, having been reared on the border; and the people of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, if they go into this reorganized Church, will have to be persuaded that the *status quo* will be maintained, at least for a time. I think that in nearly all of the constitutions, where conflicting interests have been merged, provisions have been made in regard to the future. Under the present plan the boundaries of a Regional Conference cannot be changed without its consent, but by the action of two General Conferences. Now suppose it became expedient to change the boundaries of a Regional Conference within the next twenty years, and the Regional Conference did not desire to have its boundaries changed at the time, its only recourse would be to combine with some other Regional Conference, and then it could call for a vote and by a vote of the two divide it. I hope no such thing will occur, but sixteen years, or four quadrenniums, may change the complexion of the two Churches entirely. The men who are familiar with the struggle and bitternesses of fifty years ago will have passed away. The men who come back from the great war will come back with cosmopolitan ideas and men of one outlook; and all I ask is that we provide that for a period of four quad-

renniums following the adoption of the constitution the boundaries of a Regional Conference cannot be changed without its consent.

W. N. Ainsworth: I think Dr. Thomas overlooks the fact that if a vote shall be called for by any two Regional delegations the enactment of any measure will require the majority of the Regional delegation. It seems to me the protection at that point is quite sufficient.

Frank M. Thomas: I do not read that language just in that form. You have here, under the head of "Voting," the following:

> Whenever a majority of each of two Regional delegations shall so request, a vote shall be taken on any pending motion or resolution, except amendments to the Constitution, by Regional delegations, and it shall require the concurrence of a majority of the Regional delegations—the members thereof voting as one body—to adopt said motion or resolution; provided, however, that no motion or resolution shall be adopted that does not receive a majority vote of the members of the General Conference present and voting.

I don't think that protects it.

Edgar Blake: I do not quite see the force of Dr. Thomas's suggestion. It hardly seems wise to tie the hands of the General Conference for that length of time—four quadrenniums. It might occur to the minds of the entire Church, with one exception, that it was desirable to make some changes in these Regional Conference boundaries, and I would not like to see one Regional delegation hold up that matter for sixteen years. I think we should keep this view in mind, that this plan that we have tentatively agreed to for the areas and boundaries of these six Regional Conferences—we cannot hope that this will be perfect. Changes will necessarily have to be made, and I would not like to shut ourselves up and make it impossible to make any change simply because one of our Jurisdictions didn't desire to change when all of the other Jurisdictions might think it was absolutely necessary, for the welfare of the Church, to do so. I do not think it is at all probable that there will be any attempt to change the Regional Conference areas at the first General Conference. There might be in the second; and if it was not agreed to it would go over to the third, and would there be accomplished by concurrent action of the second and third General Conferences. It seems to me that if Dr. Thomas would reduce the proposition by one quadrennium that would meet the practical necessities of the case, because it is doubtful if any desire for a change will come up long before that; but it may at that time. I would not like to tie the hands of the General Conference for sixteen years.

Frank M. Thomas: I think it was John Stuart Blackie who said you cannot trim human nature like you can a tree. We have

6,000,000 people with diverse views, and we can't be sure what to expect. I am not particular about the time, and if I cannot get sixteen I would accept twelve years; but I would not accept less. That is the period of years that will change the life of the Church.

Edgar Blake: Make it three quadrenniums.

Frank M. Thomas: I will accept that.

A Commissioner: The general principle is that no change ought to be made at all at the first quadrennium; and I think if Dr. Thomas will accept two quadrenniums we can all agree on that.

Edgar Blake: It will not arise before the third quadrennium anyway.

A Commissioner: All right; if you want to take that, I am willing. I shall be out of the way.

Edgar Blake: We hope not.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Then it reads now: "Provided no change shall be made in the Regional Conference boundaries before three quadrenniums."

C. M. Bishop: Without the consent of the Regional Conference in question.

Frank M. Thomas: Yes.

A vote being taken, the amendment of Dr. Thomas was agreed to.

A further vote being taken, the section as amended was readopted.

H. W. Rogers: I am about to ask a reconsideration of Subsection 6, Article IX., on page 9, and I raise the question of whether that provision is sufficiently clear and distinct. It reads:

> Lay delegates shall be at least twenty-five years of age and shall have been members of the Church for at least five years, and at the time of their election and at the time of the session of the General Conference shall be members of a pastoral charge within the bounds of the Annual Conference or Central Conference which elected them.

I think there should be as few questions of a constitutional nature left open as possible. I think we are leaving open a question which may be troublesome, and which may cost us a good many votes in this matter when it comes to be presented for adoption by our Church. That clause provides this:

> Lay delegates shall be at least twenty-five years of age and shall have been members of the Church for at least five years, and at the time of their election and at the time of the session of the General Conference shall be members of a pastoral charge within the bounds of the Annual Conference or Central Conference which elected them.

The question which is left open under that provision which may give rise to controversy is whether women under this Constituton as adopted may sit in the General Conference. They sit

in our General Conference and they do not sit in the General Conference of the Church, South; and the objection has been raised already against this proposed constitution that it shuts the door against the women in that it does not specifically provide one way or the other as to whether they may be admitted or not. We may understand that question one way and you may understand it another. I think it ought to be settled one way or the other, and if you will allow me to suggest—

Frank M. Thomas: Do you move or do you suggest?

H. W. Rogers: I am going to move an amendment that we insert after the words "Lay delegates" the words "shall be chosen from any of the members of the Church who are not members of an Annual Conference, and who," and then go on as it is drafted. That would not leave the question in doubt as to what is meant. As it stands now, it is in doubt. It may mean one thing to you and another thing to us; it ought to mean the same to both.

Bishop McDowell: I second the motion for a reconsideration.

Bishop Denny: Why not come out and say "shall be men and women"?

H. W. Rogers: I like this better.

Bishop Hoss: I am ready to vote now.

H. W. Rogers: This relates simply to lay delegates.

J. W. Van Cleve: That does not quite do what it is meant to do. In 1888, when the discussion was up in our Church, there was brought up a decision of the General Conference that all persons who are members of the Church and not members of an Annual Conference are laymen, and a lay conference somewhere out in the Northwest proceeded to elect Bishop Fowler a lay delegate to the General Conference. He was not a member of the Annual Conference.

Bishop Hoss: Bishop Fowler had some experience in his life. He was over in Japan presiding and there was order and disorder, and he said, "If any of you think you can do this better than I can, stand up," and seven Japs stood up at once.

John F. Goucher: I would like to raise the question that the Methodist Episcopal Church has settled its policy, and to my thinking I would much prefer to leave this question for the General Conference. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, will meet shortly and I would rather they would discuss that in their Conference.

H. W. Rogers: I did not speak simply of presenting that. I think to leave this thing in the shape it is now is going to provoke opposition on the part of the women to a large extent in our Church. I have noticed one article already in the *Christian Advocate* written by a gentleman from St. Louis who assails this Constitution on that specific ground, and I have heard some

of the women raise the same question. We have had a great controversy in our Church over that question, and it was not settled until 1906, and this Constitution ought to settle it one way or the other. And it ought to say what we mean, and not leave it to judicial interpretation, one view taken by the Church, North, and another by the Church, South, and then send it to the Judicial Council to ascertain what is meant by this language. Why not settle it now one way or the other?

Frank M. Thomas: I want to make a remark in line with what Dr. Goucher and Judge Rogers have said. Some people down South have recently been thinking that Judge Rogers is one of the foremost living ecclesiastical statesmen because of some fine work he has done heretofore. I think some of them are going to think he is also the owner of the famous Pandora's box. That subject may be a burning one in the next General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and it would hardly be the wise thing for this Commission to anticipate the action of that body.

M. L. Walton: I agree with what Dr. Thomas has said. This is a new question to us, so far as I am concerned. I love the women, so I want to let them have every right they want, and I am perfectly willing to let them vote in the Church or in the State; but I know there will be considerable opposition in our General Conference, and I would like to try this thing out for four years to see whether we can get accustomed to the rights of these good women. I don't think now is the time to bring the matter up, and I trust the matter will not be insisted upon. I think it will jeopardize this great question, especially the carrying of it successfully through our General Conference, and I do not want to see that done.

Bishop Hamilton: I can agree with Judge Walton perfectly, that it would have been well if this question had not been raised, and that it had gone just as it stands in that paragraph. But once having been raised, it is sure to go through the Methodist Episcopal Church. Now if, in addition to the criticism that will be raised as to the sections concerning the connections, you should array against you all the women of the Methodist Church, you will never carry this thing through. It is a misfortune that it should have been raised at all: if you brethren would defeat it now or pass it in such a way that you want to wait for your General Conference to act, it would still be a misfortune. We never can get back to the conditions that existed in the Methodist Episcopal Church concerning two-thirds of its members who raise the salaries of their preachers and are largely in charge of the Church's interests. Go to New England, for instance. I will show you whole towns on the coast where every member of the Official Board is a woman, because the

men are at sea, and I will show you towns in New England which have to have the town government run by women; and now that the thing is raised, and with woman suffrage sweeping through the country, I will be sorry to have it go out now that there was hesitation on the part of the Commission to preserve the rights of the women because, as surely as you live, if you do not carry out in your General Conference this very thing, we can never unite.

M. L. Walton: My good Bishop Hamilton, I glory in the women just as much as you do, and in the great work they have done; but I don't see why this matter should go out of this room. We are certainly all friends, this is an executive session, and we certainly ought to be able to possess our souls in patience and at the same time control our tongues as well as our pens, and there is no occasion to give this matter publicity. A great many of us do not want to assume, or be put in the attitude of assuming, that it is a foregone conclusion how this question will be determined; but I do not think our people should be put to the test with reference to the innovation at this time, when the result is uncertain and when it may defeat the object we all have. We can recognize the rights of the women in a great many respects; but this matter must be held in abeyance until the time arrives, and when that time arrives we can handle it.

Bishop Hamilton: This cannot be kept a secret; and if, having been raised, we go out from here and leave the question in doubt you will have all the active women in this country talking about it from one end of the Church to the other.

H. W. Rogers: It has been suggested that by raising this question I have thrown a firebrand amongst you. Let me tell you, the question is bound to be raised, even if we don't raise it here. After we have adjourned it is bound to be raised, and we had better meet it.

C. M. Bishop: I wish to offer as a substitute for the amendment of Judge Rogers, the following, so as to make the section read: "Lay delegates shall be chosen under regulations adopted by each Regional Conference for itself; but they shall be at least twenty-five years of age," etc.

Bishop Denny: If you will put that "thirty-five years of age," you will settle the whole question. [Laughter.]

C. M. Bishop: It seems to me this is the only possible safe way to deal with this question now, one Church being committed now constitutionally to one view of the matter and the other Church much wrought up concerning it; and the Regional Conferences representing the South will thus have a right to decide for themselves whether their delegates elected shall be men or women. For myself, I do not see why we cannot allow this question to remain with the Regional Conferences as to whether

or not men or women or men and women shall be equally entitled to admission to membership in the General Conference.

Bishop Cooke: Would not the difficulty there be that you would be depriving some of the people in our Church?

C. M. Bishop: No, I think not; because we would be leaving to the Regions in which they would have a right to express their judgment the question of the determination.

Bishop Cooke: Does not that amount to the same thing? You take a certain power and you make it an optional power.

C. M. Bishop: There is a delicate question there. There is no doubt about that; but the very large majority in some of the Southern Regional Conferences would strongly oppose the election of women as delegates, and I think it would defeat the whole business in the Southern General Conference if we were now to declare explicitly for women delegates or the possibility of women delegates.

Edwin M. Randall: What does Dr. Bishop propose to do with the 300,000 women of our Church who would go into a certain Southern Regional section and would be disfranchised under the arrangement he proposes?

C. M. Bishop: I am not disfranchising anybody. I leave it to the Regional Conferences to decide.

Bishop McDowell: A word upon this subject: Judge Rogers has introduced here a question which has been widely raised elsewhere since the tentative plans were published. His introduction of this resolution is for the purpose of making it perfectly clear to the Churches what qualifications will be required and expected of delegates to the General Conference. That question is actually already on. This involves a change of policy either on one side of the fence or the other. In one case it involves the extension of the privilege to persons who do not now possess it and in the other case it may involve a withdrawal of the privilege from those who do possess it—namely, the privilege of membership in the General Conference. I think that the thing for us to do is to adopt Judge Rogers's amendment in substance, whether the exact form is presented or whether the form is as proposed by Dr. Bishop; but in some form we ought to vote upon it. I do not agree that Dr. Bishop's proposal quite covers the case; for surely there would be, first of all, the question that is raised by Dr. Randall of what would be a real deprivation to three or four hundred thousand women who would be in Jurisdictions overwhelmingly Southern, in case those Regional Conferences decline to elect women as delegates to the General Conference; but if the whole Northern tier of Regional Conferences continue to elect women as delegates to the General Conference, you would have the strange anomaly of a General Conference with women from one lot of

Regional Conferences, while a certain other lot of Regional Conferences did not send them, and that would be a very anomalous condition.

Bishop Cranston: And it wouldn't last long.

Bishop McDowell: I do not think it would; but we might just as well pass on it now as any other time. We ought to say that it is our judgment with reference to this matter that the lay delegates to the General Conference shall be either men or women who meet the qualifications. If there is any new world that the new Church must adapt itself to, it is the new world that affects womanhood.

Bishop Hoss: We might just as well pass a resolution that in all other respects the Discipline of the Church, South, shall be changed to conform to the Discipline of the Church, North. Most of our Southern Commissioners seem to agree to that, but I do not. You may think you can settle it by a vote, but I tell you now you cannot. I think if you adopt this amendment you will just simply blot out the Southern Methodist Church.

Bishop Mouzon: With my good friend Dr. Thomas, I regret that Dr. Rogers did open up a Pandora's box here. You see the trouble is, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is just three weeks off, and this question will certainly come before that Conference and it may be for that reason some gentlemen here would hesitate to express themselves. [Laughter.] Now, that is not a facetious remark; it is a real serious remark. It does embarrass some of us. The fact is, I am embarrassed myself. Do you not see that I am, and very greatly embarrassed, over this matter? I could wish you could see your way clear to adopt the substitute of Dr. Bishop. I think this is a good middle-way. It would enable you to say to your women that any rights they have now will not be taken from them, and it will enable us to say to our good women that all the rights they have will be preserved and any others they may want they shall also have. I do not suppose a large minority of us at any time have thought that the rights of your women now were to be taken from them by unified Methodism. For one, I have never thought anything of that kind. I told you you had embarrassed me, and I am so badly embarrassed that I hardly know how I can come to the sentence I am about to utter; but I must confess I have surrendered to the women. This question will come before our approaching General Conference, as I said a moment ago. It is going to be somewhat embarrassing. I wish we could have left it the way it was. I wonder if it would satisfy all the conditions, and relieve any possible embarrassment, if the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church—if the time comes that we here in St. Louis are to vote as separate Commissions—might in

taking their vote say that they agreed on conditions that no rights that the women now have are to be taken from them?

Bishop Cranston: How would this do: "The qualification of the lay delegates to the General Conference shall be as they are now defined by the respective two Churches concerned," and leave it there until your Church takes some further action?

Bishop Mouzon: That would not get anywhere.

Edgar Blake: I certainly would not want to be a party to any agreement that would deprive the women of our own Church of their rights in this particular matter. At the same time I do not want to force upon the Church, South, a thing that is not agreeable to them. It seems to me that we could cover the matter by entering into a formal agreement, not to be included in the Constitution but to go along with it as sundry other agreements will have to go—an agreement to this effect, that the women members of the Methodist Episcopal Church shall be eligible to membership in the Central and General Conferences. That is not in exactly the form the agreement should be put, but that is the substance of it. Bishop McDowell says, "Provided they can be elected," etc. A formal agreement of that character will fully protect our women, and at the same time not force anything upon the Church, South, ahead of the program in this matter. As a matter of fact, I think before we could get together in the reorganized General Conference the whole question of women's relationship to the Church and State will have been settled for us outside of the Church. In addition to that, there is another provision which says that the General Conference shall be the judge of the election, returns, and qualifications of its own members. It will be clearly within the power of the General Conference of the reorganized Church to provide that women may be eligible to membership. But in view of the fact that the matter has been raised, and some decision ought to be reached, it appears to me, from the light we now have, that the best way to deal with it is in the manner I have indicated.

Bishop McDowell: I rise simply to say that in my judgment we should not hurry to vote on this matter this evening. We have three or four suggestions. Nobody wants to embarrass anybody else. I do not want to take snap judgment, and my mood is to move that with this subject before us we adjourn until to-morrow morning. I am willing to have Judge White address us, but I do not want to hurry to a conclusion.

H. H. White: My remarks will be very short. To use a phrase that is current in my country, but which some of you may not have heard, the Judge seemed to have stirred up more rabbits than he can catch. I don't believe our Southern Commissioners need to be afraid of this subject in any sense what-

ever. I am somewhat of a Southerner. I come from a pretty far distant part of the South, but I could tell you this, that the leaven of woman's suffrage has permeated Louisiana very thoroughly and I believe it has every other Southern State, and if we want to popularize the proceedings of this Commission the very strongest thing we can do is to do what a gentleman from South Carolina told me he did, if you will permit a short anecdote. He said he had become acquainted by mail and by letter with a lady to whom he afterwards became engaged. The courtship had gone on for some time in that way, and finally he decided that he would go down to South Carolina and see his fiancée in person. He said he went, he got out at a big gate, he walked up between the trees and up the steps to a fine colonial mansion, and he said his heart was beating pitapat and he was almost scared to death when he heard the rustle of a silk dress coming down the hall, and he didn't know whether to run or not, and then he just made up his mind that he would go in and take the bu— the cow by the horns and have the matter out. So I believe the best thing that we can do now is just to take the cow by the horns and let them know that we believe in women's suffrage as a matter of State policy and in the Church. I do not believe the proceedings of this Commission will cause unification to lose one vote in the South on that account. Those are my honest and sincere sentiments and my opinion. I believe we should fix it that way, and I don't care whether you write in the words "ladies and gentlemen" or "male and female," or any sex whatever.

Edgar Blake: I move that a Committee of Four, two from each Commission, be appointed to consider this matter and report upon the same at the session to-morrow morning.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Bishop Cranston announced the two committeemen from the Church, North, as Bishop W. F. McDowell and Rev. J. W. Van Cleve.

Bishop Mouzon announced the names of the committeemen from the Church, South, as Dr. Frank M. Thomas and Judge H. H. White.

Edgar Blake: I now desire to amend the motion to adjourn until to-morrow morning, and I move that when we adjourn we adjourn to meet for a session this evening to continue from eight to ten, and my reason for making that motion is as follows: We have voted to have the final adjournment at five o'clock Saturday. That leaves us only two days for work after to-day. We have covered a good deal of this plan during the day, but much more remains to be considered, and I feel that if we could meet this evening for two hours we could perfect

a plan for the Judicial Council and get that completed and out of the way, at least completed tentatively, so as to leave us the entire remaining time of two days to consider the status of the colored membership and such other matters as should receive our consideration. I think we shall need every moment of our time.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Bishop Mouzon: In view of the very heavy duties of Rev. Frank M. Thomas, as Secretary, he requests to be excused from service on this Committee of Four, and in place of Dr. Thomas I will ask Brother W. J. Young to serve.

After benediction by Bishop Cranston, the Joint Commission adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The Commission met pursuant to adjournment and was called to order by Bishop Earl Cranston at 8:10 P.M.

The hymn, "Jesus, the very thought of Thee," was sung.

Prayer was offered by Dr. Randall.

The hymn, "Sweet hour of prayer," was sung.

The minutes of the last session were read and approved.

Bishop Mouzon took the chair as presiding officer.

The roll was called and showed the following attendance: Bishops E. D. Mouzon, W. B. Murrah, Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, J. M. Moore, C. M. Bishop, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, H. M. Du Bose, W. N. Ainsworth, A. J. Lamar, Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, J. R. Pepper, E. C. Reeves, H. H. White, E. W. Hines, G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, I. E. Robinson, H. W. Rogers, Alexander Simpson, Jr., J. R. Joy. Rev. C. M. Stuart, alternate.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): What is before the Commission?

Bishop Cranston: The work of the evening was to be on the report of the Committee on Judicial Council.

Bishop Cooke: We begin at Section 4, on page 13:

Section 4. Members of the Judicial Council shall serve for eight (8) years, or until their successors are confirmed, and shall be subject to re-election. The term of each member (except as provided in Section 10) shall expire at the close of the second General Conference succeeding that at which his term began; provided, that the ministerial members chosen at the first election from the even-numbered Jurisdictions and the lay members chosen at the first election from the odd-numbered Jurisdictions

shall serve for four years, and their terms shall expire at the close of the General Conference next following that at which their terms began. It is provided, further, that the term of the members of the first Judicial Council shall begin at the time of their election and confirmation by the General Conference.

I move the adoption of this section.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Bishop Cooke: The next is page 14, under the head of "Powers," Section 7 (1):

The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General and Regional Conferences, the records and documents transmitted to it from Judicial Conferences, to hear and determine questions of law and all other appeals coming to it in course of lawful procedure from Annual Conferences, from Judicial and Regional Conferences, and from the General Conference; provided, that no appeal from any Conference shall be entertained unless the same has been taken by at least one-fifth of the Conference.

May I say, in order that it shall not be overlooked, you will note on this, as on page 13 on the composition of the Judicial Council, that the Central Conferences have as yet no representation nor have any of the other Conferences that are yet to be formed. Of course we could not provide for what we did not have. I move the adoption of this section.

The motion was seconded.

John M. Moore: I would be very glad if Bishop Cooke would read the second section and then allow me to read a different statement, which I think will have exactly the same ideas and will put these very Powers in a little different form. Read Subsection 2 and then I will offer a substitute for the whole.

Bishop Cooke (Reading):

(2) The Judicial Council shall also have power to arrest an action of a connectional board or other connectional body, when such action is brought before it by appeal by one-fifth of the members of said body or by the general superintendents. In all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be final; provided, that if on a constitutional question there shall be a majority vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference disapproving a decision of the Judicial Council, its construction of the question involved shall then be sent to the Annual Conferences for final approval or disapproval, as provided in Subsection 11, Section 2, Article IX., of the Constitution.

John M. Moore: I would like to offer this, which I hope will be accepted as a substitute; and as I read I think you can follow with your papers what I am trying to bring out:

The Judicial Council shall have full and final power as follows:

1. To review, upon appeal, the acts of the General and Regional Conferences and determine whether or not they involve the Constitution or require for the enactment of those found to affect the Constitution the process by which amendments to the Constitution are made.

2. To review any action of any Connectional Board or body which

may be brought before it by an appeal of one-fifth of the members of said board or body or by the general superintendents; and should an action be found not to be within the power of said Board or body as defined in the law of the Church, said action shall be arrested until determined otherwise by the General Conference.

3. To hear and determine, upon appeal, the questions of law involved and decisions made by the presiding officers of Annual Conferences, Regional Conferences, and General Conferences, and other appeals coming from and through the aforesaid bodies in course of lawful procedure —[such as would come up from Quarterly Conferences, things of that kind].

4. To hear and determine appeals from Trial Committees of Judicial Conferences or Annual Conferences upon the records and documents in the cases and submitted from said Committee to the Judicial Council.

Those are really the four powers included in these two paragraphs, and I believe in stating them just in this form so that they will stand out succinctly, so that every one can see the four powers that the Judicial Council has.

A. J. Lamar: As I caught the reading, you leave out the power of the Judicial Council to review the decisions of the Annual Conference?

John M. Moore: No, that is in the first: "To review, upon appeal, the acts of the General and Regional Conferences, and determine whether or not they involve the Constitution and require for the enactment of those found to affect the Constition the process by which amendments to the Constitution are made."

Bishop Murrah: You propose that as a substitute for how much of it?

John M. Moore: This that I have read I propose for the Powers you have in Subsections 1 and 2. I suggest this as I have read it out.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Wherein in your four subsections do you cover the question of a disagreement between the General Conference and the Judicial Council in the decision of a constitutional question? You see to-day we voted that if the General Conference did not agree that the question would go to the Annual Conferences and by a two-thirds vote they might decide in favor of the General Conference. I did not catch anything on that in your reading of the substitute.

John M. Moore: It is not in there. I didn't want it in there.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I supposed it was not in there.

John M. Moore: I meant that to go in at the end of the first statement. If this were to be referred to the General Conference, then, of course, you would have to put it there; but what I provide for is that this Committee will determine whether or not it affects the Constitution.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: This does not touch the point we passed upon which should be in there. If the Judicial Council de-

cides a question one way and the General Conference disagrees with that decision, then the Annual Conferences should by a two-thirds vote be entitled to override the action of the Judicial Council.

John M. Moore: The point I am making is that you are submitting this to the Annual Conferences. If the Judicial Council decides that the matter affects the Constitution, then it must go to the Annual Conference. If it reports to the General Conference and the General Conference says, "No, you are mistaken about that, it does not affect the Constitution," we will decide the matter by sending it down to the Annual Conferences.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: The way you have it there, the mere fact that the Judicial Council says it does affect the Constitution forces that to go down to the Annual Conference, whether everybody agrees or not.

John M. Moore: If the General Conference disagrees, you send it down?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: But if everybody agrees you should not send it down?

John M. Moore: I don't say that.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: That is the way I understand it. Read it again.

John M. Moore (Reading): To review, upon appeal, the acts of the General and Regional Conferences and to determine whether they involve the Constitution and require for the enactment of those found to affect the Constitution the process by which amendments to the Constitution are made.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: But suppose the General Conference agrees, it still must go, the way you have it worded there.

John M. Moore: I will just simply say that I would not object to this other matter being put in there. This was made to simplify, and I did not think it was necessary to put that in; and in view of the action you took this afternoon, I would have to add just as set forth in the other paragraph.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): This is offered as a substitute for Subsections 1 and 2.

Frank M. Thomas: I submit, taking up Section 1, that the substitute offered by Dr. Moore is not as clear and as legal in its phraseology as the original, nor does it cover one or two important points. I will read them so that you can get the statement. The substitute is as follows:

To review, upon appeal, the acts of the General Conference that determine whether or not they involve the Constitution and require for the enactment of those found to affect the Constitution the process by which amendments to the Constitution are made.

Now Subsection 1, under "Powers," reads as follows:

The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General and Regional Conferences, the records and documents transmitted to it from Judicial Conferences, to hear and determine questions of law and all other appeals coming to it in course of lawful procedure from Annual Conferences, from Judicial and Regional Conferences, and from the General Conference; provided, that no appeal from any Conference shall be entertained unless the same has been taken by at least one-fifth of the Conference.

I think this latter is much clearer and stronger. There is some merit in Dr. Moore's suggestion in his breaking it up and getting it a little more clearly stated; but in the third place I call attention to a criticism pointed out by Dr. Lamar. According to the plain construction of the language here in the third paragraph, a General Conference *per se* could differ from the Judicial Council in its construction of the law and put it into the Discipline. [Reading:]

Provided, that all construction of law which affects any paragraph of the Discipline shall be subject to the General Conference for its approval or rejection and, when approved, for incorporation in the paragraph affected.

So the Judicial Council might decide the matter of legality of a disciplinary provision and the General Conference turn around and veto it and put it in the Discipline.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Is the substitute seconded? I did not hear any one second it.

Bishop Cooke: I move the adoption of Section 7 (1) as read.

Edgar Blake: I don't think we are quite ready to adopt that, because it is not quite complete. [Reading:]

The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General and Regional Conferences.

We ought to have in mind that we have to provide that there shall be Central Conferences, and these Central Conferences are not provided for here.

Bishop Cooke: I mentioned that.

Edgar Blake: We have already agreed that there shall be certain Central Conferences with certain powers, and we have contemplated certain Jurisdictional General Conferences. It seems to me that the Central Conferences ought to be included here, and also the Jurisdictional General Conference should be named here, at least tentatively, with the rest. Of course, if we do not require provisions for the Jurisdictional General Conferences, it falls out naturally; but I think some provision should be made here, so that we may know exactly where we are.

Bishop Cooke: I have already referred to that, and the body understands that the representation from the Conference bodies

was not put in here, because our action was not completed concerning those Conferences. We cannot do anything now until certain other matters are finally settled, and when those other matters are finally settled it will then be an easy matter to insert.

Edgar Blake: If you please, I want to call attention to the fact that we have provided tentatively that there shall be certain Central Conferences. Turn over to page 3, the Article under the heading of "Central Conferences." "There shall be constituted the following Jurisdictions, each having its own Central Conference," and we have already agreed on those.

Bishop Cooke: I didn't want to have anything that will bring about any annoyance.

Edgar Blake: It comes right here.

Bishop Cooke: That will come in when you fix the membership of the Judicial Council.

Edgar Blake: That really comes in in the preceding paragraph; but what I have in mind is that we ought to cover this, that the Judicial Council shall have the power to review, on constitutional grounds, the acts of lawmaking bodies. We have already agreed tentatively that there shall be three Conferences—the General Conferences, the Regional Conferences, and the Central Conferences—and that the Central Conferences ought to be named now; also I thought it would be well to name the Jurisdictional General Conferences, with the understanding that if we do not agree to that it will be dropped out.

Bishop Cooke: Suppose after the words "Regional Conferences" we may insert "the Central Conferences."

Edgar Blake: It would read as follows: "The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General Conferences, the Regional Conferences, the Central Conferences, and the Jurisdictional General Conferences."

Bishop Cooke: We will accept that.

Frank M. Thomas: I fully agree to add in there "the Central Conferences," because it is proper that they should have a tribunal to which they can appeal; but when you come to the Associate General Conferences, that term being in my mind just now, you are going to make that amenable to the judicial body which is at present constituted by the General Conference and which is in a sense coördinate to the General Conference you are creating. It seems to me that if you do that you must widen your concept of the Judicial Council. It strikes me that can only be created by creating a Federal Council of Methodism, or giving your Judicial Council a new setting when it passes on cases coming from these Associate General Confer-

ences. Do you see the point? The Judicial Council as now constituted is constituted by one General Conference, and yet it passes upon questions coming from the Associate General Conferences. There is the difficulty.

Edgar Blake: I see no difficulty in view of the fact that, according to the scheme we have in mind, we provide that the Associate General Conference shall have representation on the Judicial—or perhaps it would be better to call it the Constitutional Council, so that we have for the entire Church only one judicial body that passes upon constitutional matters for the entire Church, that reviews the acts of the General Conference, the Associate General Conference, the Regional Conferences, and the Central Conferences.

Frank M. Thomas: But unless you constitute it when it sits as a final court over the Associate Conferences—unless you give it a new setting, you are having these bodies appeal to a Council in which they have no creative power. The Judicial Council as now constituted is created by the General Conference. If you want to project that into the Supreme Federal Council of Methodism, but to hold it as created by the matter of the General Conference, it could not function as a final tribunal of all the General Conferences throughout the world.

Edgar Blake: We have provided that this Judicial Council shall be made up of two delegates from each Regional Conference and three delegates elected by the General Conference and one delegate from each Jurisdictional General Conference.

Frank M. Thomas: That was not determined.

Edgar Blake: The plan contemplates that.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I shall have to put a stop to this dialogue. It is out of order.

Edgar Blake: I desire to offer as an amendment to the first two lines of Section 7, Subsection 1, the following: "The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General Conference, the Regional Conferences, and the Central Conferences," omitting for the time being the Jurisdictional Conferences.

Bishop Cooke: The committee will accept that.

Edgar Blake: Now, one or two other items. This is not quite clear to me. I want it made clear:

> The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General Conference, the Regional Conferences, and the Central Conferences, the records and documents transmitted to it from Judicial Conferences, to hear and determine questions of law and all other appeals coming to it in course of lawful procedure from Annual Conferences, from Judicial and Regional Conferences, and from the General Conferences; provided, that no appeal from any Conference shall be entertained unless the same has been taken by at least one-fifth of the Conference.

Now, what I understand by that—and I want to know if I get the mind of the committee—is that you are providing there for those cases not constitutional, that shall come before the Judicial Council upon appeal.

Bishop Cooke: That is it, with reference to the records and documents transmitted to it from the Judicial Conference.

Edgar Blake: May I call attention to the fact that up to this time we have no such thing as a Judicial Conference?

Bishop Cooke: We understand that. We have not got a good many other things that we are going to provide for. This Committee was appointed to draw up a compilation of the powers, etc., of the Judicial Council. We were not to build the entire system from the bottom up.

Edgar Blake: This would seem to limit the appeals that shall come before the bodies to appeals taken by the Judicial, the Regional, and the General Conferences, and I don't think we ought to limit appeals that may come before this body to appeals from those bodies.

Bishop Cooke: May I explain that? We all know that by "lawful procedure" is meant those cases which, having begun in the lower court, take their course through all the upper courts until they reach the final court. The final court is the Judicial Conference of the Region, and from that, when an appeal is taken, it is taken to the Supreme Court, the Judicial Council, as a final Court of Appeals. The Judicial Council does not hear or review appeals coming from lower courts. It comes from the lower courts in lawful procedure and when the appeal is taken from that to the Supreme Court. That is the reason we do not mention that the other court, the Judicial Council, is the final court.

Edgar Blake: It seems to me, from that language, that appeals are limited to appeals coming from the Annual Conferences, the Judicial Conferences, and the Regional Conferences. It seems to me somewhat briefer and more simple language would cover it better:

> The Judicial Council shall hear and determine all other Judicial Appeals that may properly come before it, as hereinafter provided.

Now, if you will turn to page 10, under "Powers of the General Conference," Subsection 10, you will find: "The General Conference shall have power . . . to govern the judicial administration of the Church, except as herein otherwise provided."

Bishop Cooke: I may state that that was one of the reasons for proposing these things as we have them here. You grant legislative power to the Regional Conference. But that is not a statutory appeal. One may object in the Regional Con-

ference to an enactment by that Regional Conference, but that is not a statutory appeal. It is an appeal from the Regional Conference. A member there may object to something, just as in the General Conference. A member in the General Conference may appeal to the Judicial Conference, and we provide here that one may appeal from the Regional Conference just as you do in the General Conference to the Judicial Council. So we bring together the Judicial, the Regional, and the General Conferences.

Edgar Blake: The point I have in mind is this: That you appear by your action to place certain limitations upon the appeals that may come before this Judicial Council or you seek to determine the process by which these appeals can come, which process is to be committed to the powers of the General Conference. It seems to me it would be perhaps simpler and safer, instead of going into legislation in the Constitution to determine the process by which appeals other than those that are made for constitutional reasons may come before the Judicial Council—that it is a safer thing to make the statement that the Judicial Council shall also hear and determine all other judicial appeals that may come before it as hereinafter provided.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Do you offer that as an amendment?

Edgar Blake: Yes, but I do not want to press it.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I do not hear the amendment seconded.

It was seconded by several.

Bishop Cooke: I object to it on this ground: The very moment you throw open that door you will have appellants ignoring all of the courts and appealing directly to the Judicial Council. If you want a method of procedure, that may come later on, but that was not the duty of this committee. The method of procedure will be taken into account by those who build the judicial system from the Church court up through the various courts to the Judicial Council.

Edgar Blake: I beg pardon of the Commission for the denseness of my mind, but if it is satisfactory to you I will apologize for taking your time and withdraw the amendment.

Bishop Cranston: It is very apparent, from the mental disturbance that has been evidenced in this extended discussion between two brilliant minds, both learned in the law, that there is some possibility of improvement in the statement of the powers of that Judicial Council, and I am going to move that that be recommitted to the committee and that Dr. Moore and Dr. Blake be added to the committee to make an additional report on that section.

The motion was seconded.

John M. Moore: I favor that motion. I think it would be possible for us to get a clearer statement. I see you are not pleased with the statement I offered, but also that you are not pleased with the statement that is here.

Edgar Blake: I think we can fix this right now with an amendment.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: There is an amendment that will clear up the situation and retain in this everything that Bishop Cooke desires. If you will strike out in the fourth and fifth lines the words "from Annual Conferences, from Judicial and Regional Conferences, and from the General Conference," you will still have everything in it that the Committee has provided for, because there will be nothing to come before the Judicial Council except that which comes to it in course of legal procedure. That is the limitation which is desired here, and the addition of these words that I have suggested striking out adds nothing to it. Therefore I move to strike out the words I have mentioned.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The question is on Bishop Cranston's motion to refer it back to the Committee with the addition of Dr. Blake and Dr. Moore. That is the question that is before the body.

Bishop Murrah: I hope there will not be any reference. It will come back in here, and why not settle it now?

Edgar Blake: I move to lay the motion to refer on the table.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I now renew my motion.

The motion was not seconded, and, a vote being taken on the adoption of the item as amended, the same was adopted.

Edgar Blake: I want to ask for information from Bishop Cooke, who is Chairman of the Committee: Do I understand that under this provision here in Section 7 (1) the General Conference would have the authority to present to the Judicial Council a proposed action of the General Conference for the Judicial Council to pass upon the constitutionality of the same?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: In advance, do you mean?

Edgar Blake: Yes.

Bishop Cooke: I suppose sometime an inquiry is made, "Would such an action be constitutional?" That is not a legal way of getting at that. Courts will never give a decision on a hypothetical case.

Edgar Blake: But there are exceptions to that?

Bishop Cooke: The decisions of the bishops are not legal outside of the case, and I suppose the same rule would apply. However, there is nothing to prevent the General Conference from making inquiry of the Judicial Council; but to ask for

the Judicial Council to make a decision, that would be, of course, another matter.

Bishop McDowell: I think there may be a fair distinction made between an inquiry made from the General Conference upon a piece of legislation which might be pending and a reference to the Judicial Council of a piece of legislation which had been passed. It would seem rather an extreme procedure, to be indulged in only in extreme cases, to ask for an opinion in advance of the passage of legislation; but I should think it would be perfectly clear that if the General Conference at any time did wish an opinion from the Judicial Council upon a proposed matter that the General Conference could ask for that opinion, but it would be an extreme case.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: It would be a great mistake for the Judicial Council to answer it. There are very few cases in which such a proceeding is countenanced in the States of this country. I think in Massachusetts perhaps the legislature can ask the Supreme Court, and I think possibly also in New Hampshire; but in many cases it has been found that that provision has worked wrong, because no court can wisely decide a question brought before it until it has heard the opposing argument from the factions against the proposition; and the court that undertakes to decide a question in advance very commonly finds when a thing is properly brought before it by the argument by parties interested on one side or the other that it has to review and reverse itself and puts itself in an unenviable position.

Henry W. Rogers: I don't know whether the Superior Court of Massachusetts still indulges in that practice, but with one or two exceptions the courts of every State in the Union have declined to answer such questions when they were propounded to them.

Bishop McDowell: It would seem that if the General Conference wanted to do that it would only resort to it in extreme cases, and the Judicial Council ought to decline to answer as to proposed hypothetical legislation.

Bishop Cranston: I am going to expose my ignorance. I am puzzled to know from anything that I have heard just by what process a questionable act of the General Conference is to be brought before this tribunal. It may be there very plainly, but I have not caught hold of it. Suppose an act of the General Conference is questioned as to its constitutionality, then I suppose the natural process would be that some member would make a motion that the legislation be referred to the Judicial Council for a determination as to its constitutionality; and suppose then that the majority of the General Conference that passed the legislation should vote that it should not be so referred, how would you get it there? That is one question that

I desire to ask; and the other is, If you are going to make the Judicial Council a Court of Appeals for determining the constitutionality of acts of all legislative and administrative bodies, and I suppose executive bodies also, why do you leave out the rulings of the bishops? Why not let the Judicial Council settle the questions of constitutionality for the bishops as well as for the legislative powers?

David G. Downey: An appeal from the General Conference to the Judicial Council would lie if one-fifth of that body demanded it. "Provided that no appeal from any Conference shall be entertained unless taken by one-fifth of the Conference."

Bishop Cranston. That refers to the General Conference also.

David G. Downey: Yes; if the General Conference makes a decision, one-fifth of the members can appeal.

Bishop Cranston: So much of my ignorance is disposed of.

Henry W. Rogers: In addition to my statement I ought to state that at the present time in our Church it sometimes happens, and has happened on several occasions within my memory, that the General Conference has asked in advance for an opinion of the Committee on Judiciary as to the legality of a certain proposed act. They asked that question at the last meeting of the General Conference at Saratoga in reference to an action which was proposed to be taken in reference to the calling of the General Conference to be subject to the call of bishops in case they saw fit to call us together to act upon the unification of Methodism, and we made a report without protest in which we said it was entirely within the power of the General Conference not to adjourn *sine die,* but to adjourn subject to the call of the bishops if it was found desirable. The two cases of asking for an opinion of the Supreme Court on certain proposed legislation is a little different from the General Conference asking of the Judiciary Committee for its advice on a certain question that they desired to be informed upon; and while I am on my feet may I ask whether there has been a final vote on this article on all the subjects embraced in it? We have gone through it and considered various items, but I want to finally dispose of that and want to take some action by roll call in reference to the final adoption of it and I want to call for that roll call.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): You have not voted on Subsection 2 of Section 9.

Edgar Blake: What I wanted to bring out was exactly what Judge Rogers has called your attention to—namely, that sometimes there have arisen cases when the General Conference was not quite sure whether the action of that body was in harmony with the Constitution, and we have called upon our judiciary to give us a judgment upon the matter in hand. That indeed is a little irregular as the procedure of secular courts is

concerned, but I confess to my mind it seems to me to be a very wise and necessary procedure. Any General Conference made up of six or eight hundred men brought together from the ends of the earth, most of whom know very little about the legal aspect of some of these matters that will come before us—certainly, if the great body that meets once every four years can be saved from enacting legislation that is unconstitutional and can be led by a wise Judicial Council into getting in harmony with the Constitution, it would be a very good thing. I think an advance inquiry by a legislative body of a Committee on Judiciary is consistent. But here you are establishing a court of final resort. You may say that you are virtually taking out of the General Conference a Committee on Judiciary and that you can make inquiry in advance as to whether a proposed measure is constitutional. Legislative bills have often been referred to a Committee on Judiciary, but this seems to involve establishing a Supreme Judicial tribunal. I regret very much to see the term "Council," but it is probably too late to object to that now. I do not like that term introduced in Methodism, but that is not the question up now; but if we are going to make a Supreme Court in Methodism, make it a real court.

Edgar Blake: Where is the advantage of having the Judicial Council meet at the same time the General Conference meets?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Dr. Blake has not made any motion and there does not seem to be anything before us.

Edgar Blake: I am willing to make the motion.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Suppose you make the motion then.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Was not Subsection 1 adopted?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Yes.

Bishop Cooke: And a motion was made to adopt the second, and the vote should be upon the adoption of the second.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: One amendment ought to be made. I call attention to this fact. You will notice the first proviso reads:

> Provided that if on a constitutional question there shall be a majority vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference, disapproving a decision of the Judicial Council, its construction of the question involved shall then be sent to the Annual Conferences for final approval or disapproval, as provided in Subsection 11, Section 2, of Article IX. of the Constitution.

We have already provided for a quorum in Section 5—"Two-thirds of the members elected to the General Conference shall be necessary for a quorum"—and it seems to me it is quite unnecessary to repeat that here. I ask that the first proviso should be made to read in this way: "Provided that on a con-

stitutional question there shall be a majority of the General Conference present and voting," etc.

Bishop Cooke: That does not affect our clause.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: No, sir; it just chimes in with what you have.

J. W. Van Cleve: I want to raise a question: Was it not the intention to require two-thirds of the General Conference—not a majority, but two-thirds?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: No, it was two-thirds of the members of the several Annual Conferences that you are thinking about.

Bishop McDowell: Dr. Van Cleve's recollection is wrong at that point. I think the interpretation was that two-thirds of the General Conference constituted a quorum, and two-thirds of that should have the power in this and all similar cases.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Do you not mean a majority vote of two-thirds of the General Conference present and voting?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: That is not the language I put in. Two-thirds makes a quorum, and it must be a majority of those present and voting.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Does the Committee accept that amendment?

Bishop Cooke: Yes.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Strike out the word "two-thirds" and insert after "Conference" the words "present and voting," so that it shall read "a majority of the quorum present and voting."

Frank M. Thomas: As a member of that Committee, I am opposed to that. I think in order for there to be a disapproval of the decisions of the Judicial Council they should be sent down to the Annual Conferences, and it should be by at least two-thirds of those present and voting.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: We want a majority of the two-thirds required for a quorum.

J. W. Van Cleve: The question arises whether by two-thirds you mean two-thirds of those present and voting or whether you mean a majority out of the two-thirds. Do you mean two-thirds of the people present and voting or a majority of those present and voting?

Bishop Cooke: I think I voiced the judgment of the committee in saying that the intention was a majority of the two-thirds of those present and voting.

Bishop Cranston: And you have that same question when you provide that one-fifth of the Conference can appeal. Do you mean one-fifth of the Conference really or do you mean one-fifth of those voting?

Bishop Cooke: Only those voting, one-fifth of those present and voting.

J. W. Van Cleve: In order to make the matter perfectly clear I move to strike out the word "majority."

The motion was seconded.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: That would be two-thirds of the whole General Conference. My amendment is to strike out the word "two-thirds" and insert after the words "General Conference" the words "present and voting." It would read: "In all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be final; provided that if, on a constitutional question, there shall be a majority vote of the members of the General Conference present and voting disapproving of a decision of the Judicial Council, its construction of the question shall then be sent to the Annual Conferences for final approval or disapproval as provided in Subsection 2, Article IX."

The motion was seconded.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Dr. Van Cleve offers as a substitute for that an amendment striking out the words "a majority."

John M. Moore: May we not ask Mr. Simpson to put in "present and voting" independently of the other? You have really two elements.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I made it with both and the Committee accepted both. It is now in the form of the Committee's acceptance with both of those, and Dr. Van Cleve is not in accord with the report of the Committee in that sense.

Frank M. Thomas: I make it a point of order that the Committee did not accept that.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Here it is as the Committee accepted it: "Provided that if, on a constitutional question, there shall be a majority vote of the members of the General Conference present and voting disapproving a decision of the Judicial Council, its construction of the question involved shall then be sent to the Annual Conferences for final approval or disapproval as provided in Subsection 11, Section 2, of Article IX. of the Constitution."

Frank M. Thomas: The Committee didn't accept that.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: It was accepted.

A. J. Lamar: I never heard it.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair understood Bishop Cooke to say that is not correct. Is the Chair correct in that understanding?

Bishop Cooke: I think it was accepted with the word "majority" in it, but it was confused with Dr. Van Cleve's method of eliminating the word "majority." I think you read "majority vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference present and voting."

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: We seem to have gotten into a muddle, so that we can't get at all that has been done.

Bishop Cooke: That is it.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: To straighten it out I move to insert after the words "General Conference" the words "present and voting."

John M. Moore: I second the amendment.

A vote being taken, the amendment was agreed to.

J. W. Van Cleve: Is this section now open to amendment?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Certainly.

J. W. Van Cleve: I move to strike out the word "majority," so that it will read "a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference present and voting."

The motion was seconded.

Edgar Blake: I hope that will not carry, for the simple reason that on page 10 you have provided that the General Conference shall have power "to consider and, if deemed wise, to disapprove of the decisions of the Judicial Council upon any constitutional question." That is only by a majority vote of the General Conference, and there will be a conflict between that section and this section here if the "two-thirds" remains in.

W. N. Ainsworth: Dr. Blake is mistaken. We amended the paragraph you read to make it "two-thirds."

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): What paragraph are you referring to?

Edgar Blake: I am referring to the bottom of page 10. We change the simple majority in the last line so that the paragraph as amended now reads: "To consider and, if deemed wise, to disapprove of the decisions of the Judicial Council upon any constitutional question, and to require its submission to the members of the Annual Conferences, the decision of two-thirds of those present and voting shall be final thereon." The section as it now stands requires only a majority vote of the General Conference. We must either strike out the "two-thirds" here or put the "two-thirds" in back yonder. You must do one or the other, because you have said it shall take the process as provided in Subsection 11 of Section 2 of Article IX. of the Constitution. You have to make a change at one point or the other.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Do you make the motion?

Edgar Blake: I move as a substitute for Dr. Van Cleve's motion to strike out the words "there shall be two-thirds," so that it will read: "Provided that if, on a constitutional question, a majority of the members of the General Conference present and voting shall disapprove of a decision of the Judicial Council, its construction," etc.

David G. Downey: I hope that motion will not prevail. I do not think there is any contradiction, when they are properly

understood, between Subsection 11 on page 10 and the proviso for a two-thirds majority of the General Conference. At the bottom of page 10, under "Powers of the General Conference," it says: "Consider, and if deemed wise, to disapprove of the decisions of the Judicial Council upon any constitutional question and to require its submission," etc. Now, I understand Dr. Blake to argue that that means that the General Conference may disapprove by a mere majority. I do not so understand it. It simply says the General Conference may disapprove; and now in the section that defines the Judicial Council we have the *method,* and the only method, whereby the Genference may disapprove, and the judgment of the Judicial Council shall be final; provided that if, *on a constitutional question,* there shall be a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference present and voting, etc. The "Powers of the General Conference" states the principle that the General Conference may disapprove, and now this is the provision as to the Judicial Council, and gives the conditions on which the General Conference may disapprove, and I hope the two-thirds will stand. Certainly I don't believe it should be less than a constitutional majority.

J. W. Van Cleve: I was endeavoring to get the floor to call attention to the exact language of that method by which the General Conference could disapprove. It is not defined in the one place, but it is defined here, and being definite in one place suffices. You could say "as herein provided," but that is not necessary. The fact that the amendment does provide a two-thirds vote makes it require a two-thirds vote to set aside a decision as to the Constitution. It seems to me it would be a very unreasonable thing to allow a bare majority of the General Conference to hold up a decision of what we have constituted our last Court of Appeals, as a bare majority of the same body that passed the legislation can immediately disapprove of an action of the Supreme Court. That does not seem to be a wise provision, and I think we should insist that it should require more than a majority of the body whose act is called in question to turn down the Supreme Court.

Bishop Cranston: I want to say a word in favor of Dr. Van Cleve's motion. We have seen again and again a General Conference approaching an adjournment when some important matter was before it and they would hold together pretty well until a vote was taken on that important matter and then scatter. I can conceive a situation when you would have a report made with a very small representation in the General Conference, perhaps not a quorum, and yet nobody willing to ask for a roll call. I think it would be safer to require two-thirds of those present and voting. You will have a little faction in the

General Conference opposed to any ruling your Judicial Council would present.

E. C. Reeves: That matter was fully considered by our Committee. I don't care if every member of the General Conference is present, I don't think a bare majority should overrule a decision of the Judicial Council. If so, you have not much use for such a Judicial Council.

Edgar Blake: I want to withdraw my motion.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Dr. Van Cleve's motion is to amend by striking out the word "majority," so that it would read: "Provided that if, on a constitutional question, there should be a vote of two-thirds of the members of the Conference present and voting."

E. C. Reeves: That leaves the majority to overrule the Judicial Council.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): No, a vote of two-thirds of those present and voting.

A vote being taken, the amendment was carried.

Ira E. Robinson: May I inquire of Bishop Cooke just what this subsection means: "In all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be final"? That seems to be clear and conclusive. Then it goes on: "Provided that if, on a constitutional question, there shall be a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference disapproving of a decision of the Judicial Council, its construction of the question involved shall be sent to the Annual Conferences for final approval or disapproval, as provided in Subsection 11, Section 2, Article IX. of the Constitution." Now, what do you mean by that? Do you mean in all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be final except when the Judicial Council passes on constitutional questions, and that those cases are appealable? or do you mean if, on a constitutional question arising in the General Conference by the ordinary procedure of the General Conference, the ordinary action of the General Conference, there shall be a majority vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference in conflict with some decision of the Judicial Council that relates to or affects the question, then there shall be a reference on that question?

David G. Downey: Only on constitutional questions.

Bishop Cooke: That means that an appeal is taken to the Judicial Council and the Judicial Council decides the matter. If that decision shall be disapproved of by the General Conference, it shall then go to the Annual Conferences.

Ira E. Robinson: You begin by saying that in all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be final.

Bishop Cooke: Yes.

Ira E. Robinson: All cases, cases involving the Constitution

of the Church, are therefore included. You don't except those. You do, however, say, "Provided that if, on a constitutional question," not necessarily in those cases, because you have excluded them. It may be a constitutional question arising in the ordinary action of the General Conference.

Bishop Cooke: I see your point, and I will say that the opposite word to "constitutional" there would be "statutory"; and the meaning would be that only on statutory matters would the decision of the Judicial Council be final.

Ira E. Robinson: This says that you may appeal to the Judicial Council a case involving a constitutional question. That part is plain, but again it might be considered to mean this: that if, on a constitutional question arising in the General Conference, not a decision of the Judicial Council, but the General Conference in its ordinary everyday action, there should be a majority vote against some former precedent set by the Judicial Council, something in conflict with the decision of the Judicial Council, that then you would refer it to the Annual Conferences.

Bishop Cooke: If the Judicial Council decides a constitutional question and that constitutional question is not appealed from, that decision stands. If it is appealed from, it takes the usual course.

Ira E. Robinson: This language is indefinite. You make no provision for an appeal on a constitutional question.

Bishop Cooke: You do in there.

Ira E. Robinson: Only by implication.

Bishop Cooke: I beg your pardon.

Ira E. Robinson: Where is it?

Bishop Cooke: "The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General and Regional Conferences"—Section 7 (1), under "Powers of the Judicial Council."

Ira E. Robinson: Yes, I see.

A. F. Watkins: As I understand it, you object to the wording, "in all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be final; provided that if, on a constitutional question, there shall be a majority vote of two-thirds," etc. You say that would imply an exception in certain cases.

Ira E. Robinson: To make it consistent with Section 7 (1).

Bishop Cooke: Which you had overlooked?

A. F. Watkins: "Provided, however"—and then stating the exceptions.

Ira E. Robinson: No, it is still susceptible of the construction I give that if a constitutional question—not necessarily on appeal—but if a constitutional question arises in the consideration of some question in the General Conference, if some man

says you cannot take this action because it will be unconstitutional, someone will say you can refer that matter because there is a precedent against it in the decision of the Judicial Council down to the Annual Conferences, according to Roosevelt.

David G. Downey: Is it not clear that the only thing contemplated here is to provide that, on constitutional grounds, when there is a two-thirds vote of the General Conference present and voting disapproving of the decision of the Judicial Council is only that kind of a matter that is brought before the General Conference? That is the only thing, it seems to me.

Ira E. Robinson: It is susceptible to that construction, but it would be well to clear this thing up.

David G. Downey: It may be that there should be some change in this language.

Ira E. Robinson: "Provided that if, on appeal, a case involving a constitutional question"—

Bishop Cooke: It cannot get before it except on appeal.

Ira E. Robinson: Yes, constitutional questions frequently arise in the ordinary routine of the General Conference that may be decided by a vote of two-thirds, and there may be a disapproval of some former decision of the Judicial Council involved. I would move to amend by having it read: "Provided that if, on an appeal of a case involving a judicial question, there shall be a two-thirds vote of the General Conference disapproving," etc.

Bishop Cooke: I object to that.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Is that motion seconded? It does not seem to be.

John M. Moore: We have spent more than an hour trying to understand these two paragraphs, and here is one of the chief lawyers of the State of West Virginia, a member of the Supreme Court, bringing up these questions, and here is a book editor of the Methodist Episcopal Church and one of the bishops discussing the interpretation they have. If men of this kind are not able to understand these two articles clearly and thoroughly—

David G. Downey: I beg your pardon, but I understand them thoroughly.

John M. Moore: Then if these other gentlemen are not capable of making the rest of us understand them thoroughly—

David G. Downey: I cannot undertake to do that.

John M. Moore: It seems to me that this matter should be recommitted and put in the hands of another committee for rewriting. I don't mean to change what is here, but I think we ought to put this in the hands of the committee, at least for editorial revision.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): There is an understanding that this whole paper is to go to an editorial committee. I thought this was perfectly plain until the lawyers got hold of it.

Bishop Cooke: I move the adoption of the paragraph as amended, and I hope it will come to a vote.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Bishop Cooke: The next is Section 9, under the head of "Quorum":

> Two-thirds of the Judicial Council shall constitute a quorum. Constitutional matters shall be decided by a majority vote of the entire Judicial Council. All other appeals shall be decided by a majority of those present and voting.

I move that the section be adopted.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Bishop Cranston: Before we leave that matter I want to suggest the propriety of having the rulings of the bishops passed upon by the Judicial Council. I know that we have in the past had a Committee on Judiciary in our General Conferences, and I know too that there have been instances where the Committee on Judiciary appeared to be somewhat conflicting in their decisions, and it is almost impossible to set aside a ruling of the Judiciary Committee by a discussion in the General Conference. Sometimes the bishops think they have been dealt with unfairly. I know of an instance where a man who deserved as much of the Church as anyone was grievously offended and he said: "I am done with the bishop's business as far as the executive duties of the office go. I make no decisions any more." If I were a bishop acting in this Church, I should certainly prefer to have my rulings passed upon by the Judicial Council rather than by a Committee on Judiciary as the Committee on Judiciary is now chosen. Why all other bodies should have their acts and rulings and administrations reviewed by the Judicial Council, and bishops be excluded from that privilege or that obligation, as the case may be, I cannot see. It is making an exception of one class without apparently any justification for it. I think I will take the risk of moving that this action be taken, for I feel the responsibility in the matter as much as anybody else does.

Bishop Cooke: It may not be necessary. May the Committee explain before you make the motion? The matter of episcopal decisions was not neglected. The episcopal decisions go upon record in the documents of the Annual Conference. This provides for a review of all records and all documents.

Bishop Cranston: Would you object to including the words "including episcopal decisions"?

Bishop McDowell: There is a difference between episcopal decisions made in the Annual Conferences and rulings made in ordinary course.

Bishop Cooke: Of course.

Bishop Cranston: Is that inserted?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The whole matter has been passed on and only one of two courses is open, either to move a reconsideration or by general consent being given.

J. W. Van Cleve: I want to raise the question right here. I would like to understand if this means that every act of the General Conference, whether called in question or not, is to go before the Judicial Council.

Bishop Cranston: That doesn't refer to my matter.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Withhold for a moment until the matter that Bishop Cranston brought up can be disposed of.

J. W. Van Cleve: I think it is vitally related to that.

Bishop McDowell: The rulings of the bishops are in a class by themselves, necessarily so. They are the law until the General Conference acts upon them on the report of the Committee on Judiciary. Every ruling which a bishop makes goes up to the General Conference for consideration at the hands of the General Conference. Not all the decisions of the bishops in Annual Conferences are presented to the General Conference at all, for many of those decisions are accepted and no appeal is taken and they just stand. But the rulings are all sent in for consideration and the Committee on Judiciary acts on them.

David G. Downey: Is it the thought of Bishop Cranston that all of the rulings of the bishops should go, whether they are challenged or not, to the Judicial Council, or is it only his thought that the rulings of the bishops should be presented to the General Council as now; and if there be a Judicial Committee or body that in some other way passes upon them in a satisfactory fashion, nothing more is said, but if anybody appeals from any ruling then it shall go before the Judicial Council?

Bishop Cranston: In the absence of any other tribunal to handle such matters it has been required that the rulings of the bishops shall go before the General Conference. If a Judicial Council is created, the Discipline will require that those rulings shall be reported to the Judicial Council for review. My thought is that the work will be better done and the line of decisions will be more uniform and generally satisfactory if placed under the review for revision by the same body to which all other branches of the Church government are sent.

David G. Downey: I do not see how it can come in here where Bishop Cranston suggests:

The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General and Regional Conferences, the records and documents transmitted to it from Judicial Conferences, to hear and determine questions of law and all other appeals coming to it in course of lawful procedure.

Where can it come in there?

Henry W. Rogers: There might be inserted at the very beginning of this section a separate paragraph which would make your paragraph the second and change your second paragraph to the third. The first paragraph might read like his: "The Judicial Council shall have full power to review the rulings of the bishops, which will be transmitted or which are required to be transmitted to it by the Secretary of the Board of Bishops."

Bishop Cranston: If general consent is given to that, it will end the whole thing.

Bishop Cooke: There is not, though.

Edgar Blake: Is that just what we want? You say the Judicial Council shall review.

Henry W. Rogers: I was following what we have here. Of course, I would adopt your language.

Bishop Cranston: Otherwise the decisions of the bishops might not reach the Judicial Council at all.

Edgar Blake: That is not at all necessary. We have provided that the Judicial Council shall have power to review all matters that come before it in lawful procedure. Now, I assume that in view of the fact that our own General Conference —I can only speak from that point of view—requires the rulings of the bishops to be submitted to it. I assume that hereafter when we are reorganized the General Conference in determining the legal procedure will order that the rulings of the bishops shall go to the Judicial Council that heretofore have come to the General Conference.

Henry W. Rogers: It won't do to assume too much. It is not always safe to assume that what ought to be done will be done, and I am glad that Bishop Cranston has raised the point, because I think it is exceedingly important that the rulings of the bishops shall be transmitted to the Judicial Council to be passed upon by the Judicial Council.

A. J. Lamar: All the decisions must, or only those from which there is an appeal?

Henry W. Rogers: All rulings.

Bishop Cooke: The Committee sees no objection to it, and it is acceptable. Do we understand that the report of the Committee now has this incorporated in it?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair understands that unanimous consent is given to the incorporation of the item as last suggested by Judge Rogers.

J. W. Van Cleve: I object.

John M. Moore: I would like to make just a statement which has not been made. In our Church the decisions of bishops, as you know, are passed upon by the College of Bishops, and these interpretations and instructions and decisions passed upon by the College of Bishops are put into our Discipline as part of the law of our Church. We have sixty-odd pages of episcopal decisions in our Discipline to-day. What I want to say is this, that that is a condition in our Church with which we shall have to deal. I think it is very necessary that the language to be used here shall be of such kind as shall take notice of the fact that we have a different method in the Southern from the Northern Church, and in formulating that I hope that matter will be kept in mind.

J. W. Van Cleve: May I have the privilege of saying why I object to the insertion of that language, or rather that section? and then I might be willing to withdraw the objection, if my objections could be answered.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Proceed.

J. W. Van Cleve: It seems to me that the principle upon which the courts proceed, that they will not render a decision until a case is presented and in which interests are involved so that all features of the case will be thoroughly argued before the court, is a pretty good principle. If you take up simply the rulings of the bishops and pass upon them, without this thorough sifting that comes in the case of an appeal where there are two viewpoints, we are likely to have decisions becoming law which ought not to become law. The brother sitting by me was telling me of a case that happened in this way. Two lawyers, as I think, on opposing sides had not argued their case, but laid certain papers pertaining to it on the desk of the presiding judge. He took up the papers and read them over and entered his decision and the lawyers were amazed, not having argued it. They got the case reopened and had an argument, and the judge who had rendered the decision from the papers reversed the decision when the matter was argued. That indicated that mere ruling should not be taken up to the Supreme Court and made the basis of law. They ought to be appealed from, and there ought to be a thorough threshing out of the issue and a decision before an issue is finally settled by the Supreme Court.

Bishop Hamilton: I do not see any force in that argument that would not apply to a Judiciary Committee. We have never been in the habit of doing that. The civil practice is not always in all cases the ecclesiastical, and we have a perfect right to insert in this report a law that these matters shall go for review to the Judicial Council instead of going before a Judiciary Com-

mittee. We have not provided for any Judiciary Committee. That would be left to the General Conference, but it seems there is no objection to taking it to an impartial court where the parties interested might go if they want to take an appeal to it. I move you, if it is necessary because of the objection made, that this matter be inserted which has been named by Judge Rogers.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I beg your pardon, but any motion is now out of order, for the time of the session has expired.

H. H. White: I rise to a question of privilege. We have had a long, hard day and there has been a good deal of discussion and papers; and as the time of the session has expired I request that we close this evening with prayer by some of these good gentlemen, especially directed to the safety and welfare of our boys in France.

The hymn, "We share our mutual woes, our mutual burdens bear," was sung, after which Bishop Cranston offered prayer.

The meeting then adjourned.

THIRD DAY, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1918.

The Joint Commission was called to order at 9:35 A.M. by Bishop Edwin D. Mouzon.

The hymn, "I love thy kingdom, Lord," was sung.

Mr. Alexander Simpson, Jr., led in prayer.

The eighty-fourth Psalm was read responsively.

The hymn, "God Bless Our Native Land," was sung.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Edgar Blake.

The roll was called, and the following Commissioners answered present: Bishops E. E. Hoss, Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, W. B. Murrah, from the M. E. Church, South; Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, from the M. E. Church. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, J. M. Moore, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, H. M. Du Bose, W. N. Ainsworth, A. J. Lamar, from the M. E. Church, South; Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, from the M. E. Church. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, J. R. Pepper, E. C. Reeves, H. H. White, E. W. Hines, from the M. E. Church, South; G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, I. E. Robinson, H. W. Rogers, from the M. E. Church. Rev. C. M. Stuart, alternate.

The minutes of the last session were read and approved.

Bishop Earl Cranston assumed the chair as Chairman of the Joint Commission.

E. B. Chappell: I want to apologize for being absent without an excuse last night. I went to dinner with a friend and was not notified of the night session.

Frank M. Thomas: A privileged motion. It strikes me that, representing, as we do, the largest Protestant Church in America, and having behind us a constituency the most potential on this continent, a constituency that is represented in the army of our nation by almost twenty per cent of the soldiers, it would not be an unwise thing for us to appoint a committee this morning—two bishops, two ministers, and two laymen—to prepare a statement to the Methodists of America not touching the question of unification, but to strengthen the minds of our people in this terrible time, to point them to the sources of our faith in the risen Lord, and striking a note of living patriotism that shall resound throughout the continent.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Bishop Hamilton: I move a reconsideration of that paragraph in the report for the purpose of including Bishop Cranston's amendment.

The motion was seconded.

Bishop Hamilton: It is Section 7. I am not sure that Bishop Cranston made the motion, although he made the suggestion.

The motion was put to a vote and carried.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): That was the amendment of Judge Rogers.

Bishop Denny: The amendment was:

> The Judicial Council shall have full power to review the rulings of the bishops, which rulings of the bishops shall be transmitted to it by the Secretary of the Board of Bishops.

The Judge's motion was that that should be Section 1 and the other two sections should be numbered properly to conform.

Bishop Cranston: It has been requested that the Chair state the difference between "rulings" and "decisions" as far as relates to this amendment. The "rulings" of bishops are made at their sessions as they hold them. They are published in a little handbook which they carry. The "decisions" at the General Conference would come before the Judicial Council on exception or appeal taken within the legal time.

Bishop Mouzon: The usage of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is not identical with that of the Methodist Episcopal Church. There is no such difference between the decisions and the rulings in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and we have no Committee on Judiciary in our General Conference. For information of the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church who may happen not to have been fully informed at this point, let me say that in the Methodist Episcopal Church,

South, the bishop who makes a decision on any question of law which comes up in the due process of his administration is required to prepare a syllabus of that case and present it to the College of Bishops at their next meeting. If that decision is affirmed by the College of Bishops, the decision has the authority of law and becomes the law. That is the usage in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. We must keep both of these things in mind in order that we may act intelligently at this point. A question was raised last evening, and I am glad that the question was raised. Shall all decisions made by the bishops in the regular work of administration, or rulings, if you please—shall all such rulings go before the Judicial Council or shall only such decisions or rulings go before the Judicial Council as are carried there by appeal? It is my opinion that only such decisions should go before the Judicial Council as are carried there on appeal. How may I understand the amendment offered by Judge Rogers? Is it his purpose that all decisions or rulings shall go before the Judicial Council or only such as are brought there on appeal?

Henry W. Rogers: If I may answer the question, I should say the amendment as I proposed it would bring before the Judicial Council any decision as contradistinguished from rulings, except those that are brought there on appeal; but it does propose to bring all the rulings of the bishops there, whether there is an appeal taken or not. Bear in mind the distinction already stated by the Bishop in the Chair as to what is meant by rulings as distinguished by decisions.

J. W. Van Cleve: Since we are now creating an entirely novel body, we ought to be a little careful about the extension of powers that we give to it. One very important question has come to my mind that has not been answered by anything yet said, and that is the occasion that gives rise to these rulings. They seem not to be decisions, but rulings of the Board which are to be transmitted to the Judicial Council without any question concerning them. The first effect of that will be to begin immediately the creation of a body of laws in a certain sense separate and distinct from the Discipline. You can call it interpretation if you like, but that does not alter the fact. The prejudice that arises in the minds of the average man against courts and legal procedure arises from the immense extent of court law. A man can get some idea of the statutes, but no ordinary man can find his way through the wilderness of precedents established by judicial decisions. We begin then immediately to get a body of decisions acquired not by any legal process but simply upon rulings agreed upon by the bishops. Then it is possible for an occasion to arise where a matter is prejudiced by a decision already rendered without the case having been before the Board

of Bishops. The rulings of the bishops might be passed upon by the Judicial Council and become law with no question having arisen. The question might afterwards arise involving the interests of a member of the Church and he would come with an appeal to a court that has already rendered a decision under circumstances that have not brought out the entire facts of his case exactly, but still the court is in a measure prejudiced. It will not reverse itself. But when a man comes up with a question involving rights he ought not to be met on the threshold of that court by a decision in a case that has not gone to the bottom of his case. Nothing should go to the Judicial Council except by regular process of proceedings.

Bishop Cranston: These questions that come under the designation of "rulings" in our Board are questions relating to administration in all its phases: Epworth League, Home Mission, Freedmen's Aid, Sunday schools, and many other points. Wherever there is a Board concerning which a question arises as to the interpretation of the chapter of the Discipline relating to the matter, the ruling usually comes in the shape of a statement of actual conditions or something that has already transpired by way of administration, and the bishops are asked to give their opinions concerning the law that has been and ought to be followed in the case proposed. The circumstances are detailed.

Bishop McDowell: It is never an abstract case; it is always an agreed case.

Bishop Cranston: Yes, the bishops do not answer abstract cases.

Bishop Denny: It may throw a little light, I don't know whether it would be of much benefit, to make an explanation of a statement made by Bishop Mouzon. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, only such a case can come before the College of Bishops as arises on a concrete case in the Conference or an appeal from a proceeding in a Conference. We have no authority to pass on any question other than that. The case must be a concrete case, must arise in the ordinary affairs of a district or the Annual Conference, if the proceedings of the latter shall have decided the case. It comes up by appeal from the Conference to the bishops presiding in the next Conference. Those are the only appeals the bishops can hear. In the Annual Conference the case has to be a concrete case; as, for instance, here is a man who is an ordained probationer and he asks to be discontinued. Some one will raise the question, Does that put him back in the ranks of laymen or does it leave him a local preacher? The bishop in our Church would be under obligations to decide that man's relation to the Church. He could not do that on a question raised except on a concrete case,

nor can he do it on any other case than a concrete case arising in the actual business of the Conference. Automatically all decisions of the bishops in our Church come before the College of Bishops. It does not take an appeal. Whatever a bishop decides goes before the College of Bishops for review, and the decision of the College of Bishops, whether in accord with the decision of the bishops or not, becomes the view of the law that the bishops entertain and it is published in our Discipline. We have no provision for any appeal from any board of the Church. Nobody can review any of the decisions of the Sunday School Board or the Board of Church Extension in our Church during the quadrennium. Whatever they do stands until the next General Conference takes up the matter. So it is evident that the functions of deciding the law in our Church are much narrower than those of which you have spoken. I think you should know the practice among us before you pass this measure here.

H. M. Du Bose: I would ask the Chair if a "decision" is distinguished from a "rule" in your Church? If we pass this, which will be a precedent in the reorganized Church, is a decision to be distinguished from a rule in this particular? A decision is upon the merits of a statutory or constitutional provision and a ruling is on an administrative chapter of the Discipline. Could there come up before the bishops for their decision a concrete case that would require a decision on a question of law that would become a decision as distinguished from a ruling?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): What we call "decisions" are usually on questions of law arising in the administration of law by the Annual Conferences. A "ruling" is some business that comes up at the session of the bishops.

H. M. Du Bose: Suppose a case involving a question of law should come before the bishops, you would call that a ruling even if you passed on a constitutional point?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The bishops will not, I think, take up a question of that kind. The bishops will not give an opinion that might embarrass the progress of the case where an appeal is taken from an individual bishop.

H. M. Du Bose: The point I am trying to get in my mind, and I think it would be valuable to all, is as to whether a rule is distinguished from a decision in that the rule applies merely to an administrative chapter of the Discipline and a decision is an application of law.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): A decision is as to law by the Annual Conference.

H. M. Du Bose: We have only rulings in our Church. They are on concrete cases and they don't become part of the law, but part of the interpretation of the law. I can see that in the

unified Church we will need some review of such things. In so complex a document as our Discipline there will be a good many such points.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): It is evident that, if we can get on by the use of the word "ruling" or "decision," in the sense in which these words have been used in this section relating to the powers of the Judicial Council, it will be necessary to be a little more careful in the use of language to determine in just what cases it has been enumerated and by what process they may go before the Judicial Council.

Edgar Blake: In view of the fact that we have used up fifteen minutes of our time, I move the previous question.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): We are not ready to vote until we know what we are voting on, and your motion was not seconded.

Edgar Blake: I think our minds are sufficiently made up and we are wasting time.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I don't think we are wasting time.

Bishop Cooke: I don't think there is any need for confusion or any lack of understanding of the rules if you will keep in mind the statement made by the Chair. I myself, speaking now not for the Committee, do not see any need whatever for submitting rulings to the Judicial Council. Why? First, a ruling is an interpretation of a law already enacted. That is just what it is in a given case. If that is not satisfactory, then the process is to appeal from that ruling, and so the appeal would go out, and it simplifies our whole procedure, simplifies our polity, by simply requiring that the decisions shall go out. Concerning every ruling which is accepted, and from which there is no appeal, the meaning of the Church, through its representative body of the law, was that there is no need for a ruling to go up to find out whether the rule is right or not. The way to ascertain that is to appeal from it, and then the Churches will determine whether that interpretation is in harmony or not.

Bishop Cranston: If the Commission will permit and Bishop Cooke will reply, how would you go about the matter of securing information so often desired by an administrative board? There is nothing in this Section 1 that I see that settles the powers of the board or the interpretation of the law governing administrative boards.

Bishop Cooke: Section 7 does that. That will be taken care of in the courts themselves. If there is any ruling made in the board which in the judgment of a sufficient number of the board is contrary to the law, an appeal will be taken.

David G. Downey: Where does that come in:

The Judicial Council shall also have power to arrest any action of a connectional board or other connectional body, when such action is brought before it by appeal by one-fifth of the members of said body or by the general superintendents.

It seems to me we can simplify this matter. There are a good many who feel that the rulings or the decisions of the bishops as indicated by Bishop Mouzon in his Church shall not come before the Judicial Council for review except on appeal where the whole case can be gone into and the merits of the case can be considered. Therefore, I move to amend by inserting the words "on appeal," so that it shall read, "The Judicial Council shall review, on appeal, the rulings of the bishops"—and the rest is stricken out, and if later on we find that is not necessary we can shape it up again.

Bishop Cranston: Would it not be better to say "decisions on questions of law" or would you say "rulings and decisions"?

E. B. Chappell: Why do the bishops as a body, under the Constitution we are adopting here, make any rulings? No questions of law go up to the bishops as a body. The bishops as individuals make decisions before the Annual Conferences, and their decisions can be taken up to the Judicial Council on appeal, but the bishops as a body do not constitute a judicial body.

Bishop Cranston: That is a matter of practice.

E. B. Chappell: It will not be in the new Constitution. There is no provision in this Constitution.

Bishop Cranston: That is what we are trying to settle. Dr. Downey has attempted in his motion to define specifically.

E. B. Chappell: I do not see why we should say anything about the rulings of the bishops. Why should the bishops under this Constitution make any rulings? We have a Judicial Council to which all things go on appeal, and the bishops are not called upon to make any decisions on appeal. They only make decisions individually.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Will Dr. Downey give us exactly what his motion is?

David G. Downey: My motion is that the Judicial Council shall review on appeal the rulings and the judicial decisions of the bishops.

J. W. Van Cleve: I would like to call attention to the fact that the review of decisions on appeal is provided for in what we have already done.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Not as to the bishops.

J. W. Van Cleve: "Any case under judicial procedure." "Any case" is comprehensive in that regard.

E. B. Chappell: I want some one to answer, Why should the bishops as a body make any rulings?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): You have not the floor now. Dr. Van Cleve has the floor.

E. B. Chappell: I just wanted to get an answer to that inquiry.

J. W. Van Cleve: "To hear and determine questions of law and all other appeals coming before it in lawful procedure." All of those things naturally go to the Judicial Council. If any ruling or decision of the bishops gets into the course of lawful procedure, it goes there automatically and without further action. A provision for a ruling by the Board of Bishops, as Dr. Chappell says—there is no right here for the Board of Bishops to make a ruling, and we have no right to assume that they will make any such rulings. I think, inasmuch as there is so much indeterminism in this thing, that we can well let this matter rest until we are unified. I move to indefinitely postpone.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I don't think the motion to postpone indefinitely is in order.

J. W. Van Cleve: I think it is in order.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): As a matter of strict order, I suppose it could be entertained; but there are brethren here who wish to speak, and I don't think you should cut them off.

J. W. Van Cleve: I call for a vote on my motion to indefinitely postpone.

A vote being taken, the result was 18 for and 12 against. So the matter was postponed.

Edwin M. Randall: I think there is a change that could be made in Subsection 2 which is so obvious that it will be done by general consent. It reads:

> The Judicial Council shall also have power to arrest any action of a connectional board or other connectional body, when such action is brought before it by appeal by one-fifth of the members of said body or by the general superintendents.

This means that if any connectional body of the Church proposes an action that is unjust or unlawful in the judgment of another connectional body there can be no relief unless one-fifth of the connectional body which is doing the unjustifiable action shall take an appeal against the rest of the body. That is, an Annual Conference could not bring an action against the Board. I believe if you will insert after the word—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The Chair understands that the matter was reconsidered for the presentation of the question of reference of episcopal decisions to the Judicial Council. Without general consent it might not be in order to bring this matter up now. Is general consent given?

The consent was given.

Edwin M. Randall: Note, under the first sentence of Sub-

section 2, that there is no means of arresting the action of any connectional body unless one-fifth of the membership of the body, the action of which is to be arrested, shall make an appeal to the Judicial Council against the action of their own body, or unless the Board of Bishops shall ask for an arrest of the action. The Board of Bishops only meet once in six months, and there might be a delay fatal in the given case. In my judgment, clearly, if a connectional body undertakes to do a thing that is unfair and that trespasses upon any other connectional board, that other connectional board ought to be able to appeal to the Judicial Council to arrest this action, whether it is any other connectional board or the Annual Conference, and I propose to remedy that by inserting after the words "said body," in the third line, the words, "by any other connectional body," so that it would read: "The Judicial Council shall also have power to arrest any action of a connectional board or other connectional body when such action is brought before it by appeal by one-fifth of the members of said body, or by any other connectional body or by the general superintendents." That would give the Annual Conference or any other connectional board an opportunity to appeal to the Judicial Council against unwarranted action. There have been cases where other connectional boards would certainly have availed themselves of an opportunity like this.

John F. Goucher: This is a detail that requires considerable consideration, and I do not think we can spare the time for that consideration right now.

David G. Downey: We reconsidered "Powers" to do something, and now is it necessary to re-pass Section 7?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I think we had better approve the section.

A vote being taken, the section was approved.

Ira E. Robinson: I would like to make an inquiry as to the meaning of a word in that section. Just exactly in what shape is that section now?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): It was passed last evening and re-opened and now is again approved.

Ira E. Robinson: I want to make an inquiry: What does this word "arrest" mean? Is it an injunctive process or what kind of a process? You will have that inquiry later on if it is adopted.

Bishop Cooke: Are you asking a question, Judge?

Ira E. Robinson: Yes, sir. The whole draft of Subsections 1 and 2 is unfortunate and ought to be cleared up. They should be drafted to express what is intended.

John M. Moore: I move that Section 7, under "Powers," be recommitted for redraft.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Why not both sections?

John M. Moore: The two sections under "Powers."

David G. Downey: A point of order. No. 7 has been adopted twice. It cannot be recommitted after being adopted.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): That is true.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: That will come out in the editing.

Bishop Denny here took the chair.

John M. Moore: You have left it in the power of a small fraction disposed to be fractious to arrest any action of the majority until the Judicial Council can be heard.

Bishop Mouzon: I move that Article X. be approved as a whole.

Henry W. Rogers: I am wondering if we understand each other. I think there is a very serious proposition involved here, and I doubt whether we do understand each other. If you will allow me, I want to explain what I mean. Under the system in our Church we have a Committee on Decisions. It makes its report to the General Conference. The General Conference may approve or may disapprove. That is perfectly legitimate, because we are a committee of the body, and we report back to that body our conclusions and findings. Now we are proposing another thing. We are proposing to create a court, and we have taken the utmost care as to the constitution of that court to shield it from any bias or possible prejudice, and we have established such qualifications for the men who are to sit in it that shall bring to the decisions of questions that shall come there the highest skill that our Church can command. What do we propose to do after having created with such care a court to decide these questions? We propose that the question as to whether their decisions are right or wrong shall be submitted to a mob. I use that term respectfully, but it is a mob; not whether the Constitution shall stand or be changed, but whether the decision is right or whether the decision is wrong. If the Church is competent to decide that question, there is no necessity for creating a Supreme Court and hedging it about with all the careful restrictions and prohibitions which we have put into the Constitution. I say you want to accomplish the same results, you and I, but we differ as to the present form in which the Judicial Council is created. If I understand what your motive is, we mean the same thing; but I think we have gone at it in a wrong way. Instead of submitting to a mob the question of whether a decision is right or wrong, we should submit to the Annual Conferences the question of whether the Constitution shall be amended; not whether the decision is right or wrong, but whether we shall amend the Constitution so as to make it conform to what the court has said is not in accordance with the Constitution at the time the decision is rendered. That is what

you want and I want, but we want to get at it in different ways. They have a Court of Errors and Appeals in the State of New Jersey, and there sit in that court lay judges, a few of whom are put there to advise and counsel with technical lawyers who constitute the court; and I presume to say that if you were to propose in New Jersey to send down a decision of that Court of Errors and Appeals to the people to determine whether its decisions are right or wrong upon the law, it would be overwhelmingly defeated. Not only is it the judgment of courts and of the lawyers, but it is the judgment of the American people that the question of whether a decision is right or wrong should be decided by a court, and not by the people; and I say further that if in any State its Constitution should be amended—I speak of the East more particularly, because I know the feelings there—if a Constitution should be so amended as to send to the people decisions of whether an opinion rendered by a Supreme Court was right or wrong, you would find that many judges would resign their positions. I say there are judges who would not sit in a civil court under such conditions, and I say the same thing in reference to ecclesiastical courts—they would not be members of a court where the Constitution provided that the question of the rightfulness or wrongfulness of a decision could be sent down to be decided by popular vote. If we mean the same thing—and I think we do—we should change the wording of the Constitution so as to provide that, in cases where a constitutional question is involved and the decision of the court is adverse to the constitutionality of the legislation involved, then the General Conference may by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting send down, not the question of whether the decision is right or wrong—that is, the law question—but send down the question of whether or not the Constitution shall be amended in the particulars involved, and if this matter just referred to is to be sent back for revision, I want to call attention to the fact that we are adopting as a Church and putting into our ecclesiastical court a principle which is abhorrent to judges and lawyers and to a great majority of the American people.

M. L. Walton: What is before us?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): There is no motion before us.

Bishop Mouzon: I moved that Article X. as amended and perfected be adopted, and that is before the house.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Was that seconded?

The Secretary: Yes.

Bishop Mouzon: I should dislike very much for the vote to be taken immediately following Judge Rogers's speech. I do not count myself altogether competent to reply to Judge Rogers's speech, for I am not a trained lawyer and I have often had occasion to be thankful that I am not. I have observed that the

ecclesiastical statesman, who is not hampered by previous legal training, is much more likely to come to wise conclusions and do the thing that ought to be done for the Church than the man who is too much hampered by previous training in the law courts of the land. We all have the highest respect for the legal ability and distinguished services that have been rendered by Judge Rogers, but the analogies that he draws between the courts of the land, between the Supreme Court of the United States and this Judicial Council, which is not a Supreme Court, is a faulty analogy and a very dangerous analogy. It was pointed out on yesterday that the analogy breaks down just at this point. Your Supreme Court is made up of specially trained men, technically trained men, men who give all of their time to questions of law, men who are in every particular competent to pass on questions of law. But our Judicial Council is not made up of men of that sort, and cannot be made up of men of that sort. It will be made up of men busy in other activities of the Church. What is here proposed has been the custom in Methodism from the beginning, and if you follow the suggestions made by Judge Rogers you reverse the practice of Methodism from the days of William McKendree down to the present time. Furthermore, there are some of us who will never consent to have the Supreme Court pass upon all of these questions without the possibility of the Annual Conferences voting on them. We had as well understand that we will never agree that the Judicial Council shall have the final decision in these matters. What we desire is that the Judicial Council shall have opportunity to arrest unconstitutional legislation, and do no more than that; and then, when it has arrested unconstitutional legislation, let the Annual Conferences pass on the questions in dispute. That alone will satisfy us. Why, if my brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church are ready to go as far as Judge Rogers, they not only have gone farther than they have ever gone before, but farther than any of us of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, ever dreamed of. The College of Bishops has no veto power. It only has the power to arrest unconstitutional legislation; and all that is suggested from the beginning in this Judicial Council has been the creation of a body which will have the power to arrest unconstitutional legislation, and it is exceedingly unfortunate that a question very much debated among distinguished lawyers should be brought into the discussion this morning. I am not trying to fashion a Supreme Court after the courts of the land, but trying to safeguard the customs of the Church and the Constitution of the Church, and what is here proposed is in line with the practice of Methodism from the beginning until this time.

Rolla V. Watt: I would like to have the opinion of another

eminent jurist on this question, because I am influenced by the opinions of such gentlemen very largely, and I would like to hear what Judge Simpson thinks about it.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Mr. Watt does me too much honor. I am not a judge, and never expect to be. I am quite content to be an everyday lawyer. I am in entire discord with what Judge Rogers has said. I think Bishop Denny put the matter yesterday so as to leave very little doubt on the question. We are not dealing with this matter from the standpoint of an ordinary civil tribunal. That is not what we are. This is a voluntary organization. If I want to live in America, I am bound to submit myself to the Constitution and the laws of America; and if I do not want to submit to those laws and that Constitution, I can get out. I am in the Methodist Church, and if I am not pleased with the Methodist Church I can join the Presbyterian or the Methodist Protestant, and the whole analogy falls by the wayside. There is no analogy. The position Judge Rogers takes means this: We are not creating an actual court tribunal which stands away up above the whole of us. We are creating a temporary tribunal, which is changed from time to time and which, unless it keeps in touch with the General Conference and the members of the Church, is going to create a discord and is going to result at some time in the not distant future in the whole or a large part of the members of that Judicial Council being turned out and others put in who will carry in effect the wishes of the General Conference and the membership of the Church, and we do not want that to happen. That is confusion worse confounded from anything that Judge Rogers has said on this subject. Go into the Supreme Court of the United States, for illustration, and the judges are put on there for life, affected by nothing. They cannot be turned out unless they violate the laws and subject themselves to impeachment. They stay there as long as they live. This tribunal is not such as that. Do you want a Judicial Council put in the position that it will antagonize the General Conference and the Church at large on some technical matter, so that when the next General Conference meets they will turn all of those men out? We do not want that, and yet that is just what may happen.

Ira E. Robinson: Because that is the power between quadrenniums.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: No, sir; I would be sorry if this should be called the old Judiciary Committee, and I don't care to have it put in that position. Judge Rogers and I were both members of that Committee. Judge Rogers was Chairman and I was Vice Chairman, and things happened that I would rather not have happened; but it doesn't help things to bring that forward. Our Constitution is what is here provided, and is that

the General Conference, as a representative of the whole Church, and the whole Church itself shall stay in precisely the same form as if this were a constitutional amendment, as Judge Rogers said, because it comes down to the question of freedom and absolutely nothing else. What is here provided is that the General Conference and the Church at large shall say whether there has been by the Judicial Council a proper interpretation of the language of the Constitution which the Church adopts for its government. You get precisely the same thing; and if you are going to go in the form or way that Judge Rogers desires, you are going to be put in the position that you will antagonize the Judicial Council and General Conference and the Church at large and have the difficulty that you want to avoid.

David G. Downey: I desire not to argue, but to call attention to the fact that while we have placed the Central Conference under the power of the Judicial Council we have not given the Central Conferences any representation on the Council. I desire that that matter shall be very clearly understood.

Bishop Cooke: That is a matter of record.

David G. Downey: But we are now adopting the entire section, and we wish it distinctly understood that up to the present time we have no provision for representation of the Central Conferences in the Judicial Council. Now the Central Conferences embrace all our missionary work, and I simply suggest that one of the grave objections to our proposed unification by reorganization will come from our Mission Conferences. I am not familiar with the strength of the Mission Conferences in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I am somewhat familiar with their strength in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and when men like Bishop Bashford and Bishop Walden come out plainly and strongly against this proposed form of unification because of the way we are handling our missionary work, we confront not a theory but a situation with which we shall have to reckon. I am not opposing the adoption of this now. The only way in which the Central Conferences seem ever to be able to get into the Judicial Council is by a provision under the so-called Jurisdictional General Conference or perhaps the Jurisdictional Central Conference—I don't know which it is.

Edgar Blake: Jurisdictional General Conference.

David G. Downey: The Jurisdictional General Conference is allowed one representative upon the Constitutional Council, but I don't know what that is. It may be the Judicial Council. I don't know but that that seems to be the only way in which the Central Conferences at all get in touch with the Judicial Council, and their acts are under the supervision and control of the Judicial Council.

Edwin M. Randall: Is this final or tentative adoption?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Tentative.

Edwin M. Randall: Does the motion open up the whole matter for amendment and arguments?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The Chair would think not. We have gone through the article, item by item. This vote would signify, however, approval of all the sections as related to each other and of the whole.

Edwin M. Randall: If it opened it up for an amendment, I wished to offer an amendment.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The Chair hardly thinks that is the case.

Bishop Mouzon: The motion was to adopt the entire article as amended.

A. J. Lamar: I move the previous question on that.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Henry W. Rogers: We should have a yea and nay vote on that.

H. M. Du Bose: I move that we have a yea and nay vote.

This motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

A roll call on the adoption was then had.

During the roll call:

Bishop Cranston: This does not fulfill my idea of a Judicial Council, and yet I favor a Judicial Council. I think for our purposes tentatively I will vote "aye."

Bishop Hamilton: I shall vote "aye" tentatively.

Bishop McDowell: I vote "aye" with the understanding that it is subject to amendment when it comes to the final adoption.

I. G. Penn: Does the Central Conference have representation on the Judicial Council?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): No, not as yet.

I. G. Penn: I vote "no" then.

E. C. Reeves: It is not just what I want, but it is the best thing in sight and I vote "aye."

The result of the roll call was as follows: Ayes—Cranston, Hamilton, McDowell, Leete, Cooke, Blake, Downey, Goucher, Neff, Randall, Spencer, Van Cleve, Wallace, Brown, Joy, Harris, Kinne, Pollock, Simpson, Watt, Mouzon, Thomas, Young, Moore, Bishop, Chappell, Ivey, Watkins, Du Bose, Lamar, Walton, Snyder, Maddin, Reynolds, Blackwell, Hines, Pepper, Reeves. 38. Noes—Hoss, Denny, Murrah, Ainsworth, Hyer, White, Jones, Nast, Penn, Robinson, Rogers. 11.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That disposes of that report.

Edgar Blake: The next is the report of the Committee of Eight.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Who has charge of that?

Edgar Blake: Dr. Moore.

John M. Moore: The Committee of Eight has had no meeting since our meeting in Savannah. The report was submitted and was acted on down to Section 4 of Subsection 7:

Each Central Conference Jurisdiction shall be entitled to be represented in the General Conference by five ministerial and five lay delegates who shall be elected by the Central Conference at a regular meeting preceding the meeting of the General Conference.

There was a motion to adopt this subsection, and then there was a substitute offered by Bishop McDowell, and I think, if I remember correctly, the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church withdrew and brought back in a report which was virtually an indorsement of Bishop McDowell's proposal, and that proposal is in this printed résumé of proceedings. I am not sure that this is in the hands of all the members of the Commission, so I will read it:

Section 1. There shall be constituted the following groups, to be known as Central Conferences:

(1) The Central Conference for Colored People.
(2) The Central Conference for Latin America.
(3) The Central Conference for Europe.
(4) The Central Conference for Eastern Asia.
(5) The Central Conference for Southern Asia.

Sec. 2. Each Central Conference shall be represented in the General Conference as follows:

The Central Conference for Colored People, 12—six ministers and six laymen.

The Central Conference for Latin America, 8—four ministers and four laymen.

The Central Conference for Europe, 8—four ministers and four laymen.

The Central Conference for Eastern Asia, 8—four ministers and four laymen.

The Central Conference for Southern Asia, 8—four ministers and four laymen.

For each 100,000 or less, 8—four ministers and four laymen. Two additional delegates, one minister and one layman, for each additional 100,000 or fractional two-thirds thereof, up to 600,000. Maximum, 18.

This proposal of Bishop McDowell's was offered as a substitute for Subsection 7, which has been read, and that is the status of the question as left at Savannah.

Bishop McDowell assumed the chair as Chairman.

I. G. Penn: I offer this as a substitute for Subsection 7 of that Section 4, and if possible also of Bishop McDowell's:

Each Central Conference shall be entitled to be represented in the General Conference by one ministerial and one lay delegate for each 14,000 Church members in full connection, or fraction of two-thirds thereof; provided, that no Annual Conference in the jurisdiction of a Central Conference shall have less representatives in the General Conference than one minister and one layman. They shall be elected by the Annual Conference preceding the meeting of the General Conference.

By way of explanation let me say that the colored people in the Methodist Episcopal Church General Conference at the present have eighty colored delegates, and this plan would give them fifty; Latin America has six, and this would give them six; the European Conferences have twenty-four now, and this would give them sixteen; Eastern Asia has twenty now, and this would give them fourteen; Southern Asia has eighteen now, and this would give them fourteen; Liberia would have two—a total in the reunited Church of 102 delegates, as against 150 now in the Methodist Episcopal Church General Conference. If I can get a second to this motion, I would like to use my five minutes.

The motion was seconded.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: How many do you say the colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church now in this country would have?

I. G. Penn: Fifty. Several times in our discussions at this session we have heard such expressions as "at this stage of the game," which has reminded me of President Wilson's notable statement with regard to the domination of Germany, that "peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty, as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power." It is inconceivable that I should believe that my people are being bartered from Church to Church "as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game," even the great game of unification of American Methodism; and yet there are not words adequate to express the feeling, which grows deeply with the colored people, that somehow their status in the reorganized Church is not a matter for discussion in the sense that they are to be singled out and deprived of privileges, fellowship, and rights which they now peacefully enjoy in the Church of their choice, when no other people in the home field of either Church are being thus singled out for a deprivation of rights. Unification is to be desired by all right-thinking Methodists, if not purchased by the heart's blood of any portion of the members, parties to the same, for we are living in a day when we are fighting in the world for the rights of weaker peoples. If, therefore, any people, however weak or dependent, should feel that they had been wronged in the matter, unification would have a scar upon it forever. Because of our intense desire that unification should be effected, for the moment I yielded at our Savannah meeting to the suggestion of a reduction of representation of the negro membership in the General Conference of the reunited Church. Subsequent discussion and tentative legislation convinced me that I was absolved from any such tentative yielding, and I so recorded myself. But still further thinking convinced me beyond any doubt that

I had no more right nor should the negro members of the Methodist Episcopal Commission be expected to yield sacred rights of equality of representation of the negro members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, than the other members of the Commission should yield or concede the rights of those whom they represent from the standpoint of racial identity. This Joint Commission was, however, promised some direct information from the colored people as to whether they were willing to a reduction of their representation in the General Conference from that of fifty delegates, with increase of representation in proportion to increase in membership, to that of a fixed representation of ten, never to be increased. Our people have spoken in no uncertain way. The following excerpt from a circular signed by seventy-five ministers of the South Carolina Conference is a fair sample of their protest. These brethren say:

> We note, further, that no matter what may be our material progress, our educational or religious qualifications, there is no provision whatever for our promotion or for an increased representation in the larger councils of the Church of the future.
>
> In short, we are put in a class by ourselves and, like children, are required to accept a disproportional, arbitrary, and fixed representation in the General Conference, not to exceed ten, and these must sit under fatherly restrictions and limitations.
>
> Is it possible in all the world to find a company of intelligent men and women, full members of the Church, who would consent to such a proposition as this? Surely the Church and Commission do not intend to trifle with us.
>
> The proposed plan of unification seems strange to us when we remember that we are on the eve of a world-wide missionary propaganda and other denominations are wisely making large plans for the development of colored work within the Church. For example, how can Protestantism compete with Catholicism, where all of her members are on a parity?
>
> We take this opportunity to say in all brotherliness, but with all the power the English language can express, that we shall never accept so unworthy a proposition. In the sight of God and the world we cannot brand ourselves and our children and our children's children for all time as being the inferiors of any other race. We admit that we are belated; but if we can secure any sort of justice in Church and State we will climb to that place where we can demand the consideration and respect of those who to-day insist that we are something less than men.

But the voice of protest at such reduction of our people comes not alone from the colored members of the Church. The great New York Conference, in body assembled in Newburgh, N. Y., April 3, 1918, passed a resolution, with but two dissenting votes, protesting against the denial to the negro members their full measure of representation. Here is one sentence from the resolution:

> Surely it cannot be possible then that at this moment of all moments in the history of the world there shall be found a man among us who would really entertain the suggestion that for any purpose or any pretext whatever we should wrest from our colored brethren any measure of their democratic rights in the Church of Christ.

Nor is this the only voice in support of the claims of the negro to representation in the General Conference. That voice of a Southern Methodist minister appearing in the *Christian Advocate* of the M. E. Church, South, is as clear as any utterance coming from any Northern source. Says the Rev. Mr. Newton:

> The recognition of the negro is finding many examples in these days. A few months ago I witnessed in one of our Southern towns a scene quite new and impressive. In the courthouse was held a farewell function to a few colored men who had volunteered for the army. A prominent young lawyer was standing before them, and in most cordial terms paid those colored men a high tribute for their patriotism, and in the name of the blacks and whites thanked them for what they were about to do. A negro preacher from the same platform followed the white lawyer in a most appropriate address. Several prominent ladies and gentlemen of the town were present, while the main seats in front were occupied by the colored people. Did these ladies and gentlemen compromise themselves? Most assuredly not.
>
> On the anniversary of Washington's birthday there was in the City of New York a street parade of ten thousand soldiers, with bands of music and banners galore. Fifth Avenue was lined with thousands of our people, who looked on with keenest interest. As the last of the troops passed the reviewing stand of Brigadier General Johnson, he said to Secretary Daniels: "I am proud of my men." Secretary Daniels, grasping his hand, responded: "I am very much pleased with the showing of the men of the National Army, and I am especially proud of the colored men." Secretary Daniels is a Methodist, a patriot, and a Christian. Shall the Church fall behind the leaders of our Army and Navy in giving proper recognition to our colored brethren?

Gentlemen, the world is changing. To help bring in the new world and the new day, the negro is buying liberty bonds and thrift stamps and farming as never before to feed our armies. Last Sunday I witnessed, in a country church in Maryland, negroes answering the appeal of a white woman by giving $50 out of their poverty for the Red Cross. It is related that an old black woman carried her dimes and nickles to a bank in a certain city sometime ago, and when asked what she had been saving so many dimes and nickles for she said: "Boss, I'se saved dat money to bury de ole woman when she dies, but I'se heard so much 'bout dat turrible Kaiser, I'se thought I'd buy some o' dem shift stamps so we can bury dat Kaiser." Negro soldiers of the Tenth Cavalry, I am informed, are guarding General Pershing's headquarters somewhere in France. Negro soldiers for a long time guarded the White House. Negro soldiers are at the front. In the language of Rev. Mr. Newton, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, "Shall the Church fall behind the leaders of our Army and Navy in giving proper recognition to our colored brethren?" The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1864 passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That justice to those who have been enslaved requires that in all the privileges of citizenship, as well as in all other rights of a common manhood, there shall be no distinction founded upon color.

Subsequent legislation in the General Conference was to the effect that "the following Conferences—namely, Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Holston, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, and Washington—are hereby declared to be Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and vested with all the rights, privileges, and immunities usual to Annual Conferences of said Church." These rights, privileges, and immunities conferred upon the fathers will not be surrendered by the sons upon their own initiative or taken from them without protest. The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church have said to the General Conference of 1916 that they desired and expected the continuance of a colored membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church as a part of Methodism's world program with all races. We will not cut the program by any action of ours. This I believe to be the one voice of the 310,000 full members and the 40,000 probationers.

During the delivery of Mr. Penn's remarks his time expired, and on motion duly made and seconded it was extended.

Bishop Hamilton: I do not want to begin my remarks with judgment against me unfairly. I want you to hear me, not with reference to this particular amendment only, but to the unbrotherly treatment involved in it, which really determines the whole question: First, I am opposed to fixing a standard for other persons that does not apply to myself; second, I am opposed to it because it discriminates invidiously against the missionary people—now hear me—in all mission stations that have the possibility of coming by representation into the General Conference—if not now, later on, and against all Annual Conferences in foreign lands, to make the result of this whole movement utterly ill fitted to the present situation; we presume to make a fixed Regional arrangement for the Conferences in Europe when no such association could possibly be made with the belligerent nations other than by the present representation of their Annual Conferences. Certainly, the war ought not to lead us to discriminate against any Annual Conference there or in Mexico or in South America. Third, it is opposed by the people themselves. I have heard from every section in the world, and without solicitation; I do not know of a single bishop representing a foreign field that is in favor of thus discriminating against his territory or membership. I do not, in the reunited Church, favor the violent measure of doing what the people themselves do not want. Again, it will never be adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church while the world stands, be-

cause you cannot expect us to treat all the missionary territory and Mission Conferences in foreign lands in the reunited Church in any such way. They say, I repeat, they don't want such a thing and protest against it, and you cannot by any force or violence vote it upon them. In the last place, it ought not to be done by any such procedure in conflict with all the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to say nothing of the teaching of the New Testament. I say nothing now about such treatment of the colored people. I leave you to discuss that matter, but note that these same methods used in dealing with them are all involved.

A. F. Watkins: I move the previous question.

A. J. Lamar: I second the motion.

Bishop Leete: I want to protest against that with all my soul. We ought not to have that sprung on us.

R. E. Jones: It is a sort of personal matter, but I hope that will not obtain.

A vote being taken, there were only two for and the rest of the Commission were against the motion for the previous question.

John F. Goucher: I shall only touch one point in the five minutes allotted me. We are legislating for a world Church. We have differentiated it on the basis that characterized all of the administrative organizations in Methodism in the past. The Annual Conference, the Mission Conference, and Missions have their organization on the basis of numerical strength and ecclesiastical efficiency and ability to maintain the work and carry on the program. That divides the Church into three classes: racial, linguistic, and national. It is identically the same basis as obtains in the United States between the colored and the non-colored. Now we don't propose to legislate for the negro or against the negro. Now there is a mass movement on in Indiana. They are baptizing a thousand a week. They have raised $1,000,000—$200,000 a year to provide educational facilities such as they are. Eighty per cent of them are illiterates. We could not take the multitude coming to us. It is said that before 1920 we will have a million members. That would mean 71 ministerial delegates and 71 lays—142. That would put 142 delegates from this Central Conference into your General Conference. A small matter relatively, but what would be the effect of their coming together, not to legislate for local interest, not to interpret Methodism for their constituency, but to legislate for the connectional interests? What do they know about it? Then the other class—want of capacity developed because of want of experience and opportunity. There are promises of a mass movement starting in January. This differentiation is a necessity, that the government of the connectional interests shall be in the hands of those who have the ecclesiastical de-

velopment and have a world outlook, that are in the habit of grasping and wrestling with and pondering over great world problems. There is no legislative distinction here that is not removable. Therefore, it is not a discrimination, as I see it, such as has been characterized at all; no injustice, according to my thinking, and no discrimination that is not removable in the plan that has been before us for consideration—not the amendment, but the plan before us is the broadest and wisest and most practicable that has been suggested up to the present time, and I doubt if I could find a better. I am radically opposed to the amendment.

Charles W. Kinne: I have refrained from taking much of the time of this Commission because of the fact that these questions have been more ably discussed than I could discuss them. If I were to look about for an excuse for supporting the report of the Committee, I would base it on the scriptural injunction, "To him that hath shall be given," etc.

Bishop Hoss: That is not a good translation.

C. W. Kinne: I am not thinking of the translation. It is liberal, not literal. It seems to me that we are eminently inconsistent. We have had a good deal of talk on the questions of Regional Conferences and as to homogeneity. What is the connection between the Conference in Asia, India, and China and the color question? It seems to me we have made a great mistake in coupling up the question of the negro with the Asiatic Conferences. Some time ago I had a conversation with Bishop Bashford, and he said the objection of the foreign Conferences is not the coupling of them with the negroes, but that they are put into an inferior relation, not into a relationship that gives them a fair chance to grow. It has been said that we are legislating for the old Church. It looks to me as though we are legislating for a Church limited in its territory and restricted in its color and racial capacity, and it seems to me that that is a mistake that we are making. I am not in favor altogether of this substitute of Dr. Penn's, because I do not believe it covers the ground fully. It came unexpectedly, and I am not prepared to present an amendment. I think the question could be reached by a little different classification, but I am opposed to the principle involved in the report of the Joint Committee of Eight in that it injects into this question a distinction as to one class against another.

M. L. Walton: As I understand this, there are three propositions pending before us: One is on the report of the Committee of Eight, which gives a fixed number of ten. This amendment or substitute of Bishop McDowell's would, by the rule of proportion as worked out, give a representation of twelve and increase the number by six more, provided there is an increase of

100,000 members of the Colored Methodist Church. Then the proposition represented by the substitute of Dr. Penn would give 50 as the representation. I understand that to be in brief the relative situation and position of the three papers pending before us.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I think you are about correct.

M. L. Walton: I am ready to vote.

Bishop Leete: I sympathize with these brethren, but I would like to avoid any unseeming wrangle over the question. I don't think there is any danger of any such thing as that, and I felt and still feel that we can be trusted to say anything we want to say. I am willing for any gentleman to say anything he wants to say, and we will not wrangle about it. I am willing to say anything I want to say, and I hope that the other side will take it as good-naturedly. Concerning the whole matter, I have felt that we have erred in bringing the Asiatic illiterates into an organization in which they are compared and contrasted and coordinated with the illiterate groups in this country. If these Asiatics were people who never had had an opportunity of culture, it would be a different thing. I remember, when I was a boy in South Carolina, the kind of negroes there were, and I know the kind of negroes there now are in South Carolina better than most men here. I know the better class of negroes as well as any man here, and I am absolutely amazed when I go and see great congregations of people. I am amazed at their appearance. I am amazed at the way they are able to read. I am amazed at their comprehension of whatever instructions are given them. In other words, I seem to think that I am living on earth a second time when I contrast these people with their past. That kind of a negro is not trying to embarrass white men in their social relations. In the city where I live are three Negro District Superintendents of my own Church. Not a single one of them has ever come to my house. I have been living there six years, and not one of them has ever approached my house. I never have said a word to any of them about that matter; but they don't come, because they are anxious that I should be unimpeded in my social relations. If they had business, they have called up and over the telephone we made arrangements to transact that business in the inside office, not in the corridor. In Atlanta I have noticed that the pastors of white and colored churches come together and consult week after week without any trouble over racial matters, and I am utterly at a loss to see why we should be afraid of having 20 or 30 or 50 or 75 or even 100 negroes—or, as one member of the Southern Church says, 250. He says that if we cannot take care of ourselves with 250 colored men we are hardly worthy of consideration. We are now dealing with a question

that does not have to do with any social affairs, but it has to do with the kingdom of God. As I understand the social code, it deals with matters of eating and drinking, our private life. We have a right to choose our associates. I think that right is equal on both sides and proper. There is no such thing as social equality anywhere in this world, and it is not taught anywhere in the Bible so far as I know. The social code of the South has reference to personal matters, but in matters of business people can do what is necessary to be done. In the Church of God we are dealing with still other matters. We are dealing with the interests of Jesus Christ, we are dealing with the saving of the world from sin, and I tell you, men, we shall have to have the black hands and hearts with us or we cannot save the world. And when we come to deal with the world outside of America we have a great many countries where it is hard to tell who is the white man and who is the black. Our missionaries have found that it is mighty hard, when you get outside of the United States, to tell where to draw that line. It seems to me that in the kingdom of Jesus Christ, for the purpose of transacting His business, if we are going to draw the line it should be on illiteracy or incompetency to deal with the problems of the Church, and not upon the color of the man's skin and not upon the particular race with which he happens to be affiliated. And I feel in my heart that we could properly and wisely admit at least from the colored segment who love the white man and do not hate him like the African Churches do—from this element of the colored race, which has, under white leadership, been lifted in its refinement and delicacy, and in its loyalty to the white man's principles and to the principles of the Lord Jesus Christ—I think we could safely admit that proportionate number which would come from them in this country under the circumstances we are now dealing with. I am perfectly certain, because I have had experience with them, that if there were fifty negroes put into the General Conference you would not find one negro in the fifty who would stand in the way of any measure whatever which was intended to promote the interest of the kingdom of God or build up the cause of Methodism on earth. I say these things with perfect love and appreciation of every other man's position. I know the fears of the Southern country and I share all of those fears myself absolutely. I know just what is the problem with which we are dealing, and of which we don't talk on the outside—and Dr. Jones knows that perfectly well. But what I also know is that after fifty years of efforts we have produced some negroes who are willing to stand with us on a program which is a perfectly Christian program, a perfectly workable program, and a program which can be based upon the principles enunciated by

the Son of God himself. You can do what you want with your little legislation and your little organization, but sometime or other, when you are dealing with a problem like this, you will have to get your system in harmony with the principles of Him who suffered for all men.

R. E. Jones: I have no thought of prolonging this discussion. As a matter of fact, I have no speech to make this morning. I greatly enjoyed yesterday's session. I feel that if we could approach the whole question as we approached the difficulties of yesterday we would not be very far from a solution. I am as much for organic union as I have ever been. I pray for it, and dislike to be a rock upon which there shall be any sort of difficulty. I support the substitute. I cannot agree to the report of the Committee of Eight, and I don't think I could change opinion here this morning. I am frank about that. A good deal has been said about the protection of the minority. A good deal has been said about that. So far as I am concerned about the minority, I am willing to take my chance on the *pro rata* representation in the General Conference. What do we give up? Some will say, You insist upon everything. If we take the Central Conference, that is a different Conference from the Regional Conference—you are giving us a missionary status. I am frank to say that I do not believe in that. That is a sort of autocracy. You might as well say that a large Conference that could give a million should have larger representation than a small Conference. I don't believe in that. I don't believe in the fixed status, because it is un-American, thoroughly so. It is un-Southern, thoroughly so. There is not a State in the South that has not a qualified suffrage. And if there are not forty or fifty-four men in the whole 350,000 who can come in and be with you, then I feel sorry for the missionary work. I am a member of a council in the city of New Orleans where white and colored men meet together on terms of absolute equality. I am admitted to that council and we legislate together; white men sit with colored men and we exchange views. Furthermore, you are putting entirely too much stress on my patriotism and you are denying me entirely too much when you expect me to furnish my quota to help win the war—and you cannot win without us, you simply cannot win without us—you are putting entirely too much stress on my patriotism when you cannot give me a fair deal in a matter like this. I am anxious that organic union shall succeed. I hold in my hand a telegram from the Washington Preachers' Meeting, and these brethren are unwilling to accept such a reduction in representation, and that represents nearly 95 per cent of the negro membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and I want to call your attention to one other thing. It does not con-

cern us only, the 350,000 in the Methodist Episcopal Church —that is a small matter. I have here a letter received in the mail this morning, and I read the first paragraph. It is from the editor of the official paper of the African Methodist Church: "First, I want to write you in appreciation of the splendid stand you are taking in your paper on the subject of union between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I believe that the whole race stands with you in this." And whatever we do here is interpreted as your attitude toward us as a people. There are 350,000—but there are ten or twelve million of this race altogether. I know your minds are made up. If there is any man from the South who has intense convictions on suffrage, let him grant me all of the same convictions on the other side. We simply differ. We are frank on that equally so with you. I shall do all I can to stand with your brothers and put over this program of organic union, but we ask that the program be based on justice.

Rolla V. Watt: I am sorry to speak again, but since our meeting at Savannah I have been thinking of this matter because it seemed to me that we were doing an absolute injustice to a section of our members, such injustice as I would resent if it affected me in my rights in the Church. At the same time Dr. Goucher has made it perfectly plain that the adoption of the amendment of Dr. Penn would be an extremely dangerous thing. I do not know how the measure can be adjusted except by rewriting the whole matter. I am absolutely in favor of proportionate representation of the colored members in the General Conference. I think they are entitled to it, and that we should not take it from them; but I cannot feel that I could vote for the ten amendments in their present form by which the large membership in India would have the same representation that that amendment would give to the colored people.

David G. Downey: Will you permit a question or suggestion?

Rolla V. Watt: Yes.

David G. Downey: That large membership in India is only a matter of prophecy.

Rolla V. Watt: I agree with that, but at the present time we provide an alternative amendment. Eight for Latin America, eight for Europe, eight for Eastern Asia, eight for Southern Asia. I think those are the figures. These amendments would increase the number in Europe to ten and in Eastern Asia to fourteen and Southern Asia to fourteen, and if we are as successful as we hope to be the membership there will increase very rapidly. Why are we going to raise $80,000,000 for missionary work if we do not expect the Church to grow with rapidity? How can we expect these people from heathenism to be competent to legislate for Methodism in the future?

I am afraid of that. I do not want to be wrong on a matter so important as this. I feel that the colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church is entitled to full *pro rata* representation in any legislative body that we may form, and with that expression I close.

Claudius B. Spencer: I would like to address myself for a moment to the proposition raised by Dr. Goucher and referred to by Mr. Watt. Are we not really making a strange and illogical alignment when we align the colored Methodists of this country with the native races of Africa? Is not that as a matter of fact the pivotal difficulty? The colored membership of this country is an American Church. What affinity have the colored people in this country with the colored people of Africa? When I take up this plan, I read in Subsection 3 of Section 4, on page 5:

> Subject to the limitations and restrictions of this Constitution, each Central Conference shall have full legislative power over all distinctively regional affairs within its area, including the power to fix the boundaries of Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions, and to provide for the organization of the same; provided that no new Annual Conference shall be organized in the States of the United States with less than fourteen thousand Church members in full connection therewith.

I beg to ask this Commission on what principle the colored membership in this country can legislate upon the affairs of Africa, and upon what principle can the members of the Conferences in Portuguese West Africa and in Pretoria or the Belgian Congo legislate on the affairs of the colored people in this country? I propound that to you as fair-minded men. How can you link those two propositions and make them workable? If you do make a Regional Conference of the colored people of Africa south of the equator, as is asked to be done, in order that the people may get together and discuss the questions that bear upon their prosperity and the existence of their work, and if you make a Regional Conference of Africa, you will have jurisdictions as large as our own to handle its problems. If this is borne in mind, we have a line of division where we can give full effect to the principles of Dr. Goucher, and in which we all share and also take care of the matter brought to our attention by Mr. Watt.

Charles A. Pollock: I cannot vote upon this amendment of Dr. Penn's intelligently. I shall have to vote against it, if I do vote as the present situation presents itself, because of the reasons given by Dr. Goucher. It seems to me we are not having the real question presented here concretely so that we could vote "yes" or "no" upon the real question we want to have determined. I do not know whether the parliamentary situation would permit it, but I do think that we should have

presented to us something like this: That in paragraph 1 of Section 1, now under consideration, we omit the last four words, take the words "Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions," and add the words "among the colored people in the United States." Omit the last five words and then, if the parliamentary situation would permit, have a motion by which that could be added right after "Regional Conferences," on page 2, right after No. 6, and make that No. 7, and thus put the colored people of the United States and the Missions there into a Regional Conference in this country, that would perfect the question and would give the colored people in this country, if it were adopted, the same power and the same rights and the same representation that the other Regional Conferences have. That issue we have to meet.

Rolla V. Watt: That is right.

J. W. Van Cleve: I have been looking over this document that is brought before us, the proposed legislation, to get a comparison of the powers granted to the Regional Conferences and to the Central Conference, and there is just one distinction. There is no difference at all as to the powers of those two bodies except in the matter of representation in the General Conference. The representation in the General Conference must not be less than 100. The proposed representation of the Central Conference provides that it shall not be more than—it would appear that the effect of that legislation, whatever the intention is, is to let one factor up and the other factor down. That difference is absolutely fundamental. I recognize the cogency of what Dr. Goucher said a while ago, and the problems that we shall have after a while. I do not think there is any question but that they will come upon us; but if I have to make a choice between this report and the proposed amendment by Dr. Penn, I shall be compelled to vote for the amendment. I am perfectly willing to consent to any kind of restrictions or limitations that the colored membership in our Church are willing to take upon themselves; but I have not been able to persuade myself to consent, against their consent, to some other body—and as between the matter of ten delegates and fifteen delegates, that kind of restriction, I cannot see any great difference. There is as much of a recognition of principle in ten as in proportionate representation. That reminds me of the report of the parliamentary committee appointed to investigate a report that gunpowder had been laid under the House of Commons. They reported to the House that they had discovered that there were twenty-five barrels of gunpowder, that they had ten of them removed, and hoped the rest would do no harm. I think if we are going to make a restriction we should go to the root of the case

or not try to deal with it at all. I think that is the conviction of the Church I represent.

A. J. Lamar: I want to offer a resolution which I think is in the nature of the privilege of the body. If it is in order, I move that a vote on this question be taken not later than one o'clock.

H. M. Du Bose: I second the motion.

A. J. Lamar: My reason for introducing this motion is the same as actuated me when I seconded the previous matter. While we are approaching this question for the first time with a view of definite action, we have discussed it for a week at Savannah and incidentally on almost every other question we have had up, and I think that everything that can be said with profit has already been said. I want to follow this up this afternoon, or this morning if we have time before adjournment, with this resolution: "That our Secretaries publish a paper, similar to the one recently published, setting forth what we have done, and what we have not done, and that that paper arranged by the Secretaries be presented to the General Conference as the report of this Commission." Then I want to move that, instead of adjourning to-morrow at five o'clock and making it necessary for everybody to travel on Sunday, we fix our final adjournment this afternoon at not later than 6:30. I believe that whole program can go through advantageously. I think we shall have accomplished by that time everything that we can accomplish if we stay here all day to-day and to-morrow, and that will enable many of these delegates to get home without traveling on Sunday, which I think is very desirable. If you don't adjourn until five o'clock to-morrow, as already fixed, I have to stay over here until Monday while you are traveling on Sunday. If you adjourn this afternoon at five o'clock, I can get off with the rest of you and be at home in my own church on Sunday.

C. M. Bishop: I am opposed to hastening through to a vote, because of the psychological situation, because of the danger that we go away hastily, separating again into two distinct antagonistic bodies, misunderstanding each other as we have been misunderstanding each other for a long term of years. I quite understand the intensity of feeling and also what seems to be the intellectual clarity, so far as they are conscious of the meaning of their own thinking and the attitude which they occupy, of the brethren who have spoken this morning. I should like to reply to those brethren. There are questions concerning this matter that have not been referred to remotely this morning, and if we were to close now within a half an hour and when the whole big problem that is involved in this matter of the relations of the white Methodists of this country to the colored

Methodists of this country has not been brought to our attention and been considered in all its various relationships, an injustice would be done to somebody—and I am willing to confess I think it would be to the company to which I belong. I am not willing to be represented before the world nor with you as in the attitude which I conceive the discussion so far seems to put my section and my Church in. It is not a mere question of justice, but a comparatively small company of our colored fellow citizens that are involved, and I will not be put in the position of taking the stand which would consent for a single moment to injustice to those men. I do not want to be misunderstood by you brethren, and I think I speak for the entire Commission to which I belong. These have been most delightful days that we have spent together, and we have frequently congratulated ourselves upon the fact that we have come to know each other so well that we are happy in this association and far friendlier than ever before; but I do not want you to go away misunderstanding us and I do not want to go away misunderstanding you. I do not want to go back to my people and say that the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, including the colored representatives, are so completely concerned with their own small fragment of the colored population that they will not listen to us. I do not believe you are willing to be put in that attitude, and I am therefore opposed to any hastening to a conclusion on the part of the gentlemen of the Commission. I think we have a right to be heard with reference to this delicate and most complicated question of the relation between the races and the relation which Methodism in America bears to this colored race that we cannot get rid of and that we do not want to get rid of, that we want to serve, that we want to elevate to the highest human possibility so far as our service can elevate them. We are not willing to be misunderstood with reference to that. It is our problem, and we want to solve it. We don't think you are approaching it in the right way, and we want you at least to see our standpoint.

Bishop McDowell: Dr. Bishop will remember that the motion for a vote at one o'clock was not made by a Northern Commissioner, but made by Judge Lamar.

C. M. Bishop: Dr. Lamar.

Bishop McDowell: Yes, I am getting mixed up on my titles. No one is more judicial than he. I think we ought not to vote at one o'clock. That is the subject before us now. Indeed I think just now, in the mood we are in, in the rather nervous tension we are in, we would do a whole lot better to pray for composure and for calmness and for absolute freedom from any spirit of haste, and I would a lot rather cancel all the engagements I have on hand for Sunday and all the engagements I

have over in the next week, if necessary, than to hurry now. What Dr. Bishop has just said with reference to the rights of the Southern Commissioners to be perfectly understood is perfectly true. We have but one question in our minds this morning, and we want, God helping us, if we can, to see our way through to unification. We want to see it in the best way and in the best time. Now is the hour for us to stay and study, and not hurry. We do not want to vote that motion down, but I would be glad if you would withdraw it.

A. J. Lamar: I will withdraw it, but before I do I want to say this: We acted exceedingly unwisely with the grave question before us when we decided to adjourn finally to-morrow afternoon. You can accomplish everything to-day that you can accomplish by that time. I withdraw my motion now, and if you will permit me I wish to reconsider the vote by which we fixed final adjournment for to-morrow at five o'clock.

Bishop Denny: I rise to a point of order. I think that will be by unanimous consent. The time to move that reconsideration would have been when the minutes of the succeeding session were read. That was not done then. Of course, if there is a general demand, it can be taken up by common consent, but parliamentarily it is out of order.

A. J. Lamar: I amend the motion then and move that we rescind the action by which we decided to adjourn to-morrow afternoon.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The Chair thinks—

Bishop Hoss: That is the most unjudicial thing I ever heard of.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Pepper.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The Chair does not know of any rule by which that can be declared out of order. As many of you as are in favor of rescinding this action raise your hands.

The result of the count was announced as 20 to 20.

M. L. Walton: I would like to have that vote taken over again.

The vote was taken by standing, and the result was announced as 26 to 18.

So the motion to rescind prevailed.

H. M. Du Bose: May I say for myself personally on these matters that, while this is a majority vote, I am under an absolute necessity to go away to-morrow? and I beg to suggest to the brethren to use all diligence to finish this business between now and the time originally fixed for adjournment, so that those who are compelled to go can go.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Prefer your request to-morrow morning, and I think matters will shape themselves for

an adjournment to-morrow afternoon for the accommodation of those who wish to go away; yet we ought not to hurry.

Bishop McDowell: We have been in the habit of working up to one o'clock and then meeting at three o'clock, and I am about to move that we take a recess now until 2:30, which will simply shift the matter a half an hour. I make that motion.

The motion was seconded and was carried.

Before adjournment the Joint Committee heretofore provided for was announced as follows: Bishop Cooke, Dr. Stuart, and Dr. Joy; Bishop Mouzon, Dr. Chappell, and Mr. E. W. Hines.

Bishop Cooke: I would like to be excused.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): It is a duty for which you are eminently qualified, and we will not excuse you.

The meeting then received a benediction from Bishop E. E. Hoss and adjourned.

Afternoon Session.

The meeting was called to order by Bishop Earl Cranston.

The hymn, "Nearer, my God, to me," was sung.

Prayer was offered by Bishop Murrah and also by Dr. David G. Downey.

The thirty-sixth Psalm was read responsively.

The hymn, "O how happy are they, who the Saviour obey," was sung.

The minutes were read, corrected, and approved.

The roll call showed the following present: Bishops E. E. Hoss, Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, W. B. Murrah, from the M. E. Church, South; Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, from the M. E. Church. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, J. M. Moore, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, H. M. Du Bose, W. N. Ainsworth, A. J. Lamar, from the M. E. Church, South; Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, from the M. E. Church. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, J. R. Pepper, E. C. Reeves, H. H. White, E. W. Hines, from the M. E. Church, South; G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, I. E. Robinson, H. W. Rogers, Alexander Simpson, Jr., Rolla V. Watt, J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock, from the M. E. Church. Rev. C. M. Stuart, alternate.

Bishop Collins Denny took the chair as presiding officer.

A letter addressed to the Commission by Dr. Byars, District Superintendent of the Missouri District, was read.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The business is the motion offered by Dr. Penn.

Bishop McDowell: Reference was made by Dr. Penn this morning to a telegram received from a Preachers' Meeting of the Washington Conference, saying that the Washington Preachers' Meeting of the Washington Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, representing 40 ministers and 10,000 laymen, wish to go on record as being uncompromisingly and unalterably opposed to any scheme of unification which means the reduction of the status of the negro as it now is in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Penn made reference to that and it was sent to me also.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The Chair is ready to give recognition to any member of the Commission who seeks it.

Bishop E. E. Hoss: If I speak a little slowly, you will understand it is not because I want to, but because I cannot speak otherwise. A friend of mine asked me last year if I had suffered any serious results following my attack of facial paralysis, and I told him I could not notice any particular results except that it had slowed down my fluency. He said: "It is a great misfortune that it didn't slow you down 25 per cent more." By the law of averages I am entitled to talk slowly for the rest of my life. I did an immense amount of talking in my earlier and better years, and I am not complaining now that I must talk deliberately. In regard to the matter that is before us I have not much to say. I really think it is a problem of you brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church more than it is ours. We have no colored problem now of this sort. We had one up to 1866, when the war closed, when we still had 207,000 colored brothers, and I venture the assertion that they were as good colored people as could be found on the face of the earth. When the war closed everybody was anxious to get our colored members. There was a perfect rush for them. The Zion brethren were there in force and vigor. The Afro-Americans were there in force and vigor. It was a little bit remarkable that those two Churches emphasized their separateness in their very names and have kept it up to this very time. One of these Churches is supposed to have a million members and it hasn't anybody but Africans in it. I might add that you were there in force trying to get our members too. There never was any more vigorous campaign than there was waged at that time in the South to tempt our members away from us. I am not complaining about that. I am too old to complain about anything. I think you did very well with them after you once got hold of them. I have never quite approved of the way in which you got them. In less than one year we lost about 40,000 colored members. And we hadn't turned a soul of them out. We had not expelled them as individuals nor sent them apart as bodies of our own vo-

lition. We simply passed a law at that General Conference, a provision which made it possible for them to do in a regularly and orderly manner what they were in danger of doing irregularly and in a disorderly manner. They were going to leave us anyhow, and we thought it was the more decent thing for us to consult their wishes and to set them up to themselves. [Bishop Hoss's time here expired and was on motion extended.] And so we did not set them off, but set them up. We did for them what was never done for the Zionites who left you. They didn't leave us. They left you in New York. What was ever done for the African Methodists who left you in Philadelphia? We retained them and gave them full-fledged bishops, men of their choice. True, they were picked out as far as possible by the leaders of our Church, but they were admirable men. There were very few equals in America of Bishop Miles or of Bishop Holsey. I don't know of any better colored man than Bishop Lane. He knows all of our Conferences and we know him. We have good reason to know him. He has been present at almost every Conference that I have attended and I was always glad to see him. I don't know how many times I have been to the college at Jackson. It was a wonderful piece of work he did there. He deserves great honor for it. Since then we have had no direct problem of the colored race. We wish them all well. We wish the African Methodists well and the Zionites well. We wish your members well, but we do not want to tell you what to do with the colored men. I have no disposition at all to tell you what to do, but I will tell you what I do want. I want you to tell us what you want about it in black and white, in black especially, and let there be no mistake about it. Don't let it be said through the Church that any act we take was taken by ourselves—by the members of our Commission and in the face of your wishes. You know what is the best thing. If you have conscientious convictions, you ought not allow any one to override them—I think every man ought to die before he allows his convictions to be overriden—but tell us what you want and we will try to tell you whether we want the same thing or not. It is not certain that you do. We think we know something about the colored men. We don't know as much as some of your people do. We haven't had as much to do with the leaders of the race, the reason is, as our fathers had. I doubt whether there is any colored man who understood the colored people as William Capers understood them, a man worthy to be held in everlasting remembrance. There was one thing that made Capers eminently qualified to be a leader of the colored people and an evangelist. Capers was so respectable that he could go anywhere he wanted to go and do

anything he wanted without being called in question. Nobody thought of calling in question William Capers because he invited colored preachers to his house and gave them instructions and fatherly guidance. I believe God Almighty has drawn the color line in indelible ink, and I am inclined to respect it and never except with great respect—I never have for one day in my life believed that I had any right to treat otherwise than with great respect all races and classes of men, but I have my notions as to what is going to be the best for the colored people in the future. I have it just as you have yours, and I don't object to you holding your convictions. That is the right thing to do, and I want you to respect mine, and if you do not I will insist on holding them all the same. I am not going to surrender my convictions to you any more than I shall ask you to surrender yours to me, and I don't want you to say that because I cannot agree with you I am lacking in Christian character or Christian spirit. But I would be glad if you as Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church would tell us exactly what you want, and then we will understand you and our people will understand you and you will get a prompt answer from the Southern Methodists as to whether they will accept it. They will not dillydally. They will say yea or nay and say it promptly and definitely and clearly, and I trust in God that such a consummation may be brought to pass as will be for the glory of God and for the good of all his people. I resent as much as a man of my temper can resent any suggestion that I am maintaining an unchristian attitude toward the colored people. It is because I have my convictions of what is best for them. I thank you very much for this opportunity to speak and for listening to me in spite of my disability. It is my tongue that is disabled. I do not admit any failure in the working of my mental machinery. It is still at work. I know what I am talking about. I am glad to have been with you. It has been one of the great joys of my life that for twenty-five years I have been associated in this Commission on Federation or Union with so many good men who I know are in heaven. Bishop Pierce has gone, Bishop Marvin has gone, Bishop Granbery has gone, Bishop Wilson has gone, and I am going. I am headed that way, and I haven't any doubt that when I pass on I will make a safe landing on the other side, where I shall see every one of you. I have had so much of kindness shown to me as a Methodist preacher that my sense of obligation is deeper than I can possibly say. I have never had anything but kindness from the preachers in my own Church and from the Methodists in all other Churches—from the white Methodists and from the colored Methodists. I have known them since I was

a little boy. The first colored Methodist I remember was old Uncle Horner, who had a colored Church in the town in which I was born and brought up. I am profoundly thankful to you all, and if I get to heaven first I will be on the lookout for you, and if you get there before I do lookout for me, for I am coming too.

Bishop McDowell: When we were together at Savannah we had a pretty ample discussion of this very great subject. We adjourned without having reached an agreement upon two or three propositions before us. I understand that in a parliamentary way there is now before us: 1. The report of the Committee of Eight. 2. The proposition as by myself submitted in Savannah. 3. The proposition submitted this morning by Dr. Penn. If there is no argument with reference to the proposition submitted by me in Savannah, I wish to have it understood that that is still before the body.

Charles A. Pollock: Is that the one on page 56 of the minutes?

Bishop McDowell: It is there.

John M. Moore: Is it not a fact that that proposition is not any longer yours, but your Commission's?

Bishop McDowell: In a parliamentary sense it was on my motion, but it was submitted to our Commission and approved by our Commission; but in a parliamentary sense it is before you on my motion.

John M. Moore: With the approval of the Commission.

Bishop McDowell: Yes. I am a good deal in the position of Bishop Hoss in one respect. He speaks slowly because of his infirmity, which we all deplore in him and for him. I speak slowly from force of habit, partially because I think slowly. We have published to both of our Churches tentative suggestions that have been reached and proposed without having been reached in the previous meetings held at Baltimore, Traverse City, and Savannah. Unquestionably we have heard from our constituency and unquestionably also we have heard a good many judgments from those constituencies. Some of these judgments have approved and some have partly disapproved and some have pretty largely disapproved of the tentative matter that we laid out. Among the subjects on which there has been a real expression in my own province has been the expression of the Washington Conference, of which I am President at this time, as contained in the telegram I read to you a moment ago, which telegram represented the Washington Preachers' Meeting. The Washington Conference had taken much more elaborate action than that. Now, Mr. Chairman, if I may express the opinion that has come to me, I would say this, that there is nothing like unanimous approval

of the powers that we propose for the Regional Conferences. There is, on the other hand, a good deal of opposition to them. There is nothing like unanimous approval of the geographical boundaries that we propose. On the other hand, there is a good deal of opposition. There is nothing like unanimous approval of the plans proposed for the government of our missionary field. Indeed, just at this minute, I think I am quite as sensitive about the attitude of those who represent our foreign missionary interests as I am about any other particular subject. There is nothing like unanimous approval touching the plan that was proposed for our negro brethren. There is a good deal of favor for every one of the propositions that we have tentatively suggested. A very large number of the people in our Church would be glad to have unification upon those terms, provided those terms would secure unification. I am anxious to state the case as it seems to me from the reports that have come to me. I do not pretend to represent reports that have come to other members of the Commission which may differ from those I represent. In the light of the expressions that have been made to me I feel that I ought to say to you frankly what my personal preference would be this afternoon, and I would be glad if this convention would see its way to adopt and send to the Churches. We do not get anywhere except by perfect frankness. I would be glad to have a change made first in the number of the proposed Regional Conferences in the United States—not necessarily to make eight, as I proposed yesterday, but to let the six stand that you proposed yesterday and add a seventh in harmony with the suggestion of the Chattanooga Declaration and of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to create a negro Regional Conference. That would require another change—namely, a change in the numerical size of the Regional Conferences. But I do not see the necessity for having a Regional Conference of 100 persons except with reference to those Regional Conferences that do certain things in certain ways. I would be glad—and for this I shall vote—if we should begin our united relations granting to our colored brethren of America and to our Missionary Jurisdiction proportionate representation based upon their present membership. For that I would vote. That would mean that five per cent of the body in round numbers would be made from our negro membership in America. Dr. Penn's figures this morning show some 43 or 44 negro members who would be in a General Conference of about 850. They constitute about five per cent of the united membership. The same proportion applied to our foreign mission field would slightly reduce the representation of one or two of those fields, but would not greatly

increase the representation proposed in my suggestion at Savannah. I would be glad to have the foreign mission field organized into Central Conferences with proportionate representation, but the Regional Conferences at home organized on racial lines and the Central Conference Board organized on missionary or language or geographical lines with the distinct proviso that when their representation in the General Conference reaches five per cent of that body, without any breach of faith or violation of rights, the General Conference could determine whether there should be a further increase in their representation. There is much to be said in favor of the position, that has been stated over and over again, that we cannot contemplate an indefinite increase in representation from foreign fields. Financial and other considerations all lend themselves to that principle. I am thoroughly convinced in my own mind—and now I am speaking for myself and not at all for the Commission to which I belong—that the United Church could stand five per cent of its membership easily from the negro membership, could stand five per cent from the Latin-American, could stand five per cent from the other regions designated as Central Conferences, even though the aggregate might reach twenty-five per cent, for we are looking just now in a peculiar way to that great missionary development in that tremendous world of other nations than our own that constitute the strength of our appeal for $40,000,000 for foreign missions, and that constitutes the strength of our foreign influence as establishing Christianity as the religion of the world. Now I have stated right frankly what is my own earnest wish that we should do. I do not think that Bishop Hoss or any one else is wholly right in saying that this negro problem is a problem of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Bishop Hoss: I said that you have them on your hands, which we have not.

Bishop McDowell: In these negotiations it is a problem with us quite largely because of your attitude toward the negro, and also, for another reason, because of our desire to reach a basis that will be acceptable to our Church and possibly acceptable to yours; but we have struggled and are struggling—God help us!—toward an amicable and wise adjustment for the greater efficiency of the Church we both love and whose welfare and power we all desire. Now I do not think I will offer as an amendment the substance of what I have said, but if any Commissioner wishes to offer it as an amendment I would be glad. I recognize the delicacy of offering this as an amendment, but in a parliamentary way the suggestion of mine is already before the body. I do not mind saying again that the things I have heard said and things that have been said to

me, both from the point of view of the colored membership and from the point of view of the foreign missionary people, have led me to reëxamine my own position so that I would be sure not only that I would be right, but in harmony with those forces whose good will is necessary if we are to get this proposition of ours through. I believe you want a plan that we can get through the Church. I do not want in our Church to have the plan we submit immediately made the subject of attacks by both the negro and foreign mission field. I know perfectly well what you have to get through your Church. I repeat what I said at Savannah. It may be that with an equal obedience to Jesus Christ as each interprets that obedience (and each Commission must interpret it for itself), we are not to reflect upon one another in these matters—I am sure you will agree with that. It may be that there is no provision in these matters that we can accept that you will find is possible to get through this Commission or through your Church. It may be that there is no provision that you could accept that we could get through this Commission or through our Church—but just as sure as anything in this world there never was a body that met three times, as this body has met prior to this meeting, that has accomplished more than has been accomplished by this body. It may be that the concrete results will not be immediate; but just as sure as you live, brethren, we have not wasted our time at Baltimore, and we have not wasted our time at Traverse City, and we have not wasted our time at Savannah, and we are not going to suffer ourselves to apply self-reproach or to suffer ourselves to be reproached by anybody else because of what we have done or failed to do. These Churches could never be gotten together if we had not gone up this alley and up that street and crossed this field and explored these subjects as we have explored them. Some day somebody will find a plan, but he will find it a thousand times more easy because of what we have in God's name done; and whatever we do or do not do now must not strain our relations one with the other nor strain the relations of the Churches in such way as either to give or to seek advantage on either side of this thin line that separates us, if we are to go forward. It may not be in one year and it may not be in two years and it may not be in five or ten years, but we are going steadily forward in God's name until these Churches are won. I thank you, Mr. Chairman and dear brethren, for listening to my remarks and granting the extension of time which you have done.

Frank M. Thomas: I trust the Commission will indulge me while I present my views on this matter. It will take seven minutes and I would like to have my time extended in the beginning, so that I can finish my remarks without interruption.

On vote, and on motion, the time was extended.

Frank M. Thomas: The other day in looking over my rather extensive library on moral philosophy the thought occurred to me that, as I had just been reading your proof and your speeches and had refreshed my mind as to various viewpoints set forth by brethren of both North and South, it might be wise for my own mental satisfaction to jot down my own views on the matter. I do not claim to represent my Commission or my own Church in this matter. I am putting this down as my deliberate conviction on these matters after nearly ten years in service on this Commission or on Commissions leading up to this. You brethren will bear witness that I have not spoken at length during the discussion in this Commission. I have been anxious to hear other men. I have wanted to get all the facts before making up my own mind. I feel that the time has come when I ought to express matured views on the problem before us. I owe it as a duty, since Bishop Cranston and myself are the only two men here who have been present at all the most important meetings of the Joint Commission since 1908. I may add, by way of a preface to my remarks, that the question which is now before us was not then regarded as the most serious obstacle in the way of reunion. There were other profound problems of ecclesiastical polity, which, by long attention to them and the help of our risen Lord, we have been enabled to solve, at least in a tentative way. But this grave problem now before us was ever hovering in the background. More than once it has been brought forward, and we of the Southern Church have not been quick to discuss it, because we have felt that there needed to be an orientation to this problem before it could wisely become a matter of discussion by the Joint Commission. Even now, there is some doubt in my own mind as to whether this orientation has proceeded sufficiently far for the majority of us to approach this problem without bias. Yet face it we must. Each man must do the best he can with the light before him, and trust the Father of Light to forgive whatever of ignorance and error may distort his vision. This speaker would in no wise claim any infallibility for his utterances. Ever mindful of his own limitations, as he grows older and the complexity of human existence is more and more borne in upon him, he feels like

> An infant crying in the night,
> An infant crying for the light,
> With no language but a cry.

Yet, as a long time student of logical classification, he is not unmindful of the fact that the problem now before us is a many-sided one. It is, first of all, a problem in anthropology, since there are three distinct races of mankind—the Negroid,

the Mongolian, and the Caucasian. It is, secondly, a moral problem, since it involves the question of right relations between two distinct races, separated by centuries of development. Thirdly, it is an ecclesiastical problem, as it involves the determination of the status of not only the colored race, but other races, in a Church which two General Conferences have directed should be constructed if such construction be at all possible. Speaking for myself alone, I do not see how I could honorably discharge the duty laid upon me unless I had as far as is possible exhausted every wise solution before reporting back to the General Conference, which commissioned me, the impossibility of this task. The larger and more imperative question of our duty to the million and a half negro Methodists in other Churches I do not consider now. I come now direct to the problem before us. One of the difficulties connected with this problem has been a fallacy, which I find quite prevalent in several of the speeches that have been made. As I have read these speeches in the cold type of the proof I have wondered how men as good and as thoughtful as I know these speakers to be could have fallen into such a fallacy of thought. The error, briefly stated, is the belief that the problem before us is one that can be solved by the plain teachings of the New Testament. Such a conception of the New Testament will not stand searching inquiry. That divine revelation of the Son of God deals only with general principles. It does not enter into the details of human life. It would be manifestly impossible for a religion, especially the one true religion, to set out to cover the changing phenomena of human life. It would then become a code-book, and in time become obsolete. The Gospel of Jesus Christ is the Light of the Eternal World shining into this complex and changing world of time. The greatest problem in philosophy, as well as in theology, is the relation of that Eternal Order to the present world order. Certain great principles—the Fatherhood of God, the Sonship of Jesus Christ, His Universal Atonement, the Gift of the Holy Spirit, the Brotherhood of Believers—are set forth. From these living principles we must draw our conclusions and build our motives for right action in the complex situations in which life thrusts us. To do this is no easy matter, because human life is far more complex than the average man imagines. In one of our sessions an eminent Commissioner declared that the task before us was a simple one, simply the application of the New Testament to the problem. I found myself wondering whether in the many difficult cases he has been called on to plead that a simple appeal to Blackstone ever won a case before any judge learned in the law. Why the marshaling of authorities and elaborate arguments if the case be so simple? Now, the

problem before us is more complicated—yea, we dare affirm that it has more perplexing factors than any other human problem. In fact, it is the greatest problem ever laid upon the mind and conscience of Christian men. There are aspects of it which are exceedingly simple. If any brother says that our "brother in black" and our brother in every other race is a full brother in the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and is entitled to all the privileges and rights growing out of this sonship with God and heirship with Jesus Christ, there is no one who has known Jesus Christ who will not say a hearty Amen to such a declaration, and truly rejoice therein. But to say this is to say a very different thing from saying that in the organization and administration of the polity of the Church a man's privileges and rights are fixed by his spiritual relation to Jesus Christ and his fraternal relations with his brethren. This is to make a claim that will not stand, at least in Methodism, the acid test of the facts. A man's spiritual relations do not determine his ecclesiastical relations. There are thousands of preachers in American Methodism, men free-born with the blood of patriots in their veins, who each year have place of living, their income, fixed by the appointing power. Were it not for the high spiritual values involved, it would be difficult to find a more pronounced form of human slavery. Those who speak of the question before us as being determined by the principles of democracy, and especially the application of "manhood suffrage," lose sight of, it seems to me, the very foundation principles of our Methodism, which is self-surrender for the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The question then arises, Have we any norm for determining what the ecclesiastical status of various races should be in a reorganized Church? We think we have. It is clear that this ecclesiastical status, so far as membership is concerned, should be one and the same everywhere, that laid down in the plain teachings of the New Testament with reference to membership in the kingdom of Jesus Christ. But when we come to participation in the government of the reorganized Church, then we must fix such status on the basis of mental and moral responsibility. I was born an American citizen, yet I had to wait twenty-one years before I was granted the privilege of exercising manhood suffrage. Why? Because, in the conception of the world's greatest democracy, I had not arrived at that status of mental energy which would fit me to become an active factor in the State. This is the reason why certain of our Southern States have deprived certain of their citizens of the right of suffrage. They have not yet arrived at that state of mental energy which fits them to become molders of democracy. When Lincoln issued his immortal Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves, he declared that the

right of suffrage should be conferred only on those who were competent. And it is impossible to escape the inexorable logic of such a position. So that in fixing a missionary status for the negro and other races in the reorganized Church we not only do not do him an injustice, we do justice both to him and to others constituting the Church. We believe such a position to be absolutely unassailable from the standpoint of Christian ethics. If it be answered that in so doing you deprive him of rights which he to-day possesses, the answer comes back clear as the music of morning bells, that you do not deprive a man of any right when in a corporate reorganization you give him his true status. After all, rights are the results of activities. They are acquired, not given. You may, by legal enactment, confer privileges, but rights must be won by the exercise of mental and moral energy. Why is the negro to-day within the Church denied the logical fulfillment of the rights he is supposed to have? Simply because it is recognized that to do so would be to do an injustice to the white membership. There is not a white Conference in American Methodism which at the present time would accept the presidency of a colored bishop. On the ground of color? Or race prejudice? We hardly think so. *But because it would be to shift long centuries of mental and moral energy development.* We may theorize as we wish, but when confronted with the stubborn facts of human energy our theories go to pieces unless they are in line with facts as they are. Now, I deeply sympathize with my brother in black. I think I feel for him. I have felt for him through all these discussions. One reason why I have refrained from speaking is that I did not wish in any wise to wound him. But to refrain from stating the truth as one sees it because one does not wish to wound a soul may be opening a greater wound in the heart of humanity. Personally I am in favor of granting to my "brother in black" and to every man the privilege and the right to enter into the largest inheritance possible; yea, it is establishing justice to see to it that he qualifies for those privileges which have cost the Anglo-Saxon race centuries of struggle. If I could, by a gift, endow him with the racial energies of the Anglo-Saxon, I would do so; but this is impossible. I can only help place him in a path where, by long and unending struggle, he shall arrive sooner or later. That some few are approaching a high standard of synthetic energy we are glad to affirm, but you cannot legislate for the individual in mass representation. Where shall he be placed, then, in the reorganized Church? Very evidently and justly in a jurisdiction which, whatever we may call it, is a missionary jurisdiction. Such a jurisdiction should have a limited representation in the General Conference. The limitation is purely on the ground

of moral justice. The exact number is immaterial. How long should this representation continue? It has been suggested until the number in this jurisdiction reaches 600,000. Such a suggestion is just. No injustice of any kind can be alleged against it. The only question is whether on reaching such a number said jurisdiction should automatically become a Central General Conference or some margin of time left to be decided by the General Conference. Personally I cannot vote for leaving the matter optional with the General Conference, for the following reasons: A large section of every General Conference that would be held for the next few years could not be oriented to this great problem. It will be dominated by ideas imported from the democratic drift into the life of the Church. It will not be in direct touch with the mass problem. There would be grave danger of a serious division in such a General Conference. This is evidenced by the fact that intelligent men in this Commission, supposed to be the picked men of their Church, have put forward the plain text of the New Testament as determining the full ecclesiastical policy of the Church in reference to this question. Until we arrive at the only sound position, that it is a problem to be settled by the principles of the New Testament in the light of the complete facts of human life, there would always be danger of a grave rupture in a General Conference. Things have been said here in this quiet body which, if said in a General Conference, would have provoked a storm. Would it be wise then to leave to some future General Conference the determination of such a grave problem? We think not. Are we estopped then from any solution? Must the forces which make for disunion and separation defeat the great longing in both Churches, the imperative demand of the times, the logic of Christian energy for the unification of American Methodism? Shall we part after all these years and go back to our General Conferences to "let loose the dogs of war"? In an age when Satan seemed loosed and the very powers of darkness are gloating and shouting over all the blood and horror that enwrap mankind, shall we announce our failure to men and angels? Not until we have tried every possible solution and exhausted all our mental and moral energies in the effort to solve a problem, the solving of which would cause Satan to tremble on his throne, as he thinks of the possibility of the mobilization of the vast resources of American Methodism against his kingdom. There is nearly always a way out—a way out of Egypt, even by fire and flood, if God is determined to lead us out into a larger place. There is one solution which has not been tried. It would be perfectly just to leave the determination of the exact time of the setting up of an Associate General Conference to the judgment of a picked body of men,

either the Judicial Council or a Council yet to be created to be known as the Federal Council of Methodism. We once had such a council for determining all cases of conflict between the two Methodisms. True, it never functioned. But as crowning the plan of unification now under consideration, it could be made to function. As the late Professor Bowne once pointed out, you must in human society have somewhere a small body of picked men, a final court that has power to end dispute, or human society would be impossible. The future League of Nations must have some such tribunal. Unified Methodism ought to have some such tribunal or council. I believe that the majority of our members, North and South, would come in time to trust such a tribunal, if wisely and properly constituted. Many in Southern Methodism are not concerned as to the exact hour when the colored membership or other missionary jurisdiction shall become a Central General Conference jurisdiction. We are deeply concerned as to the justice and equities involved. We wish to see these missionary jurisdictions reach their highest, but it is also our duty to see that the rights of the Regional Conferences are maintained and not lowered. I may add that there was a time when the possibility of the colored membership remaining a full Regional Conference was considered by the Commission on Federation. It was not discussed at length, but it was suggested. It was in the original series of suggestions when the concept of the reorganized Church was somewhat different from that now before us. I wish to say very frankly that I have kept an open mind on this one question. I have been seeking light continually. And I have been led to my conclusion that it is best for him to be in a separate Associate General Conference by the facts that have been adduced here by members of the Commission from the M. E. Church. It is evident, despite a real and genuine brotherly interest, that when it comes to the carrying out of the "manhood suffrage" idea the colored membership fails to reach its logical goal. Will it ever reach it? Not so long as the present drift in the North is setting in. It is a serious question whether the M. E. Church, big and mighty as it is, could change this drift were it to throw all its energies against it. Now, my brethren, you can give and we both can give our colored brethren justice and brotherly help, but we cannot give him ecclesiastically more than justice. Justice has a way of punishing those who would remove the bandage from her eyes and substitute glasses that blur the facts of life. Not for one moment would I plead that some in the South have not been guilty of injustice. We know this and it pains us to think of it. But the M. E. Church, South, is honestly concerned to do all that justice and Christian love demand. We shall do it glad-

ly if it can be made plain to us. It cannot be made plain by a type of argument that runs counter to the facts of human energy. It may do roughly in some worldly affairs, but it will not hold when we come to building on the hard rock of facts the Church of the Living God. I have indicated a way in which I think a solution might be found. If it be wise, may God give us grace to enact it and build him a glorious Church, the hope and the wonder of the world!

Bishop Leete: I arise to a question of privilege, for the whole house as it seems to me. These expressions of individual views are very important, very illuminating, in some respects convincing. It would require a great deal of time if each man here should give his individual conclusions about this whole matter. I want to raise the question of *qui bono.* Why should each one of us give his individual opinion? We act not as individuals, but as Commissions. Why be afraid to do so? We might as well do it before this week end. Bishop Hoss said a few moments ago that the thing was for one Commission or the other to state what we wanted and get an answer. We will never get anywhere until we do that. It seems to me that the time has come when we should reach some conclusion, and we ought to do that with the very greatest kindness and good will one for the other. I do not see how we are going to get to any conclusion unless we have a separate meeting of the Commissions. I believe if we had had this two days ago we would be far ahead of where we are now. What difference does it make what I think is the correct ultimate solution? If I cannot get two-thirds of my Commission, my opinion is of no value. I think we must come to the two Commissions decided on what we want and then see if we can get together. It seems to me the time has come for some one to call a separate meeting of the Commissions to find out where we stand.

Frank M. Thomas: I beg Bishop Leete's pardon, but the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, stated clearly at Savannah where it stood, that it stood upon the report of the Committee of Eight.

Bishop Leete: May I answer that in this respect we are in this particular parliamentary position as a Commission: We have now two measures from our Commission and still a third presented.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Is the Commission ready to vote or does some member wish to speak?

Bishop Cooke: I was deeply interested in the paper which the Secretary gave us. I was interested because of the ethical views he had relating to this matter. I could not subscribe to the ethics which our brother has presented as my norm of Christian ethics. That is the first thing I wanted to say. Any

ethical practice which is not of universal application cannot be Christian ethics. Jesus Christ is the universal teacher, and the principles of Jesus Christ are of universal application. Our confusion comes from mixing that which is expedient to that which is lawful. All things may be lawful, but all things are not expedient. Some things may be expedient, but they are not imperative; and that leads me to this second statement. Again and again we are brought face to face with the seeming inconsistency that we have colored men in the Church, but we do not have them in our Churches and we do not have them in our schools nor allow them to teach in our colleges. We draw the color line. And that has led up to an inconsistency. Inconsistency with what? With the provisions of human equality with the colored man? That is not the case. There is absolutely no inconsistency. There is nothing contrary to the law of Christ in that. If we absolutely excluded them from the lawmaking councils of the Church, then there might come in a question of insincerity, because there is a difference between being governed by and being governed with. These schools are not governing bodies. Our colleges are not governing bodies. Our Annual Conferences are not legislative bodies. But when we come to the higher councils of the Church, to exclude any one on merely technical grounds would be depriving him of his Christian rights in the Church of Jesus Christ. There is a subtle fallacy which is so fine and thin at the very beginning of this whole discussion that we walk in a fog from the very start. We say we will not allow this and we are not obligated to that. Pray tell me who are the "we" to begin with. Why, you start in the very presence of the teachings of Christ with the assumption that we are the "we." That is an arrogant assumption in the Church of God. The "we" in the Church of God, from the standpoint of the ethics of Jesus Christ, is the body of the faithful; and no part of that body of the faithful in the Church of Jesus Christ has a right to assume superiority over the others.

Bishop Mouzon: I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

Bishop Cranston expressing a desire to speak, the motion was withdrawn.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Bishop Cranston has the floor.

Bishop McDowell: A question of privilege.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): State it.

Bishop McDowell: This morning Dr. Bishop expressed a wish that the members of the Southern Commission might have a chance to have a meeting, and I hope that wish may be granted.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny) : That is hardly a question of privilege. Bishop Cranston has the floor.

Bishop Cranston: The thought has been expressed by Bishop Leete that if we had had a meeting of the separate Commissions three days ago we would be farther along than we are now. Later the Bishop observed that it was not his place to call such a meeting. The Chairman of the Commission could hardly have called a meeting three days ago, for he was not here, and the number required by the rules to request such a call has not made any expression of such a desire. Brethren, we have reached the point where there is a manifest impatience at the expression of individual opinion, yet there is no other kind of opinion that any man is legitimately authorized to express. I wish to call attention, in the first place, to the fact that the task to which we are appointed by our General Conferences is not a task of making effective in the action of the Joint Commission the personal opinions of any man of us. In the second place, that task is not the enforcing of the preferential recommendation made by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, or the preferential recommendation made by the General Conference of our Church at Saratoga. That is not our task. Every action of both General Conferences recognizes that there are differences which are to be adjusted. It will not be denied that the General Conferences also contemplated that those differences involve matters of conscientious judgment. Both General Conferences evidently realize that it would be impossible for the two Churches ever to be reorganized except by agreement, and that agreement would be impossible without adjustment involving mutual concessions. There must be a grinding off of the closing angles. There must be a removal of the points of irritant friction. To get rid of all friction would be impossible. But dangerous irritant frictions must be eliminated. Now we have come to the point through these discussions where there is a deadlock from which we cannot proceed until something shall be done, some concession made by some interested party in this great business, by which further progress will be made possible. I take note of the fact that up to this time—and I am going to speak kindly but frankly—I take note of the fact that up to this time there have been material concessions made by a majority of both Commissions. That is to say, upon our part we, holding from the start to the right of our negro membership for proportionate representation in the General Conference—it has been conceded that there shall be a fixed representation, a representation accommodated to the evident demands of our association. [The time of Bishop Cranston here expired and was, on motion, extended.] On the other hand, there have been material

concessions made by our brothers of the Church, South, in the recognition of the principle of having colored delegates sit in the General Conference. At this point I am compelled to call attention to the fact that, while at the outset our colored brethren showed some disposition to make some concessions in the interest of unification, which they themselves desired and have repeatedly so expressed themselves, the concessions which at the outset appeared as a possible solvent of our immediate difficulty were later withdrawn and that, as the matter stands to-day, all of the concessions have been made by their white brethren of both Churches; and while I am not blaming them for it, I am simply stating the facts, the colored membership stands absolutely fixed in its demand up to this moment. Now I am compelled to call attention to another fact, that in the discussion which has developed there is an antagonism on the part of our colored brethren to the consideration of any additional colored membership entering into the problem at this time. I do not censure that. I simply state it as a fact that these brethren resist the proposition publicly made and officially promulgated by the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which they are a part, a proposition authorized by the General Conference and expressed in the appointment of a Commission for the purpose of facilitating the union of colored Methodist bodies in the United States—that in the face of that and in the face of repeated suggestions here the brethren stand here with their constituency back of them solidly against the consideration of any additional membership of any colored Methodist Episcopal Church now organized, through any act or concession of theirs. Again, if I am not mistaken, there is another fact that is pertinent, and that is, when the great matter of the evangelization of Africa is brought forward—I do not know if this has been mentioned in the Joint Commission or not, but if it has not, it has at least been in the committees—brethren do not respond to the appeal in behalf of Africa. That is to say, this proposition now pending involving their rights to representation in the General Conference, as I understand them, is not to be connected with any racial responsibility for the evangelization of Africa. Some of us have made the plea that Africa must be evangelized by Africans. In presenting the cause of our negro schools to the Church it has been repeatedly urged that if Africa ever is evangelized it must be done by Africans. That question seems to have been entirely lost sight of and that great responsibility for the moment obscured, I will not say willfully, but as a matter of fact. Now let me pause here just long enough to make a disclaimer. I am not blaming these brethren for being influenced by the telegrams and letters which are constantly coming to them

from the leaders of our colored membership. They must pay attention to those protests; but I do not think those protests ought to hold back the action of this Joint Commission any more than the superficial protests that are now being published in our Churches on both sides over or under the names of men who have not thought this matter through or prayed over it as the members of this Commission have thought and prayed, should affect the action of this Commission at this time—or ever for that matter. Our duties are not to be defined for us by the hasty criticisms that may be indulged in by interested persons without responsibility. We have a solemn, a sacred responsibility which can attach to no other class of men in either Church. We are set at this thing, not to make effective the ideas of either Church as a whole or the personal ideas I may have had as to the rights of the colored men nor the personal ideas of the brethren from the South, but we are put here to compromise—I use that word in the best sense, compromise differences—and I hope that we shall be able to show to the two Churches compromises of a high degree of efficiency for the great task that God has appointed for Methodism in the world. Now how are we going to reach it? My call is to our colored brethren here and to those behind them, and I make it solemnly before God, that they shall be ready to do something better as an expression of their faith in God and Methodism, something better as an expression of their Christian manhood, than to stand squarely and uncompromisingly upon every technical right attaching to their ecclesiastical relations. Of course it is our business to find adjustments that shall commend themselves from the standpoint of equity. I don't say expediency; but, after all, I believe New Testament ethics recognize the highest expediency as good motive and that expediency in such matters as are at stake here is to be considered and valued. I am not willing to stand at variance with the other members of my Commission and go out and defend myself against them. I am not willing to go before the Methodist public and attack the rights of any class of members. I cannot do it. It is against the behavior of my whole life. Why can't you take a position like this: Admit our colored brethren with their full representation, as Brother Penn figures it, about five per cent; admit them with the understanding that they shall have until 1928 to readjust themselves to the Associate General Conference? I want to call your attention to the fact that when the Commission at Chattanooga adjourned the "Suggestions" of that Commission were met with derision all through our Church. I recall what my friend of the *Central Christian Advocate* had to say at that time. He said it was not union, but division. And

that view of the matter prevailed for some months. That was the reason why I think we did not take it up at the General Conference of 1912; but a year ago the General Conference of 1916 accepted those suggestions after they had been accepted two years before by the Church, South, as a rational and feasible basis of unification and upon which they ordered and instructed the Commission to proceed. It is probable that if a proposition of this kind were to go out to the Church it would not be acceptable to our colored membership. I do not think any plan would be acceptable to all any more than this whole plan by which we are seeking to come together is acceptable to any one of us. I would give them full representation without condition or limitation, but I am not permitted to do that. I am hopeful of some point of agreement covering conditions represented by the brethren of the Church, South. I do not hold a single man responsible as obstinately contending for something impossible as he looks upon his own side of the case. We are trying to accommodate each other. Bishop McDowell is entirely right, as I see things, in his contention that five per cent of the negro representation and of missionary representation will not be any peril to the General Conference. Suppose we have 100 out of 700. Where is there any danger? Bishop Bashford and all those good men over there will feel better and our work will be forwarded. We want this so that we can go forward with the work of God unembarrassed and unhindered within or without by criticism often instigated by the spirit of evil, but which nevertheless has its effect in retarding the work.

R. E. Jones: A question of personal privilege.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): State the question of personal privilege, Doctor.

R. E. Jones: I shall try to keep within the bounds of personal privilege, and I ask your indulgence just a moment—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): State the question of personal privilege.

R. E. Jones: I will. I want you to be patient with me just a moment. I would not make this statement if we were not making history or if this lecture had been delivered to me privately, but I have been accused of inconsistency—that is, that the colored men have been unwilling to make concessions and have been thoroughly holding ourselves aloof from the problem in Africa.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Personally I would be glad to hear Dr. Jones, but as a matter of law this is not a question of personal privilege.

Bishop Leete: I wish that Dr. Jones would consider it unnecessary to make his statement, but if he does consider it necessary I am sure that every man here is willing to hear him.

J. R. Pepper: I move that Dr. Jones be permitted to speak.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

R. E. Jones: I regret to do this very much; but, so far as I know, my position has been thoroughly consistent from the time we met in Baltimore until now, and I have acted not as a Commissioner representing a third element of the Commission, but as a member of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and then as concessions have been made by our Commission I have been a party to them. This is not quite within the bounds of a question of personal privilege, but we have made substantial concessions and we are perfectly willing to make further substantial concessions. We have agreed to the grouping of these Conferences and we have agreed to a limited episcopacy. It was pretty generally said when I made the statement in Savannah that I was in error, but Bishop Johnson, of our Church, has written a letter substantiating everything I said with reference to the grouping of our Conferences in this country with the Conferences in Africa.

Bishop McDowell: I desire to say that more than five members of the Commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church unite in the request for a separate meeting of that Commission at this time, and I therefore present that request from our Commission.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): It needs no action. It is granted.

John M. Moore: I beg you to allow the Southern Commission to withdraw for a few minutes.

J. W. Van Cleve: I move that when we adjourn we adjourn to meet as a Joint Commission at eight o'clock.

The motion was seconded.

W. N. Ainsworth: It is not known how long the separate meetings of the Commissions will be. We had better make it subject to the desire of the two Commissions.

John F. Goucher: I move that when we adjourn we adjourn to meet at 9:30 to-morrow morning.

The motion was seconded.

Several Voices: No.

John F. Goucher: It is not certain that we will be ready to meet this evening. There is a great weariness on some of us, and I doubt if we would like to stand a night session.

The motion to adjourn until to-morrow morning at 9:30 o'clock was put to a vote and was lost by 19 for to 21 against.

The motion of Dr. Van Cleve to adjourn until eight o'clock this evening was then put to a vote and carried.

The meeting was then adjourned with a benediction.

EVENING SESSION.

The Commission was called to order by Bishop Collins Denny at 8 P.M.

The devotional exercises were conducted by Dr. W. J. Young.

The hymn, "Come, thou Fount of every blessing," was sung.

Dr. Young led in prayer.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, W. B. Murrah, from the M. E. Church, South; Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, from the M. E. Church. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, J. M. Moore, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, H. M. Du Bose, W. N. Ainsworth, A. J. Lamar, from the M. E. Church, South; Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, from the M. E. Church. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, J. R. Pepper, E. C. Reeves, H. H. White, E. W. Hines, from the M. E. Church, South; G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, I. E. Robinson, H. W. Rogers, Alexander Simpson, Jr., Rolla V. Watt, J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock, from the M. E. Church. Rev. C. M. Stuart, alternate.

The minutes of the previous session were read and approved.

Bishop Hamilton took the chair.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): What is before us?

Abram W. Harris: I think we ought to have the report from the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Cranston is not here, but I have the report of what was done.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): We will have it now.

Abram W. Harris: The following is the action taken, and I call the attention of the Joint Commission to the fact that it begins with the words—

We suggest,

1. That there shall be the following additional Regional Conferences:
(1) The Regional Conference for colored people.
(2) The Regional Conference for Latin America.
(3) The Regional Conference for Europe.
(4) The Regional Conference for Eastern Asia.
(5) The Regional Conference for Southern Asia.

2. These Conferences shall each have representation in the General Conference in proportion to their full membership, but no one of these to exceed 5 per cent of the entire membership of the General Conference.

3. These Regional Conferences shall have the power heretofore proposed for the Central Conferences.

I move that this report be referred to the Committee of Eight as the Committee of Conferences to consider the sug-

gestion and report, and if I have a second I will say just a few words and leave the matter in your hands.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Bishop.

Abram W. Harris: In making this motion I am acting personally.

J. W. Van Cleve: I rise to a question of order. Since we have brought our proposition here, ought we not to hear a response from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and are they ready to make an answer? If they are, we will have both referred. I understood they were ready to make an answer.

Abram W. Harris: If there is an answer from them, that would be the wise and proper thing to do.

Secretary Frank M. Thomas: The Commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, simply reaffirms its action in approving of the report of the Committee of Eight as amended.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): The two reports are before you and Brother Harris has the floor.

Abram W. Harris: I would be glad to include both papers in my motion.

A reading of the report of the Committee of Eight was called for.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): You all have it in the minutes of the proceedings, have you not?

Edgar Blake: Yes, it is on page 57 of the résumé.

Frank M. Thomas read the part referred to.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): You have heard the reports. Now what shall we do with them?

Abram W. Harris: I made a motion to refer.

A. J. Lamar: May I ask what effect that will have on the colored representation in the General Conference—how much it will increase it?

Abram W. Harris: I understand it will make it at the present a little less than five per cent of the total, whatever that may be.

A. J. Lamar: Was that five per cent put in to cover that case?

Abram W. Harris: It was put in as a limit—that is what we get first.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): A motion has been made and seconded that these two reports be referred to the Committee of Eight, and the matter is now before you.

A. J. Lamar: Inadvertently you failed to state in full the action of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. There was a suggestion at the end concerning the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): If you will allow me to

suggest, brethren, I have never been very much in favor of separate meetings of the Commissions, and I think now to send this to the Committee of Eight without a further discussion among ourselves will only be delaying the matter. Why not let us have a free expression here? You have our statement, and I have no doubt but what Bishop McDowell will be glad to tell you how we came to adopt this paper and make any further suggestions, but I would like for you brethren to consider what this Commission ought to do with these two papers before us.

A. J. Lamar: My only objection to that is this: Nearly every one of us has stated his position on this question, and the statements are in the records of the proceedings of the Commission at Savannah. We have those speeches in print, and to go all over them again would simply be a repetition of what we have already said and that is of record.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That is true, but we have a new proposition.

A. F. Watkins: I favor a reference to the Committee of Eight. We shall be glad to have Bishop McDowell tell us the processes or methods by which this result was reached; but it is a matter upon which you have had long conferences and the suggestions made here on the spot. It would be well to allow the Southern Commissioners to have an opportunity to consider the matter, and they might then wish to refer it to the Committee of Eight.

Frank Neff: There is one difficulty. Dr. Lamar says we have discussed this in all phases. As I recall it, there is one very particular phase in the final proposition of our brethren from the Church, South, that has not been discussed at all. That is in regard to those after whom the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church looks, who do not come into the Central Conference for colored people as do the colored members of the Northern Church. We have not discussed that fact. I have had something to say on that and I have not had a chance to say it.

Ira E. Robinson: This matter can be discussed by the Committee of Conferences. We can discuss it when it comes in, and I hope the two reports will come to that Committee of Conferences.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): It was only suggested to draw you gentlemen out.

C. M. Bishop: To save time, let us commit it.

Edgar Blake: If those two reports are referred, I suggest that Dr. Penn's resolution be referred and any kindred matter, so that the entire subject will be before the committee.

The Chairman (Bishop Hamilton): Do you offer that as an amendment?

Edgar Blake: Let us have that understanding.

A vote being taken, the motion to refer was carried.

Frank M. Thomas: I move that this committee be requested to report by 10:30 in the morning.

Voices: Let us make it 9:30.

Frank M. Thomas: All right, I will accept that. Make it 9:30.

David C. Downey: In order that they may get to work right away, I move that we adjourn now.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the Commission was dismissed with prayer by Rev. Claudius B. Spencer.

FOURTH DAY, SATURDAY, APRIL 13, 1918.

Morning Session.

The Joint Commission met pursuant to adjournment and was called to order by the Chairman, Bishop John W. Hamilton.

The hymn, "O for a thousand tongues to sing," was sung.

Prayer was offered by Dr. Du Bose, who then led in the responsive reading of the twenty-fourth Psalm.

The hymn, "There's a wideness in God's mercy," was sung.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, W. B. Murrah, from the M. E. Church, South; Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, from the M. E. Church. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, J. M. Moore, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, H. M. Du Bose, W. N. Ainsworth, A. J. Lamar, from the M. E. Church, South; Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, from the M. E. Church. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, J. R. Pepper, E. C. Reeves, H. H. White, E. W. Hines, from the M. E. Church, South; G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, I. E. Robinson, H. W. Rogers, Alexander Simpson, Jr., Rolla V. Watt, J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock, from the M. E. Church. Rev. C. M. Stuart, alternate.

The minutes were read and approved.

Bishop Denny took the chair.

Bishop Cooke: I shall not be able to remain during the entire session, being compelled by official duties to go away. Before I go I would like to make a motion, not for the purpose of debate but simply for the purpose of enabling the Commis-

sion in the future consideration of this matter to feel free to deal with it. What I desire, without any desire for debate, is simply to reconsider the vote by which a paragraph in the report of the Committee on Judicial Council was adopted. On page 15 I want to move a reconsideration of this clause: "In all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be final; provided that if, on a constitutional question, there shall be a majority vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference disapproving a decision of the Judicial Council, its construction of the question involved shall then be sent to the Annual Conferences for final approval or disapproval." I would like to have that left so that we can consider it in the future.

The motion was seconded.

P. D. Maddin: What do you want to do with that? You did not read it as it stands and it has been amended twice. You read from the wrong copy.

Bishop Cooke: No, I did not.

P. D. Maddin: At least you read from an uncorrected one.

Bishop Cooke: It reads exactly this way: "In all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be final; provided that if, on a constitutional question, there shall be a majority of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference disapproving a decision of the Judicial Council, its construction of the question involved shall then be sent to the Annual Conferences for final approval or disapproval, as provided in Subsection 11, Section 2, Article VIII. of the Constitution."

P. D. Maddin: What do you want to do with it when you reconsider it?

Bishop Cooke: If I state that, it may open debate, and I do not want to open debate now.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): A motion to reconsider will open the whole question.

Bishop Cooke: I am very well aware of that. I thought I might precipitate debate, and if you will leave it where we have it there, so that we can debate it in the future, it would be all right; but if you want to know what I want to do with it, it is this: As it is now it will involve a great waste of time in the General Conference. If a decision goes down, the decision will be passed upon by the Annual Conferences and then it will come back to the General Conferences. The General Conference will then have to formulate an amendment or not, and if it formulates one it will go down to the Annual Conferences again and there shall be two quadrenniums taken up in the decision of the Judicial Council. If the General Council would decide against a decision of the Judicial Council on a subject and then formulate an amendment and send the amendment

down at the same time, it would all be done at one time. Otherwise you will have four years or more. That is what I wanted you to reconsider.

A. J. Lamar: Bishop Cooke says he does not want to provoke debate. That would inevitably provoke debate. There will be a debate and a lengthy one if you insist on that motion.

David G. Downey: Nothing of this sort has been positively adopted. I suppose it is all open to amendment. It is only a tentative adoption thus far. Undoubtedly this matter will come up before us again before its final adoption. Bishop Cooke's amendment can be made then.

C. M. Bishop: In the interest of order I desire to offer the following as the order of procedure:

> That the Chairman be instructed to rule out all other matters, including what are called privileged matters, until the vote on the pending question be taken; that, if not previously taken, the vote shall be ordered at 12 o'clock noon to-day; that it shall be taken by ayes and noes by the Joint Commission; and that immediately upon the declaration of the vote, if a majority vote in the affirmative, the two Commissions shall retire for separate sessions and vote on the bill passed by the Joint Commission and report before adjournment for noon.

After consultation with one member of each Commission, I offer this in order, if possible, to get some decision on these matters.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I would like to rise to a privileged matter before this matter comes up. I am compelled to leave on the 12:02 train. I shall probably not be here when the final vote is taken, and I want to leave my proxy on that matter with Bishop McDowell. I do not think a general proxy should be left, but only on that matter.

Bishop McDowell: What matter?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: The matter of the report of the Committee of Eight, last night's.

Abram W. Harris: I dislike very much to say this, but I think it is very unwise to leave proxies, and I think we should have a clear vote to determine whether proxies are to be permitted on any or all matters.

Bishop Cooke: I may have to leave also, and I desire to leave my proxy on this particular matter with Bishop McDowell.

On motion duly made and seconded the requests were granted.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): In that immediate connection let me read what I hold in my hand. I have a written statement from Bishop Hoss as follows: "I request Bishop Collins Denny to cast my vote on all questions arising in our own Commission as well as in the Joint Commission."

Edgar Blake: I question whether we should have any blank proxies. I have no objection to proxies on the report of this Committee of Eight to men who have participated in the discussion, but I question whether any man's proxy should be turned over to any one when the individual has not heard the discussion. I think our experience at Savannah was sufficient to convince us of the unwisdom of that course.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The request is made by Bishop Hoss. I hear no motion.

H. H. White: I move that the request be granted.

Edgar Blake: I move that the proxy cover only the matter before us.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): I have not the authority on that. It would have to be as given.

Edgar Blake: It is for the Commission to determine how much.

Bishop Leete: What we are trying to get at is to readjust the opinions of our men with reference to these important matters in such a way that they may be satisfied with the representation made, both implicitly and actually. Bishop Hoss is sufficiently well acquainted with Bishop Denny and his opinions, and they have talked over the matter. That being the case, Bishop Denny's vote records what Bishop Hoss wants to have recorded, and I think that privilege should be granted. The Church at large wants to know what we feel about these things, and any man should have the right to use a proxy. These men know what they are doing when they give these proxies, and they have a right to be represented here and before the Church. The mere fact that they are unable to be present at this time ought not to keep them from being represented on this great question, and I hope that all proxies will be recognized. A Commissioner should have the right to let the Church know where he stands.

J. W. Van Cleve: I think everything that Bishop Hoss desires and everything that Dr. Blake desires to safeguard and everything that has been represented by Bishop Leete will be covered if we limit the proxies on the final vote on the matters adopted, if Dr. Blake will accept that amendment.

Edgar Blake: I will accept that if you put it, "whatever has been or may be tentatively adopted."

Bishop Denny: I could not vote Bishop Hoss's proxy under those circumstances, but I would not have that to influence you.

A. J. Lamar: What are we voting on?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The amendment is that proxies be limited to the matters that have been tentatively adopted or shall be tentatively adopted.

David G. Downey: I move that that amendment lie on the table.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

A further vote being taken, the motion of Bishop McDowell was carried.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Dr. Bishop's motion is before us. Are you ready to vote on the resolution of Dr. Bishop? The Secretary will please read it.

The resolution was read, as follows:

That the Chairman be instructed to rule out all other matters, including what are called privileged matters, until the vote on the pending question be taken; that, if not previously taken, the vote shall be ordered at 12 o'clock noon to-day; that it shall be taken by ayes and noes by the Joint Commission; and that immediately upon the declaration of the vote, if a majority vote in the affirmative, the two Commissions shall retire for separate sessions and vote on the bill passed by the Joint Commission and report before adjournment for noon.

A vote being taken, the resolution was agreed to.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): There is a matter that Dr. Harris called attention to and that ought to be read into the record. We will hear it and then you can decide what is to be done with it.

Secretary Harris presented a petition signed by pastors of the Brookfield District of the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Edgar Blake: I move that that be put in the record.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

The petition, signed by Thomas M. Mott and others, is as follows:

To the Joint Commission on Unification of Methodism.

Dear Fathers and Brethren: We, members of the Missouri Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, do hereby present to you the following memorial:

Be it known that we are unhesitatingly in favor of the unification of Methodism. We have long striven and earnestly prayed for it, and we will cease not so to do until it be realized. But, being perhaps more vitally affected than other localities, we are impelled most earnestly to *protest the adoption of the tentative plan announced by your body* for the following significant reasons:

1. It would not afford a real Methodist Episcopal Church, such as is either of our bodies as now constituted. Rather it would be a new and different Church, and would eliminate from the world the present form of Methodism, which would be a misfortune to either of our great Churches, as it would be to the world. It would be so because it proposes the elimination of the present constitutional General Conference, and the substitution of a so-called General Conference which would be deprived the privilege of legislating for local areas. The Regional Conferences, which must be provincial, are to be empowered to do this, as well as to select their own bishops. The General Conference would thus

be shorn of one of its supreme and, we believe, its most important functions. It is apparent that Regional Conferences might select men for the high office of bishop, not because they were "world men," but rather for the most provincial reasons.

2. While we believe simplicity should be the order, we find here proposed a complexity of government almost incomprehensible to the average intelligence. We are offered, not an *Organic Union* in fact, but rather a government of *Federated Ecclesiastical States,* each of which is to be empowered to construct its own legislation. This is to warrant that there will be as many systems of local laws as there are divisions, and often these laws may be at absolute variance. This would assure, not one Church, but as many local Churches, with as varied governing rules as there are divisions.

3. But especially do we protest the proposed boundaries of the Regional Conferences. We believe it to be inequitable, and extremely unjust to our border territory. We hold that, in justice to either Church, the boundaries should be so adjusted, North and South and East and West. as to approximately balance between the two bodies. The plan as now proposed places all the border territory into regional divisions which run South entirely, whereas we hold that equity would include an equal balance of territory North of the border lines. Feeling thus, we of Missouri, who are most vitally concerned, can never consent to any form of unification with the regional lines as indicated by this tentative plan.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The order of business now is the report of the Committee of Eight acting as a Joint Committee of Conferences, which you will please read.

Abram W. Harris: Your Committee of Eight, to whom was referred the status of the Central Conferences and kindred matters, reports as follows:

1. We recommend that the name of the Central Conferences be changed to "Regional Conferences," but that their form of organization, privileges, powers, etc., shall remain the same as now provided for Central Conferences.

2. We recommend as a substitute for Subsection 7, page 6 of the printed plan, that

"Each of said Regional Jurisdictions shall be entitled to be represented in the General Conference by ten delegates (five ministers and five laymen) for the first one hundred thousand (100,000) Church members or less in full connection, and four delegates (two ministers and two laymen) for each additional one hundred thousand (100,000) Church members in full connection or fraction of two-thirds thereof; provided that none of said Regional Jurisdictions shall be entitled to more than twenty-six delegates."

3. We recommend as a substitute for the last paragraph on page six of the printed plan that:

"At the request of any of said Regional Conferences the General Conference may at any time, and when the membership of any of said Regional Jurisdictions shall equal or exceed five hundred thousand (500,000) the General Conference shall, unless two-thirds thereof decide otherwise, organize said membership into a Jurisdictional General Conference, with a representation in the General Conference of five ministers and five laymen only and without the right to vote therein except on those matters which affect their relations to the Church."

4. We recommend that an equitable provision be made by the General Conference for the financial support of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church by setting apart a designated amount, or a fixed percentage of

the total annual offerings of the reorganized Church, for the support of work among colored people.

A. J. Lamar: Does that say "for the support of the work among the colored people" or "among the colored people of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America"? Exactly what does that say?

Edgar Blake: It reads, "for the support of work among colored people." Now to explain this report: We recommend that the name of the Central Conferences be changed to Regional Conferences, so that the sentence would read: "There shall be the following additional Regional Conferences." I will say that we would have to designate those as different groups. We would have to say Group A, Group B, etc. It is almost necessary that we use that sort of designation. That is what we bring to you. Instead of calling them Central Conferences we call them Regional Conferences. "But that their form of organization, privileges, powers, etc., shall remain the same as now provided for Central Conferences." In other words, there would be no change in the groups of the Central Conferences except that we would call them Regional Conference Group A, Regional Conference Group B. The powers, privileges, form of organization, etc., would remain the same.

2. We recommend as a substitute for Subsection 7, page six of the printed plan, that

"Each of said Regional Jurisdictions shall be entitled to be represented in the General Conference by ten delegates (five ministers and five laymen) for the first one hundred thousand (100,000) Church members or less in full connection, and four delegates (two ministers and two laymen) for each additional one hundred thousand (100,000) Church members in full connection or fraction of two-thirds thereof; provided that none of said Regional Jurisdictions shall be entitled to more than twenty-six delegates."

Now, taking for an illustration our colored membership, they would have ten for the first 100,000, four for the next 100,000, four for the next 100,000, which would make 18 delegates at present in the General Conference as representatives of our colored membership. They could never go beyond 26.

J. R. Pepper: Could a fractional part be represented?

Edgar Blake: Yes, two-thirds of one hundred thousand.

Bishop McDowell: On the first 100,000—it is 100,000 or less.

Edgar Blake: Yes. Every one of those regions would have ten delegates, Europe, Eastern Asia, Southern Asia, Latin America, etc.

3. We recommend as a substitute for the last paragraph on page six of the printed plan that:

"At the request of any of said Regional Conferences the General Conference may at any time, and when the membership of any of said Regional

Jurisdictions shall equal or exceed five hundred thousand (500,000) the General Conference shall, unless two-thirds thereof decide otherwise, organize said membership into a Jurisdictional General Conference, with a representation in the General Conference of five ministers and five laymen only, and without the right to vote therein except on those matters which affect their relations to the Church."

This is very similar, you will notice, to what we have called Bishop McDowell's plan. The only difference is that the representation is a little larger.

E. C. Reeves: And it has to be done on the request of the colored people.

Edgar Blake: It becomes a Jurisdictional General Conference when you reach 500,000 unless two-thirds of the General Conference prohibit it from becoming such. That makes a different view of the matter. It must become such unless the General Conference by a two-thirds vote says it may not become such. Then the last recommendation is regarding the support of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

A. J. Lamar: Read that again.

Edgar Blake (Reading): "We recommend that an equitable provision be made by the General Conference for the financial support of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church by setting apart a designated amount or a fixed percentage of the total annual offerings of the reorganized Church for the support of work among colored people."

A. J. Lamar: That is quite different from the action of our Commission.

Edgar Blake: It is different in this—

A. J. Lamar: It leaves it to the General Conference whether it shall be done or not.

Edgar Blake: We do not understand it that way, and if we have it that way it is not what we mean. This is meant to be more helpful to the Colored Methodist Church—

A. J. Lamar: I have no doubt of it; yet, as a matter of fact, it leaves the question open to be decided by the General Conference, and the General Conference may say that the equities do not require that we should give anything in that direction, or technically it might say we will give one dollar per annum and that that would meet all the requirements.

Edgar Blake: That is meant to be more helpful to the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church than would have been possible under the other provisions.

E. C. Reeves: I don't see how.

John M. Moore: I have nothing to say except that we have worked over the reports that came to us and we submit this as the very best adjustment that we can make and we put it in your hands.

H. H. Rogers: How many of the committee agreed on that?

John M. Moore: Mr. Simpson desires to offer a minority report in one particular. The other seven members submit this to you as the best adjustment they can make and ask you to decide upon the merits.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): With or without recommendations?

Edgar Blake: We recommend this as the only thing we can present.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I have a minority report in which I am alone, might be said "all by myself": As a member of the Committee of Eight, I dissent from so must of the report, this day presented, as relates to the representation of the colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the General Conference of the reorganized Church. Until such time as they are organized into a Jurisdictional General Conference, they are entitled, in my judgment, to proportional representation unless they consent otherwise. Without stopping to consider the question as to whether or not legal ingenuity could successfully exclude them therefrom, it is clear that, as they are now full members in that Church, and have done nothing to forfeit any of its rights and privileges, they ought not to be deprived thereof without their consent. The only suggestion to the contrary has been the backwardness of the race; but even if all that can properly be claimed for that contention were accorded to it, morally it would only result in the deprivation of privileges to all who are personally backward, without regard to race.

Bishop Hamilton: Hear! Hear!

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: If it be said that while what has been above said is theoretically it is not practically correct, because our colored members will have bishops of their own race, then it is answered that it is for those who have rights and privileges to determine for what consideration they will surrender such rights and privileges, and for them only. Two of the honored representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on this committee have said, and do not object to my repeating it here, that were the position reversed, and our colored brethren were full members of their Church, they would never agree to less than full proportional representation unless the colored members themselves consented otherwise; and one added that he believed every member of his Commission was of like opinion. Their loving and chivalrous provision for aiding the membership of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, as appearing in the report of the majority, toward which Church the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is under not even the shadow of a legal obligation, fully bears out that opinion. For myself I am not willing, and so far as I am able to prevent it I am not

willing that the Church which I represent shall be less loving and chivalrous to its colored members, who have a legal and a not less high moral claim to consideration at its hands.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The reports are before you.

Bishop Cranston: I desire to ask a question. What do you mean by saying "proportionate representation"? Do you mean representation equal to that which they have in the Church at present or do you mean it shall be calculated on the basis of a new membership?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Proportionate to their membership under the new constitution, whatever the per cent is.

Bishop McDowell: I would like to have the report taken up *seriatim.*

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): There is no motion to adopt yet.

J. H. Reynolds: I move its tentative approval.

Bishop McDowell: I call for a consideration of the report *seriatim.*

The motion was seconded.

Bishop Cranston: Why put the word "tentative" in there? Why make that motion different from all the other reports?

Bishop McDowell: "Tentative" is the proper word.

Bishop Cranston: Everything we are doing is tentative.

A vote being taken, the motion of Bishop McDowell was carried.

H. W. Rogers: Haven't we reached the stage where discussion is useless and where matters should be referred to the separate Commissions? We are consuming time uselessly. I wish the member who made the motion to take it up *seriatim* would withdraw it in order that a resolution may be introduced that this matter be referred to each Commission for its action.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We just passed a resolution offered by Dr. Bishop that there should be a vote in the Joint Commission on this, and then, if the majority of the Joint Commission desired, that the two Commissions might meet separately.

H. W. Rogers: I did not hear that.

Frank M. Thomas: Does that keep us from going into separate sessions? Under the rule, that is called for five o'clock.

Bishop Mouzon: I move that we adjourn to meet at 11:30.

The motion was seconded by Rev. Frank M. Thomas.

Edgar Blake: I hope we will not adjourn. I hope we will keep in session. I think both Commissions ought at least for an hour to consider these items, and let both Commissions have the benefit of all that may be said concerning this report, with the reasons why the Committee of Eight came to the conclusion that it reached. I do not believe it is wise for us to separate

until the Committee of Eight at least has had a chance to interpret the measure and give the reasons why it brings in the reports it does.

Bishop Mouzon: I will explain, although what I suppose hardly needs explanation, that the purpose of my motion to adjourn to a fixed time was in order that we might meet as separate Commissions and have opportunity to discuss this matter among ourselves somewhat before we discuss it in the open Commission. The series of proposals now before us is so new in many of its features that we need to have a little time to take our bearings before we are ready to discuss it.

Edgar Blake: If the understanding is as stated by Bishop Mouzon, that the purpose is to come back and discuss the report in Joint Commission, I have no objection.

Bishop Mouzon: It was for that very purpose.

A. F. Watkins: I respectfully submit that if we are to discuss this matter in joint session it is better that the discussion precede than to follow the sectional meetings. For that reason I do not favor the motion to separate into sectional meetings.

Bishop McDowell: I think Bishop Mouzon's motion is an eminently wise one just now. This matter has come to us all for the first time. I had no knowledge of the contents of this report until it was read, and I presume that is true of the rest of us. I think we would do well now to take a prompt adjournment until 11:30 in order that the Commissions might meet separately, it being understood that if either Commission is not ready to report at 11:30 further time will be given.

Bishop Leete: I agree with Brother Mouzon; but before we adjourn, on that matter of the newspaper report—

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That has been ruled out by formal action.

Bishop Leete: I desire to say—

H. W. Rogers: What is this about?

Bishop Leete: With reference to what I said about that matter of the newspaper publication, and nothing else.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): Bishop Leete can proceed without objection—and I hear no objection.

Bishop Leete: I simply wish to say this: I do not say it because I feel terrified, nor do I wish to be understood as saying this just to be talking. My accusation was—and I want it to be clearly understood—and I think my language will bear it out, that I think this matter slipped out without any evil intention on the part of any one. If any member let it out without intention, it should be stated, and I wanted to clear all the Southern Commission from any idea that any one had by intention put the matter in the press.

George W. Brown: It is my opinion that we will get a better

personal expression by having the discussion here than to retire in separate Commission to formulate our ideas in the two Commissions, which might bias the individual judgment of the Commissioners who are here present. I would like to see a discussion take place before we separate.

C. M. Bishop: It occurs to me that we ought to deal with this article in the same fashion followed in the other case, and that we will be more nearly in order if we proceed with the discussion of this question, discussing it and voting upon it in the Joint Commission and then retire to pass upon it as separate Commissions. I therefore object to the motion.

Ira E. Robinson: I think we will make progress by separate meetings. I think that is what we need right now.

The vote being taken for separate meetings was carried by 33 affirmative votes. This being clearly a majority, the negative vote was not taken.

The Joint Commission then took a recess to permit the separate meetings, and at 12:40 the Joint Commission again assembled.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): The time for taking the vote at 12 o'clock has passed.

W. N. Ainsworth: I move that that time be extended until 1:30.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): What is the business now before us?

E. B. Chappell: I move that we hear the report from the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Bishop McDowell: The Secretary of our Commission will present the report.

Secretary Abram W. Harris read the report from the Methodist Episcopal Church, as follows:

Item 1. We recommend that the name of the Central Conferences be changed to "Regional Conferences," but that their form of organization, privileges, powers, etc., shall remain the same as now provided for Central Conferences.

Secretary Abram W. Harris: For paragraph 2 the Committee substituted the action taken on Wednesday—

Voices: No, no.

Secretary Abram W. Harris: The following, which is the action taken yesterday:

These Conferences shall each have representation in the General Conference in proportion to their full membership, but no one of these to exceed five per cent of the entire membership of the General Conference.

Secretary Abram W. Harris: For paragraph 3 there was an amendment, to which I call attention as I read:

We recommend as a substitute for the last paragraph on page 6 of the printed plan that at the request of any of said Regional Conferences the General Conference may at any time—

So far that is the report of the Committee of Eight. I now read the portion for which the substitute is made:

And when the membership of any of said Regional Jurisdictions shall equal or exceed 500,000 the General Conference shall, unless two-thirds thereof decide otherwise—

Now for that we substitute the following:

At the request of any of said Regional Conferences, or when the membership of any of said Regional Jurisdictions shall equal or exceed 500,000, the General Conference may organize said Regional Conference into a Jurisdictional General Conference with a representation in the General Conference of five ministers and five laymen only, and without the right to vote therein except on those matters which affect their relations to the Church.

Paragraph 4 was approved without change, as follows:

We recommend that an equitable provision be made by the General Conference for the financial support of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church by setting apart a designated amount or a fixed percentage of the total annual offerings of the reorganized Church for the support of work among colored people.

Bishop McDowell: I now move that we hear a report from the Church, South.

Frank M. Thomas: The Commission of the Church, South, reports that so far it has not reached a conclusion on the matter.

Edgar Blake: I move that their time be extended.

Bishop McDowell: I rise simply to express on behalf of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church our entire understanding of your state of mind and our entire sympathy with your difficulty. We have had troubles of our own.

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): We thank you.

Bishop McDowell: Shall we take a recess?

The Chairman (Bishop Denny): That depends on the Commission.

Bishop McDowell: I desire to move to adjourn until 2:30, as your Commission desires to have a further meeting.

The motion was seconded.

W. N. Ainsworth: If you could possibly arrange to adjourn until two o'clock, it would accommodate more than one of us.

Bishop McDowell: I will make the motion to suit you gentlemen, and I move to recess until two o'clock.

Bishop Mouzon: I do not see how we can get along without Dr. Ainsworth. He ought to be here, but it is going to be impossible for us to get back by two o'clock. We are willing to

agree to that, but I know we are not going to do it. It will be 2:30 before we get here.

Bishop McDowell: Then I renew the original motion to adjourn until 2:30.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried and the Commission adjourned with a benediction by Bishop McDowell.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Joint Commission was called to order by the Chairman, Bishop Collins Denny.

Bishop Frederick Leete conducted devotional exercises.

The hymn, "My faith looks up to Thee," was sung.

The ninth Psalm was read responsively.

The hymn, "O for the faith that will not shrink," was sung.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, from the M. E. Church, South; Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, from the M. E. Church. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, J. M. Moore, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, H. M. Du Bose, W. N. Ainsworth, A. J. Lamar, from the M. E. Church, South; Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, from the M. E. Church. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, J. R. Pepper, E. C. Reeves, H. H. White, E. W. Hines, from the M. E. Church, South; G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, I. E. Robinson, H. W. Rogers, Rolla V. Watt, J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock, from the M. E. Church. Rev. C. M. Stuart, alternate.

The minutes of the morning session were read and approved.

Bishop Earl Cranston took the chair as presiding officer.

E. B. Chappell: I rise to a question of personal privilege.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): We have ruled that we shall have no personal privileges.

E. B. Chappell: That was for the morning session.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): It was to be until the vote was taken, and we haven't taken the vote.

E. B. Chappell: I made that motion. We haven't been able to come to a conclusion, and we had been notified that the time was up and that you were ready, and I did not think it would be courteous to say that we are not ready. Perhaps I ought to have done so. I made the motion because I knew you were ready and waiting.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): What is the business this afternoon?

Frank M. Thomas: I have a statement for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which I will read:

Be it resolved by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, That we agree to the following as the report of the Special Committee of Eight under consideration:

1. We agree to the change of the name from Central to Regional.
2. As to this section we substitute the action in the report of the Committee of Eight.
3. We take pleasure in presenting both reports to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
4. We have taken our action upon the principles of the report of the Committees on Conference and Judicial Council.

Bishop McDowell: I rise now simply to suggest that, with those reports before us, we hear the report of the Special Committee on the Status of Women in the Reorganized Church, and I am doing that simply for the purpose of gaining a little bit of time in order that I may confer with one or two of the brethren as to the form of the report.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Is that report ready?

Bishop Leete: The report is in the hands of Dr. Van Cleve and is ready.

J. W. Van Cleve: I have not got the report. I had it this morning. I don't find it here, but I can give you the substance and present it in writing to the Secretary. We recommend that there be added to Article IX., Section 1, Subsection 1 in substance as follows:

No person eligible to membership in the General Conference shall become ineligible in consequence of the unification of the Churches.

Then we add the following concerning lay delegates:

These delegates may be either men or women, as provided in Subsection 6, or whenever provided by the Regional Conference in which they have membership; provided that those persons now eligible shall retain their eligibility to election, and any Regional Conference may elect women upon equal terms with men if they so desire.

Edwin M. Randall: A question: Did the committee take into consideration the right of voting and the election of delegates to the General Conference as well?

J. W. Van Cleve: We took it for granted that the right to be elected included the right to vote.

Edgar Blake: May we have it read again?

J. W. Van Cleve: I gave it to you from memory. I think it is just this way:

No person eligible to membership in the General Conference shall become ineligible in consequence of the unification of the Churches.

That is to be added to Article IX., Section 1, Subsection 6.

J. R. Pepper: What does that mean?

J. W. Van Cleve: It means that any person now eligible in either of the Churches shall continue to be eligible to election after the unification.

Bishop Mouzon: Then put the word "now" in there.

J. W. Van Cleve: I think I had better leave that out. I will tell you why we left it out. Because possibly by the time unification is reached there may not be anybody ineligible.

Bishop Mouzon: Read that again. There seems to be something else. Are there not a good many colored people eligible, and will not that bring up that question again?

Ira E. Robinson: And how about the women not now eligible in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who may become eligible?

J. W. Van Cleve: We cannot provide for everything that is going to happen to every individual from now on forever. We have provided to meet a situation which has arisen because of the diverse jurisdiction. When we do that, we do all we can do. "No person eligible to membership in the General Conference shall be held ineligible by reason of unification." That is one thing, and then in the case of lay delegates under the head of Regional Conferences we add this: "These delegates may be either men or women, as provided in Article IX., Section 1, Subsection 6, or when so provided by the Regional Conference within which they are members." That means that where they are not now eligible under the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Regional Conference may make them eligible by a vote.

Edgar Blake: The Subcommittee of the Committee on Conferences made a recommendation to the Committee on Conferences which was not acted upon by that committee because I think you ordered us to report without action for that committee. I refer to two resolutions that our subcommittee of four formulated, and the resolutions I have in mind I think would rather cover the case: "We recommend that, pending the first meeting of the United General Conference, the Discipline of the two Churches be continued as the law in their respective jurisdictions." That simply provides that in the interim between the ratification of the proposed Constitution and the first meeting of the General Conference the law of each Church shall remain the law in that Church pending the meeting of the first General Conference. If we adopt a resolution of that kind, that will permit the Annual Conferences and the Lay Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church to elect women, if they desire, to the General Conference. It would not oblige the Church, South, to do the same thing. That does not raise the issue at all, and saves us from some discussion. It also provides for other matters that are quite as important as this one. I do not move it. I

simply call the attention of the Commission to the recommendations prepared by that committee.

John M. Moore: There is no need for any action on this question to-day. It is not necessary that we remain here very much longer. We all know that we are practically at an end of our negotiations for this sitting. We know that we cannot formulate a report that will present a plan of unification. That is impossible. I think the thing for us to do now is to postpone consideration of the question and refer it to the Commission at its next meeting, and I so move you that further consideration of this matter be postponed until the next meeting of the Joint Commission on Unification.

Edgar Blake: Is it certain that there will be any next meeting?

Bishop Hamilton: We will recommend to the General Conference that there shall be a next meeting.

P. D. Maddin: I move that the report be received and filed.

John M. Moore: I accept that.

The motion was seconded.

Bishop Leete: All that is necessary from the committee is that the committee as a whole should send it in. Dr. Blake's suggestion was before the committee, and three of us at the beginning favored it. I favored it to the end, but there was a feeling that some men wanted to have this matter in some way definitely decided, and especially Judge Rogers, so the committee brought in a report which I am sorry Dr. Van Cleve hasn't got with him. When we finally got it up, we all agreed, because it continued the *status quo* and made it impossible for anybody to raise any question. I think the only danger about the whole matter is that the women may feel that we have opened the way for an attack on what privileges they already have. If there is such a danger, I think it should not be made possible that such attacks should come, but the committee has no feeling against having it go over.

W. N. Ainsworth: Was not there a motion for a postponement of consideration?

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The motion was withdrawn for the motion made by Brother Maddin.

A vote being taken, the motion of Mr. Maddin was carried.

Bishop Mouzon: The Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, reported to you that, subject to minor amendments not affecting them in principle at all, we had accepted the report of the Committee on Conferences and the report of the Committee on Judicial Council. The members of this Commission from the Southern Methodist Church would like to have a report from our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church covering those two items.

Bishop McDowell: We have not acted upon them. I suppose

that, under the rule, it will be necessary for us to have a separate session for a moment.

Bishop Cranston: We haven't had them up yet.

Bishop McDowell: I understood Dr. Du Bose to say a minute ago that he desired to move for a separate session, and if he makes that motion I will join with him.

H. M. Du Bose: I do make that motion. A number of us have to go away at four o'clock.

The motion was put to a vote and carried, and there was a recess of the Joint Commission.

After the separate sessions were had the Joint Commission was called to order by the Chairman, Bishop Cranston.

Charles M. Stuart: A matter of privilege of the house, before you take up any other matters. You appointed a committee to draft a statement to our Churches concerning the conditions of the country and of the world. If you hear it now, the report will have satisfactory treatment. If you postpone it until the hurried moments of adjournment, it will not be properly considered.

The reading of the report was called for, and it was read by Dr. Stuart, as follows:

The members of the Joint Commission on Unification of American Methodism, in session at St. Louis, Mo., unite in affectionate greetings to the Methodists of America. In view of war conditions they deem it expedient to issue at this time a call to renewed faith in the integrity and unselfishness of the motives which determine our national participation in the world struggle. We are deeply sensible of the heavy and anxious hours waiting upon our people the country over. Even while this message is being considered, the word which reaches us from the front adds to our burden of concern and anxiety. On the other hand, we cannot be unmindful of the springs of comfort and reassurance developed by the war itself.

A people charged with being inordinately self-indulgent has suddenly disclosed a shining capacity for hardihood and sacrificial service; and a nation regarded by other nations as chiefly devoted to sordid greed for wealth has shown itself competent for a degree of self-sacrifice in behalf of righteous principle all too rare in the history of international relationships. Moreover, there is immeasurable comfort in the obvious providences which brought us into this war. We have not been trained to war; we have no liking for war, nor did we seek it. But we are now in war and will remain so until, and in order that, humanity may have a reasonable hope that this war will end war forever.

It is a matter of supreme and universal concern, for which we are asked to make sacrifice. It is for nothing less than to secure for all God's children under the impartial heavens a decent world in which to live and be happy. Surely for such an end we should not count even our lives dear unto ourselves. And it is for this that our sons are in camp and field together and with high and united heart march to meet the shock of war—yielding, if necessary, their hope of serene age and of domestic bliss. It is for this our daughters give themselves in tender and beautiful ministry of mercy and healing with never a thought of personal comfort or advantage. It is for this that mothers and fathers, wives and sweethearts are content to give that which really makes life for them, and in

many, many cases to accept the burden of a lifetime's loneliness and grief. Let us hearten ourselves in the thought of God's unfailing care for the work we are trying to do, in the assurance that the divine purpose for the welfare of the race can never be permanently thwarted, in the happy persuasion of life hereafter with Him and with those we love and lose, in the commanding call to instant and imperial work and sacrifice, in a just pride in our country's response to the world's need and cry, and in our fellowship with the humane and forward-looking nations of the earth in a common desire to establish and promote a rule of peace and universal good will.

And let us pray—pray with or without articulate form, pray in the spirit, pray with righteous hands and without ceasing, pray day and night to God exalted in holiness that right shall triumph and his kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven.

Let us work, too—work that our Church and all Churches may prove themselves equal to their high task, not only of mediating comfort to the weary and heavy-laden, but also in conserving the spiritual results of the war for the speedy realization of a world-wide society whose foundations and informing spirit are righteousness, justice, peace, and brotherly love. Our own Church will have but little help to offer if, without abating in any degree her patriotic work, she does not redouble all her existing evangelistic and philanthropic enterprises.

We urge earnestly and insistently the heartiest support of all movements and methods projected by our government for the prosecution of the war. Let us further generously the interests of the Red Cross, the Christian Association work, the war activities of our denominational council, and the purchase of liberty bonds and of war thrift stamps. Let us also lend our influence in promoting labor and industrial conditions to facilitate production of food and munitions, and in fostering a patriotic fervor which will aid enlistment. And let us at all times and everywhere and by every means at our disposal display an open and unaffected loyalty to the aims and motives of our own nation and of allied nations, especially as voiced in the memorable deliverances of the President of the United States.

Above all, let us have faith in God, faith in the justice of our cause, faith in our mission to the race, faith in the good will of our allies, faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and goodness; and in the strength of that faith let us have courage and hope in the presence of all discouragements and a cheerful confidence that out of the terrible conflict shall come a new heaven and a new earth, a new and better brotherhood of man, a new and better vision of God.

Bishop McDowell: I hesitate to offer even a verbal suggestion, but will Dr. Stuart allow this verbal suggestion? In the early part of his paper there is a reference to sacrifices apparent and sacrifices of various individuals, but I did not hear any mention of one of the most touching and pathetic scenes that is going on in the world to-day in the way of wives and sweethearts giving up their husbands and their beloved.

Charles M. Stuart. I will accept that.

Bishop McDowell: Another word: I want to put our Allies in with us whenever we speak of aims and purposes, for I want them to know that we are absolutely with them.

Bishop Denny: I listened to that paper with very great appreciation and approval. One of the things that has impressed me very greatly in connection with this whole terrible

contest may be only to some extent my personal views, and yet it is a matter of very strong pressure to me. Dr. Stuart read those clauses pointing out what it was that different members of the community were suffering and willing to die for; but when I think of these boys ready to give up the possibility of a serene old age, in addition to the natural desire for earthly immortality, it comes to me with the power that scarcely anything else does. I take it that you feel as I feel. It would not be a difficult thing to shoulder a gun and go out in the front line and fall. But I have children. But here is a boy who has no children. He goes out, and when he dies down with him goes all the possibility of a serene old age and those who would keep his name and faith alive afterwards. If the committee would consider—I would not offer it as an amendment, but I would offer a word, a suggested amendment as follows: "It is for this that our boys are willing to give up all possibilities of a serene old age and the natural, if not universal, desire for earthly immortality."

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Dr. Stuart will get that.

Bishop McDowell: I move the adoption of the document as prepared.

Rolla V. Watt: In our former proceedings we have had a statement of the numbers of our sons and grandsons who are in the army. It would be interesting if we could know how many of our sons are on the other side. I would like to know how many have sons on the other side.

Thirty-four were counted up.

E. W. Hines: I have not spoken during the meeting, so I shall ask the privilege of reading a short poem, written by a Kentucky boy, which I think is peculiarly appropriate here in this connection. It is very brief and no doubt some of you are familiar with it. It is entitled

"The Blue and the Gray."

Here's to the Blue of the wind-swept North
When we meet on the plains of France;
May the spirit of Grant be with you all
As the sons of the North advance!

And here's to the Gray of the sun-kissed South
When we meet on the plains of France;
May the spirit of Lee be with you all
As the sons of the South advance!

And here's to the Blue and the Gray as one
When we meet on the plains of France;
May the Spirit of God be with you all
As the sons of the flag advance!

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): In the blood of our sons may there be forgotten forever the jealousies and antagonisms that we have called the sections of the United States.

Frank M. Thomas: May I say a word? I happen to be the senior member of this Commission, in point of service, from our Church, and I want to say frankly that nothing has pained me more than the fact that we have been unable before the assembling of our General Conference to report a plan that could be approved by that body. I wish to say personally, and I think I represent every man on both sides—I think up to the limit of intellectual and spiritual strength we have tried to find the very best way of bringing about a solution of this problem. I think every man on both Commissions has done his best. I think we have been stopped for the present by the limitation of human lives, and perhaps through the providence of God; but I was awakened this morning by a strange feeling of peace in my soul. I laid awake part of the night worrying over conditions. I seemed to feel a touch of the spirit that some day it would be all right. I am satisfied that it was merely the heart of American Methodism, and that finally there would be no trouble. I think we are one. I think our two great Churches are one in spirit. I heard a great preacher once say that it was a great deprivation to Moses when he came to the river Jordan and looked across at the promised land that he had longed to enter and was forbidden, and he went his way lonely up the mountain; and yet God had something better, for many years afterwards he stood in the promised land of the Redeemer on the Mount of Transfiguration. I am certain that that transfiguration is to come some day to American Methodism, and I trust we shall not lose heart, but that we shall still pray and still toil toward that glorious end.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): There remains one matter of business that we should take care of, and I refer to it now lest it be forgotten. In response to the request from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church has taken action which the Secretary has in his hand and will present.

Secretary Abram W. Harris: There are two matters to be reported. These resolutions have been adopted:

Resolved, That we approve the report tentatively accepted by the Joint Commission with such modification as further joint consideration of the Commission may make advisable.

Resolved, That we unite with the Commission of the Church, South, in reporting to the General Conference those matters upon which agreement has been reached tentatively, with a statement of those matters upon which we have not agreed and which are parts of the same. We regard the accomplishment already reached as abundantly justifying the existence and continuance of the Joint Commission on Unification and a persistent hope of a final successful outcome of our deliberations. We agree to the principle of the two reports tentatively approved, as they have been amended, subject to such further amendment as may be made after due consideration.

Bishop Mouzon: I am not quite sure just how much that means. I should like for the Secretary of the Southern Commission to read to you the very words of the resolution adopted by the Southern Commission covering the report of the Committee on Conferences and the Report of the Committee on Judicial Council. I think we are together, but I am not quite sure whether we are or not. I would like to know whether we are exactly together.

Frank M. Thomas: I was asked to report that we had taken favorable action on both the report of the Committee on Conferences and the report of the Committee on Judicial Council.

Bishop Mouzon: I beg your pardon, but the exact resolution was written out by myself and placed in your hands.

Bishop McDowell: It seems to us that this particular resolution—we do not object to the form of it at all, but it seems to us that it was a little general, just as ours was.

Bishop Mouzon: I am sorry I have not another copy. Doubtless the Secretary will find the original resolution, but I think I can give it substantially. I do not right now recall the exact words, but possibly I will when I begin. I think it was this:

Resolved, That we say to our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church that we accept the report of the Committee on Conferences and the report of the Committee on Judicial Council as amended and tentatively adopted by the Joint Commission, subject to minor amendments which will in no wise affect the principles involved.

Frank M. Thomas: I am sorry, but I don't remember to have seen it.

Bishop McDowell: We had this statement the Secretary just read to the meeting, and not that other statement.

Bishop Mouzon: I think we are together, and I would be glad to know that we are together at these two points.

Bishop McDowell: We were together. We were pretty near of a mind to adopt the exact form that it was presented in. Then it was thought that that opened the door for some slight misunderstanding that we did not want to have. It will be remembered the other day when we were considering a question of the Six Regional Conferences according to the outline I submitted that two or three amendments proposed were voted down. Then, on the roll call, the outline as presented received a majority of the Joint Commission. It did not receive a majority of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It received a majority of the Joint Commission. It will be understood also that the adoption, or at least the acceptance, of some of the matters upon which we have already acted was related to and largely conditioned upon—by formal action taken at Traverse City—a completed scheme, and that until the scheme is completed amendments and modifications

are possible and clearly within the right of the Commission. Now, specifically and concretely, in order that there may be no misunderstanding of what is meant, among other things, by the resolution just reported to you is that we have taken favorable action upon this report, that the reports of the Committee on Conferences and Judicial Council have been tentatively accepted and tentatively approved, but subject also to such further amendments as further consideration may make advisable. We accept fully the principle of the Regional Conference, of course. We do not regard the question of the number or boundaries as settled. I want to make it clearly understood.

Bishop Mouzon: Thank you.

Bishop McDowell: I am glad to clear this matter up, because nobody on either side of the fence—and if there is a fence I cannot discover it, and if there is a fence it is in bad order—no one wants to have any misunderstanding of any statement that is made. If that is clear, all right; if not, I will elaborate.

Bishop Denny: I think I ought to say that I noticed, at the time the roll was called on the motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Conferences, that a majority of the Methodist Episcopal Church voted against the adoption of that report. But it didn't seem to me that the initiative was in the Chair to call attention to that fact unless there should be a call for a vote by Commissions. Then I understood that it was a Joint Commission vote; but I was ready, as I told somebody who came to me in the chair at the time, to announce at once that the motion was lost provided anybody from the floor called attention to the demand of a vote by Commissions. It didn't seem to me to be a delicate or even a legal matter for the Chair to call attention to it, and it was not taken up by any member of the Commission from the floor. It was in my mind and I was ready to act, but there was no call for an action.

Bishop McDowell: Your conduct was correct in the premises, but in view of the fact, as we supposed, that we were not voting upon it finally no attention was called to it. Of course, we noticed it as well as anybody.

Bishop Mouzon: In order that we may be fully understood, let me add this further word: The Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has voted to accept the report of the Committee on Conferences and the report of the Committee on Judicial Council. When we added "subject to minor amendments which in no wise affect the principles involved" we meant everything that seems to say. We accept the Regional Conferences, the six Conferences as there outlined. If you ask what is meant by "minor amendments," let me instance the

suggestion that was made that a clearer and fuller statement of the powers and duties of the Judicial Council might be advisable, and let me also instance the fact that the question had been opened touching the eligibility of women to membership in the General Conference.

Frank M. Thomas: The Pandora's box.

Bishop Mouzon: So we say "subject to such minor amendments as in no wise affect the principles involved." I, of course, understand that it is not a completed system that we have been working at.

Bishop McDowell: Allow me to ask for clearness.

Bishop Mouzon: If I have not made myself clear, assist me.

Bishop McDowell: You stated frankly a moment ago that you had accepted the six Regional Conferences.

Bishop Mouzon: Yes.

Bishop McDowell: And then followed the statement about minor amendments. Are we to understand that you would regard that number six now as a fixed number, which could not be amended by increasing it to eight or ten or by decreasing it to four or three?

Bishop Mouzon: I am hardly prepared to answer that question. I should not like to assume responsibility for answering that question. We could have wished that our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church might have seen their way clear to agree to six. I do not believe that the Southern Commissioners would agree to a larger number than six.

Bishop McDowell: The point is, in our Church, that we do not regard that subject as a closed subject; but we regard ourselves as free to vote, if our judgment confirms, in favor of six or eight, or three or four.

Bishop Mouzon: Of course we mean that we have accepted the six. We do not mean that the whole matter is closed up and shall not be opened, but we have accepted the six.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Is there any other business?

Bishop Leete: If the members of the Southern Commission have accepted more than we have, I am sure we are delighted to let them have the honor. We may at the same time emulate their example with reference to readiness to accept everything that comes. What I rose for was to move a vote of thanks to the people who have entertained us while we have been here and to the persons who arranged for the reception and for any others who have extended courtesies. I regret that I was not able to write the motion, but I am sure the Secretaries will phrase it in a proper way, and I move that the Secretaries be requested to make due acknowledgment of the courtesies and submit to the proper persons.

Bishop Hamilton: Would it not be wise to have this other report from the committee to-day, so that we could all know what it was?

A. J. Lamar: We have not yet voted on that resolution of thanks.

Bishop McDowell: I want to amend the motion for the resolution of thanks by a motion to instruct the Secretary to recompense the janitor of this church for the extra work that we have occasioned him.

A. J. Lamar: I intended to offer that as a resolution, but I would rather that it be a little more definite.

Bishop McDowell: I withdraw my motion then.

A vote being taken, the motion of Bishop Leete about thanks to the persons who extended the courtesies was unanimously carried.

A. J. Lamar: Now I move that the janitor of this church, to whom we have given a good deal of trouble, be given $25, to be equally divided between the two Commissions.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

John F. Goucher: Before we adjourn it is perhaps desirable to make some arrangements for another meeting. We cannot exactly say when. Might we not leave that to the Chairmen and Secretaries, as we have done heretofore?

Bishop McDowell: I so move.

The motion was seconded by Rev. John F. Goucher and, being put to a vote, was carried.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The official tenure of one of the Chairmen expires with this meeting, and we are about to disband as a body, not to come together again just in this same constituency. I hear it rumored that some of these members are likely to change their relations to the Church or to the ministry.

Bishop McDowell: Some to become effective and some non-effective.

Bishop Cranston: Yes, some of us may have to retire. It will be a great joy all the days of my life to have been associated with the members of the Commission of the Church, South. I sometimes wish I could tell you just what you ought to do and have you do just what I want, but I do not wish it always, because I know that you have sound judgment and you know your conditions better than I can know them.

Bishop Denny: Come down and spend some time with us. I do not like to say good-by. I want to see you all again together. I don't want to come here and find a lot of new faces and persons who have to be broken in and who cannot be as skillful in the prosecution of the work as you are. It will not

be pleasant for us, but of course we can get used to it. God bless you and help you in all the work of your Church.

John F. Goucher: If there is a new Chairman or Chairmen, that would affect this motion.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): If there is a new Chairman or Chairmen or new Secretary or Secretaries, it would be subject to the Chairmen and Secretaries and the Commissions as they may then be constituted.

John F. Goucher: That is what I meant.

Bishop McDowell: Has any provision been made or any plan for preparing the address?

C. M. Bishop: To the general public or the General Conferences?

Bishop McDowell: We have made a report heretofore to the Church as a whole, and I suppose the reports to the General Conference will be made.

Bishop Denny: Let me save the blushes of our Secretary by saying that he was appointed chairman of a committee to prepare a report to our General Conference, and should the Joint Commission desire a report to be issued such as we have been accustomed to, then this committee of which Dr. Thomas is chairman could represent us. That committee is Dr. Thomas, Mr. Maddin, Dr. Chappell, and Dr. Moore, but it was also to be increased to such a number as you brethren desired to have if you desired to have more.

Bishop McDowell: I move that our Secretary (Dr. Harris), Dr. Van Cleve, and Dr. Blake be a similar committee for our Commission.

Edgar Blake: I move that Bishop McDowell, Dr. Goucher, and Dr. Downey, with Secretary Harris, be the Committee. They are all in the East together.

Bishop McDowell: I accept the amendment.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Edgar Blake: There is another matter I would like to bring up. We have taken no joint action as to what we shall report to our respective General Conferences. It seems to me it would be desirable if we could take action as a Joint Commission, not as to the exact form but as to a joint report, so that we can report similarly to our respective bodies. I think nothing has been done by the Joint Commission looking toward a continuance of the negotiations. I would move, to test the sentiment of the Joint Commission, that we give to our respective General Conferences a statement of those items tentatively accepted, together with a statement of those items upon which we have not agreed and that we request a continuance of the Joint Com-

mission. I would like to see that go through the Joint Commission.

Frank M. Thomas: I may be mistaken, but I think Dr. Blake is not in form as to our method in the Church, South, with reference to reporting to the General Conference. We are instructed by the Church for the Commission to make a special report to the General Conference. We would be glad to have the help of any committee, but it is a special report of the Commission itself to the General Conference.

Bishop McDowell: There are two matters before us. The motion of Dr. Blake is another matter.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): I didn't understand there was any other matter. The first is your official report to your General Conference.

Secretary Thomas: Yes.

Bishop McDowell: Then the committee that makes that report coöperates with a similar committee of the other Commission in that public statement, which is another matter.

Frank M. Thomas: I understand your statement.

Bishop McDowell: Now, this matter of Dr. Blake's is another matter and is an important one.

Edgar Blake: Yes, that is really important.

Secretary Thomas: We have already taken action on that.

Edgar Blake: I didn't understand that you had, but if you have I will withdraw it.

Bishop McDowell: That is an expression of the Joint Commission in favor of a continuance.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Is there anything further to be said?

A vote being taken, the resolution of Dr. Blake was agreed to.

Bishop McDowell: We would all have been glad to have reached a fuller agreement on many matters. In conversation the other day with Bishop Lambuth and in conversation with Dr. Prettyman, the Chaplain of the United States Senate, and in conversation with one or two others, some of them from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and some from our own Church, this suggestion has arisen and I present it here—namely, that as a part of our effort at unification this Joint Commission on Unification as it now exists, and as I trust it may exist after the meeting of your General Conference, shall be free to be a Committee on Coöperation in this common enterprise of the two Churches of Jesus Christ in the country and the world, in its outstanding opportunity to demonstrate itself in the Missionary Centenary, but which coöperation may possibly be the very means by which we may get together. It seems to me that by working together we shall come together more rapidly than by the formal and laborious effort to adjust ourselves; and

I simply make the suggestion, without any motion being required, that the Commission itself may have before it not the creation of some other Committee on Coöperation, but that this committee shall be free to consider itself a Committee on Cooperation in the enterprises that are common to us.

Bishop Mouzon: I am glad that Bishop McDowell has made the remarks which he has just now made. I do not know that we can go farther or that we have any authority to go any farther than Bishop McDowell's suggestion would carry us. I desire, however, in addition to what he has said, to call the attention of the Commission to the unusual and remarkable work of coöperation which is going on in Canada between the Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Church and the Methodist Church of Canada. As everyone knows, for a number of years now the unification of those three Churches has been pending. That movement has been halted for a time, because a small minority and an insistent minority in one of the three Churches involved declared that if the proposed union should take place they would claim all the church property. So the movement toward union has been halted for a while. The large majority of the three Churches has already voted in favor of that most unusual union which has been proposed. Of course, everyone knows that the Methodist union took place a good while back in Canada. They have drawn up a plan of coöperation, and that plan of coöperation is being put in practice in Canada and they are succeeding remarkably well. I have a letter from Superintendent Chown in which is this sentence: "In the province of Alberta, for instance, where I have resided through a coöperative committee for six years past, there are only 15 points, out of 582 Methodist preaching places, where there are now churches of both denominations." That is most remarkable. I could wish that, while for a time being this movement halts, we might consider ourselves called upon to put on foot a movement which would result in Methodist cooperation all over the United States, and especially where this cooperation is needed in the border and in the South and in the Northwest. I am glad you made the suggestion. I hope that something very concrete may come out of it, and that we may be enabled to inaugurate a movement that will bring about cooperation. Our plan of federation did not succeed.

Bishop McDowell: How could it?

Bishop Mouzon: It did not succeed because we had to have a quarrel before we got started. Instead of planning a movement which calls for a quarrel before we can do anything, let us plan for a movement that calls for brotherly love before doing anything and a desire of local congregations to get together before you can do anything. I happen to know that in places

both in the Northwest and the Southwest there are churches that would have been merged if it had not been for district superintendents and presiding elders and bishops. I plead for a more thorough coöperation while we are planning for that good day when in God's providence there shall be one Methodism in America.

M. L. Walton: About an inquiry: There was a committee appointed a moment ago to prepare a statement that is to be published in the *Advocates*. There are some of us here who would like to know whether we are at liberty to publish some things next week before that statement comes, or whether you expect us to make no statement in the press until this committee has reported.

C. M. Bishop: I move that they be given that liberty.

Frank M. Thomas: I second the motion.

A. J. Lamar: We provided for that at Savannah.

J. H. Reynolds: I move to amend, if it is needed, that we throw all papers and documents, including the speeches, open to the press.

Bishop Leete seconded the motion.

C. M. Bishop: I will accept that.

A vote being taken, the motion was adopted.

Abram W. Harris: I move that Dr. Ivey, Dr. Joy, and Dr. Wallace be appointed a committee to prepare a statement to be sent to both Churches.

The motion was seconded.

J. F. Goucher: As an official or semiofficial paper.

Abram W. Harris: I accept that.

A vote being taken, the motion was carried.

Abram W. Harris: Next, I want to know whether it would meet your approval to have the patriotic utterances of this afternoon given to the Associated Press. I think they ought to go out, and I so move.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Bishop and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Rolla V. Watt: The arrangement at Savannah by which the Secretaries were to complete a statement to be furnished in pamphlet form and sent all over the country was a very excellent one and gave very great satisfaction to the Church. I hope that can be done again.

Bishop McDowell: We appointed a Committee on Publicity.

Rolla V. Watt: That is very different from what we had at Savannah.

Frank M. Thomas: It is going to be impossible for the committees to do the work you request. It is all right for those three editors to prepare a statement for the Church press, but the committee appointed to prepare a report to the General Con-

ference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, will have all that it can do between now and the assembling of that body.

David G. Downey: I move that the Secretaries prepare and have printed the minutes and what we have agreed on as to this Constitution as on previous occasions.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

A. J. Lamar: I want to ask this question: A vast number of our people North and South would like to know everything that this convention has done. Would this Commission have any objection to allowing the Publishing Agents of the two Churches to combine in one volume all the proceedings of this Joint Commission at Baltimore, Traverse City, Savannah, and St. Louis?

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): That is covered by the resolution offered by Dr. Reynolds.

Bishop Mouzon: It would be too big.

Bishop McDowell: You had better wait until the price of paper goes down.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Under the resolution of Dr. Reynolds that is a matter that the Agents can settle between themselves.

A. J. Lamar: Then I think I will take it up right away.

David G. Downey: I think we can arrange it.

T. N. Ivey: A question of privilege. You carried a motion a few minutes ago and a committee of three was appointed to do a work which that committee is not able to do. That committee, in order to do its work, must have the papers of the Secretary. It is impossible for that committee in the time allotted to it to get that matter. I don't see why this committee, which has already been appointed and which did its work so nicely at Savannah, should not do the same work again—that is, the committee of Secretaries collaborating to make some sort of a syllabus of the work that has been done and send it out just as it was sent out from Savannah. That is the only committee able to do it. Three editors are not able to do it, and we haven't the time and we haven't access to the matter. I trust, if this Editorial Committee does not do its work, that the responsibility will be considered as lying upon the committee which had been previously appointed to do this at Savannah.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Is there any other business?

J. H. Reynolds: Reference was made a few minutes ago by Dr. Blake to an interview published in the *Post Dispatch*, and I really feel that we ought to take some notice of that. And I really believe that every public body assembled in this country for the next week should take some notice of that matter. I therefore offer the following resolution:

We, the Joint Commission on the Unification of American Methodism, here record our amazement at the interview of the President of the German Alliance of Missouri as published in the *Post Dispatch* of this city of even date. We condemn alike the interview and the St. Louis *Post Dispatch* for publishing it as unpatriotic and un-American, calculated to undermine the morale of the nation at a most critical hour.

Ira E. Robinson: I second the motion, but I want to say that the resolution is not strong enough. I would like it to be made very much stronger.

Edwin M. Randall: I recall that in that interview he stated that the German Alliance of Missouri was chartered under the laws of Missouri, and its continuance was not contingent upon the consent of the National Association, but that the organization in Missouri would suspend its meetings until the close of the war. It seems to me that such an organization, if correctly represented by him as President, is not fit to exist even in suspended animation and that it is as unfit to exist or to meet in peace as in time of war, and I think we ought to say so.

Bishop McDowell: I am not quite sure but that this interesting man would rather enjoy this kind of publicity. There is nothing I would not gladly do in the matter, but my firm conviction is that the best way for us to do in this matter is simply to take this copy of the interview and address it to the Department of Justice with the statement on our part that this seems to us such an offense against the patriotism and loyalty of the country as to call for immediate action.

C. M. Bishop: I move that that be the action of this body.

The motion was seconded.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Is that accepted as a substitute?

Bishop McDowell: I want the protest to go to the Department of Justice; I do not care about the press.

Bishop Hamilton: I do not want to differ from you in any respect, because I sympathize with everything that is said in the paper, and I can very soon dig down deep in me to get something more than that; but I have an impression that it will be more effective if we would send it to the Department of Justice, rather than to give it to the public and then send it to the Department of Justice. If it were to get out now, it would be telegraphed all over the United States before the Department of Justice gets it and there would be a prejudgment of the matter; but if we think it is of sufficient importance, representing all we do here, to call it to the attention of the Department of Justice and even go farther, I believe it would be more effective to simply publish this in the newspapers and then ask the Department of Justice to take it up.

Ira E. Robinson: I think this body of Methodism ought to

give to the world or to the press immediately a protest against this resolution. As I said a moment ago, I want a stronger one even than this. This man has lost his rights as to American citizenship, and I believe he should be dealt with accordingly. He is hardly entitled to a jury trial. I am not in sympathy with taking it up with the Department of Justice. Let us say that the District Attorney has already noticed it and will handle the matter. I happen to know that the District Attorneys are very vigilant. The Government will no doubt do its part. I think we ought to call attention to it right now, and let the matter be transmitted to the Department of Justice later if it is desired. I don't want to interfere with that.

P. D. Maddin: At Nashville some months ago there was formed what is known as the War Service League of the Nashville Bar, in which every member of the Bar still remaining there is a member. More than forty members have gone into the war service, and every remaining lawyer in Nashville is a member of this League. One of the principles of the organization is that it is one of our duties to be carefully on the lookout for seditious and disloyal utterances, and I want to assure you that Monday morning I will call that association together and have them take positive action. This did not take place in our State, but that paper circulates in our State and we will take action, and this matter will be called to the attention of the Department of Justice. It is not only our privilege but our duty as members of the Legal Advisory Board of the United States to keep on the lookout for such articles and call them to the attention of the District Attorneys and we are going to deal with this man properly, you may never fear.

Frank M. Thomas: I am in thorough sympathy with the spirit of this matter, but it a little dangerous for a great body representing what we do—the spiritual, moral, and social power we represent—to take specific action with reference to an individual upon a newspaper publication. I think we should first of all know as to the accuracy of the interview, because it is very easy to find things in the paper that are not true. I judge that it is. In the second place, I think it would be wiser to make a general pronouncement upon the question. Sometimes men get led into a blind alley in a case like this. I want to be exactly sure of my grounds.

Ira E. Robinson: One reason why he cannot be indicted would be if it were true.

Edgar Blake: We all appreciate the danger of taking press reports as true, but this is so detailed and so specific that there can be very little question but that an interview of this character was given; but in any event, whether this interview was given or not, the *Post Dispatch* remains culpable for publish-

ing the matter. I think this resolution should go right to that paper.

Frank M. Thomas: I agree with you there.

A. J. Lamar: I want to utter this caution. I think I am as patriotic as any man here. But I have seen things published that were very far from right. I have been published as delivering a sermon when I was hundreds of miles away at the time it was said I delivered the sermon. Now, suppose we pass this resolution and this man comes in and says, "You are mistaken; I never said it at all," what is our position? This is a time when the American people rightly are much excited on this question of the war. But let us be a little careful. Let us not go too fast. We should be slow in publishing any such thing of this nature, and at this time the United States has a department specially to attend to such things. Let us call the attention of that department to it and let them take care of it.

C. M. Bishop: It seems to me we might combine these two motions by asking Dr. Reynolds to send his paper transmitting the clipping to the Department of Justice of the United States and also authorize that it be given to the press at once. Let us send the clipping and the words of Dr. Reynolds's resolution to the Department of Justice in the form of a letter, and then also give it to the press.

Ira E. Robinson: If it goes to the Department of Justice, it will be sent back to the District Attorney here.

Bishop Leete: I want to call your attention to the form of interview. It says the reporter says he did. It may be that the reporter has it in for this man for some reason. Let us be careful not to place snap judgment on a man from a newspaper clipping. We have all suffered that way. This may not be anything but a reporter's work which an editor allowed to go through.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Let us see where we are.

Secretary Thomas: The first was a resolution offered by Dr. Reynolds. There was an amendment to that by Bishop McDowell that the publication be sent to the Department of Justice with a protest.

Rolla V. Watt: I think we ought to know whether the man said it or not. There is no question that the newspaper published it.

Bishop McDowell: The Department of Justice centers in Washington. It reaches throughout the whole country. In point of fact, the Department of Justice is right here in St. Louis just as generally as we have it in Washington. Is it not, Mr. Maddin?

P. D. Maddin: Yes.

Bishop McDowell: I personally want to go on record as not

being in favor of a public statement. I think the wise course for us now in this matter is to send Dr. Reynolds's resolution with our convictions to the Department of Justice represented in this city by the District Attorney, and not necessarily make any public fuss about it. Let the Department make the fuss.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): With that understanding, are you ready to vote?

A vote being taken, the motion was carried.

Edgar Blake: I now move that a copy of the resolution be sent to the managing editor of the *Post Dispatch.*

Bishop Hamilton: If you do that, it will go into the *Post Dispatch* and all over the country.

Edgar Blake: That is the paper that published it.

Bishop Hamilton: But they would take it for granted, if you sent it, that they were expected to print it.

Edgar Blake: I want this managing editor to know that we regard it as an offense by the publisher.

Bishop Hamilton: I have no objection to that; but if you send that to the editor of the *Post Dispatch* he'll feel that he has the authority to print it, and it may interfere with the proper proceeding of the lawful authorities here. I fear you are going to get the thing into the newspapers when you don't intend to. I have no objection to it; but if you don't want to get it into the newspapers, don't send that.

Edgar Blake: It is not sent for publication, although I would not have the slightest objection to its being published if the editor wanted to do it; but we send it to let the manager know that we regard it as an offense against the country at this time.

The motion was seconded.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): It might be considered that we are outsiders.

George Warren Brown: I think we are absolutely within our province, acting as the representatives of the two great Methodisms of the United States.

A vote being taken, the motion of Dr. Blake was carried.

E. B. Chappell: Is it understood that Dr. Stuart's paper is to be given to the press?

Edgar Blake: I move that that be sent to the Church papers.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Frank M. Thomas: I rise for a question of information. At Savannah two Secretaries were instructed to make statements to the Associated Press for transmission to the country. Do you wish a similar statement made at the close of this meeting?

On motion duly made and seconded, this was ordered.

Rolla V. Watt: I move that we adjourn after reading the minutes.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

The minutes were thereupon read and approved.

Bishop McDowell: I am sure that the word of one of us will be accepted by the entire Commission. I am sure we all gratefully appreciate the services of our official stenographer, whose work has enabled the Secretaries to do their work correctly and accurately. I could not let the Commission adjourn without saying this word concerning this difficult position which has been so fully met with, I am sure we all agree, such distinguished success.

Bishop Cranston: What was meant to go to the press? Let us understand that thoroughly.

J. H. Reynolds: I mean that all documents and papers shall be available for the press.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Is it understood that your motion carries the publishing of the debates?

J. H. Reynolds: I didn't include that in my motion. But it was later decided to include that.

Bishop Cranston: Let anybody come in and take out this, that, or the other and comment upon it?

Edwin M. Randall: There was a record made of those who had sons in service in the war in France, but the record was not very definite. I wish that we could have this matter laid before us a little more definitely.

P. D. Maddin: In sending this communication to the *Post Dispatch* I think it should be made clear that it is a communication to the managing editor, and not to the Editorial Department for publication. I think it should be made that way in our minutes.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The journal is approved as corrected, and I will ask Dr. Jones to lead us in prayer and Bishop Mouzon to pronounce the benediction.

This was done and the Commission adjourned *sine die*.

PROCEEDINGS AT CLEVELAND, OHIO
JULY 7-10, 1919

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COMMISSION ON UNIFICATION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Bishops

Earl Cranston, Washington, D. C.
John W. Hamilton, Washington, D. C.
William F. McDowell, Washington, D. C.
Frederick D. Leete, Atlanta, Ga.
Richard J. Cooke, Helena, Mont.

Ministers

Edgar Blake, Chicago, Ill.
John J. Wallace, Pittsburgh, Pa.
David G. Downey, New York, N. Y.
John F. Goucher, Baltimore, Md.
Robert E. Jones, New Orleans, La.
Albert J. Nast, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Frank Neff, Hutchinson, Kans.
Edwin M. Randall, Everett, Wash.
Claudius B. Spencer, Kansas City, Mo.
Joseph W. Van Cleve, Chicago, Ill.

Laymen

George Warren Brown, St. Louis, Mo.
James R. Joy, New York, N. Y.
Abram W. Harris, Secretary, New York, N. Y.
Charles W. Kinne, Jacksonville, Fla.
Irvine G. Penn, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Ira E. Robinson, Charleston, W. Va.
Henry Wade Rogers, New York, N. Y.
William Rule, Knoxville, Tenn.
Alex. Simpson, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
Rolla V. Watt, San Francisco, Cal.

COMMISSION ON UNIFICATION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH

Bishops

Warren A. Candler, Atlanta, Ga.
Collins Denny, Richmond, Va.
Edwin D. Mouzon, Dallas, Tex.
John M. Moore, Nashville, Tenn.
James Cannon, Jr., San Antonio, Tex.

Ministers

Frank M. Thomas, Secretary, Louisville, Ky.
W. J. Young, Atlanta, Ga.
C. M. Bishop, Georgetown, Tex.
E. B. Chappell, Nashville, Tenn.
T. N. Ivey, Nashville, Tenn.
A. F. Watkins, Jackson, Miss.
A. J. Lamar, Nashville, Tenn.
P. H. Linn, Fayette, Mo.
C. C. Selecman, Los Angeles, Cal.
James E. Dickey, Atlanta, Ga.

Laymen

M. L. Walton, Woodstock, Va.
H. N. Snyder, Spartanburg, S. C.
P. D. Maddin, Nashville, Tenn.
J. R. Pepper, Memphis, Tenn.
R. S. Hyer, Dallas, Tex.
J. H. Reynolds, Conway, Ark.
R. E. Blackwell, Ashland, Va.
T. D. Samford, Opelika, Ala.
H. H. White, Alexandria, La.
J. G. McGowan, Water Valley, Miss.

RESERVE MEMBERS

Methodist Episcopal Church

Bishop Luther B. Wilson, New York, N. Y.
Rev. Charles M. Stuart, D.D., Evanston, Ill.
Rev. Frank M. North, New York, N. Y.
Charles A. Pollock, Fargo, N. Dak.
Elmer L. Kidney, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Methodist Episcopal Church, South

Bishop H. M. Du Bose, Berkeley, Cal.
Bishop W. N. Ainsworth, Savannah, Ga.
Rev. W. D. Bradfield, Dallas, Tex.
Rev. I. C. Jenkins, Jacksonville, Fla.
Rev. L. E. Todd, St. Louis, Mo.
Rev. D. H. Kern, Roanoke, Va.
Edward W. Hines, Louisville, Ky.
G. T. Fitzhugh, Memphis, Tenn.
W. P. Few, Durham, N. C.
C. M. Hay, St. Louis, Mo.

FIRST DAY, MONDAY, JULY 7, 1919.

The Joint Commission met in the Lattice Room of the Hotel Statler, Cleveland, Ohio, and was called to order at 10:30 A.M. by Bishop Earl Cranston.

The hymn, "I love thy kingdom, Lord," was sung.

Bishop Mouzon read the eighty-fourth Psalm.

Dr. A. J. Lamar offered prayer.

The hymn, "All hail the power of Jesus' name," was sung, after which Bishop J. W. Hamilton offered prayer.

Bishop Cranston: Brethren, my heart is full of thanksgiving to God that he has so continued his favor to us as to bring us together in this holy conference. I am compelled to take knowledge of the absence of one whom I have been in the habit of meeting in the Federal Council and in the sessions of the Commission on Unification from the beginning of my own connection with these fraternal movements by our respective Churches. I miss Bishop Hoss. Am I right in this, that Dr. Thomas and I are now the only ones remaining of the original number of the Federal Council? My own connection with the Commission preceding the Council dated from the decease of Bishop Merrill, which seems to me now quite a way back. And yet in the recurring sessions of the Commission, then of the Federal Council, and at last the sessions of the Commission on Unification, there has been such a refreshing exchange of growing confidence and such an increasing fraternity of approach and representation that the years have not seemed to me to be long. When I have heard it sometimes suggested that our meetings were fruitless and that it was hardly worth while for us to come together again to pursue the old topics, it has caused me a sinking of the heart. I could never consent that there should be even a vacation in the efforts to bring together again the sons of Wesley for the final struggle in the conquest of the world for Christ. Bishop Hoss was among our strongest men. He was a stalwart soul, facing God without fear, facing man without fear: Facing God without fear because he knew he was redeemed and that One stood in his stead, to whom he was absolutely loyal, at the court of heaven; and not fearing man, because he was so manly a man that no man looking into his face could for one moment feel doubt of him, so fortified was he in truth and in frankness of speech. He was as clear headed as he was warm hearted. He was direct and formidable in attack, but utterly fair and honorable in discussion, never apologetic for his convictions; quick at the sword, but instant also in effort to ease

the hurt of the blow given in advance or in defense of his principles. Bishop Hoss was versatile, widely informed, classic in his tastes. He was a scholarly statesman as nearly as I can define him from my impressions. And while in behalf of our Commission I tender sympathy to you brethren who have been bereaved in his passing from your midst, at the same time I must bring congratulation to your Church that she bred a son so noble in all his aspirations, so true to all that he held as truth, and so ready to meet—I will not say "the last enemy," but the Friend who should introduce him into the better company than that had longingly waited his coming. His fight against disease was a prolonged demonstration of his faith and courage. As all of us, I think, feel in our hearts to-day the sense of a vanished presence, I believe that we shall also feel the inspiration of his brotherly honesty as we go about the work which remains for us to do. It is a great pleasure for us to know that Bishop Mouzon, after the resignation of Bishop Candler, whom we shall miss here, has been honored by his brethren with the chairmanship of the Commission of the Church, South. Under your rules he will be your presiding officer during half the sessions that are to ensue. I could say much, brethren, about the nature of our work here and the spirit in which we should go about it; but it is only just to you to assume that we have all taken to heart this solemn responsibility. Nothing that I could say in portrayal of the condition of the world to-day and the call upon Christianity for the conservation of all its resources in preparation for the most tremendous conflict that ever awaited the Christian Church would add, I think, to what your own reflections under the inspiration of God's Spirit must have brought to you. But some strong words are pressing for utterance. Have confidence in God! Go forward! If ever any people on earth ought to have full faith in God, we ought to have such confidence as Methodists. And if any body of Methodists ought to think and act without fear of men, but in the fear of God and in the spirit of Wesley toward Jesus Christ and his kingdom, that body is this body of chosen men. Let us see to it that we shrink not from the face of man, that we pause not in the following of the Master, but ever holding his kingdom first in our own thought, prove ourselves as brave and true and faithful as our fathers were in laying the foundations on which we are now building for the days they could not foresee. What is the pleasure of the meeting?

Bishop Denny: I trust it will not be regarded as presumption if I step forward to say a word on behalf of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in response to your touching remarks concerning Bishop Hoss. I, too, knew him well and long and intimately, and with the stress on manhood and on the word "man," a great man passed from us when

Elijah Embree Hoss left the world. I shall not take time to attempt anything like an analysis of the traits and characteristics and gifts of Bishop Hoss. It is enough to say just a word or two in response to your gracious words. Bishop Hoss was one of the broadest-minded men I ever knew. I think he understood and reciprocated or at least united with the words that Wesley so strongly stressed, "If thy heart be as my heart, give me thy hand." He had a trait that was not so often dwelt upon, and yet it was a trait that constantly won my admiration. He had a deep sympathy with men with whose opinions he did not agree. And it is not so common a trait as it ought to be. He was strong in his convictions, as we all know, and ready to speak them. And yet, at the same time, he recognized that his own claim to expression of his opinion involved the right to every other man, that he must grant, to give expression to his opinion. I was often struck in connection with Bishop Hoss' life, in my close association with him, with the intensity of his Methodism. And yet at the same time I think he held in mind a statement that Adam Clarke made when some one asked him if he were not a bigot. He said, "No, thank God, for I am a Methodist." I have often heard Bishop Hoss repeat that. He was an intense Methodist. Somehow in our day there is an atmosphere which finds voice, that we are coming to a time when we shall be better Christians and less Methodists. I confess my inability to understand what that may mean; because I have regarded Methodism as the best expression of the truth of God that has ever been given to the sons of men. And how we can depart from that truth and be better Christians is just outside the range of my vision. Now, whether I be right or wrong in that, at any rate I am glad to be able to tell you that after long years of intimate confidential talk with Bishop Hoss at times when all the shutters were thrown open and the windows were all raised and the sunlight was flooding every corner of his heart, I could see the depth of his devotion to the Methodist Church that in the providence of God had opened the kingdom of God to him, had given him a field of service, had supplied him with everything that a man needs to honor God and help his fellow men. Some men may regard it as narrow in him, but I cannot regard it as such. He did not think he could ever be a better Christian by being a poorer Methodist. I need not tell you of Bishop Hoss' attainments. You all know that, whether he were followed or not, account had to be taken of him in our branch of the Church in connection with all that was done; and he did have a wonderfully molding influence on the Church for many years. I thank God that I knew him. In the best sense of an abused term, Hoss was a pious man. When he felt that he could express himself freely there was a gushing, outgoing of his heart toward

the Lord Jesus. He lived and he died trusting time and eternity to the Lord who touched his heart when he was but a young boy, and who touched his lips with many gracious messages for the comfort and uplift of all the people to whom he could get access.

Bishop Cranston: Brethren, shall we stand for a moment before God in silent thanksgiving for the life and service of Bishop Hoss?

(In response to this invitation, all stood reverently in silence for a moment.)

Bishop Cranston: Servant of God, well done. We remember thee, and we follow thee. Amen.

The roll was called, and the following members were present: Bishops Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr., W. N. Ainsworth, Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, T. N. Ivey, A. J. Lamar, A. F. Watkins, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey, W. D. Bradfield, Edgar Blake, David G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. J. Wallace, F. M. North. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, J. R. Pepper, H. H. White, J. G. McGowan, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, Alex. Simpson, Jr., J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock, E. L. Kidney. Those of this number who are new on the Commission were introduced—namely, F. M. North, W. D. Bradfield, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, Bishop James Cannon, Jr., J. E. Dickey, Judge J. G. McGowan, E. L. Kidney, and Bishop W. N. Ainsworth.

Bishop Cranston: What is the pleasure of the Commission?

F. M. Thomas: I understand that both Commissions have taken favorable action on admitting the editors of our official Church organs to the sessions of this body. I therefore move joint action by this body.

The motion was seconded.

Bishop Denny: I think it ought to be distinctly understood, in view of the request that came to our Commission from the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that for ourselves we proposed that the editors of our Church papers, such Church papers as were under Conference patronage, were to be admitted; but we do not undertake to pass on the qualifications of those from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Bishop Cranston: It would be, of course, for each Commission to determine what editors under this action were to be admitted.

The motion for admission of the editors prevailed.

Bishop Mouzon: For the information of the Commission I suggest that Dr. Thomas, Secretary of the Southern Commis-

sion, read a paper that was adopted by the recent General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, continuing the Commission and giving us authority to proceed with our negotiations.

Dr. Thomas read the above-mentioned paper, as follows:

Be it resolved: 1. That we express our high appreciation of the faithful and earnest efforts of our Commission, authorized by the last General Conference, to secure unification in accordance with the basic principles of the suggestions for unification framed and proposed by the joint action of the Federal Council of Methodism at its meeting in Chattanooga, May, 1911, and approved in the main by our General Conference in 1914.

2. That we hereby reaffirm the action of the General Conference of 1914, and declare the readiness of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to continue negotiations on the basis approved by that action in case the Commission or other duly-constituted authorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church signify their desire for the continuance of negotiations upon that basis.

We sincerely trust that some feasible plan may yet be found to bring about such unification by reorganization, and we therefore recommend the continuance of a Commission to act in conjunction with the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the further consideration of this great subject.

3. That we express our hearty approval of the suggestion contained in the report of our Commission, that the two Methodisms not only continue to discuss unification, but that they make a practical advance toward it by closer coöperation in their various activities. We agree with the statement in the Episcopal Address that it is "our earnest hope that a way may be found for some plan of coöperation among the Methodists of America which shall, as far as possible, eliminate wastage of men and money in the territory in which both Churches have established themselves."

Our Commission is hereby instructed to give most careful consideration to this matter of closer coöperation, in order, not only to eliminate waste, but to secure the greatest possible results from the efficient adjustment of the workers of both Churches.

4. That we recommend that the General Conference order the publication of the discussions of the Joint Commission, as stenographically recorded, to be made available for the information of the ministry and laity of both Churches, the cost of the publication of said report to be defrayed by the money received from the sale of said report, the deficiency, should there be any, to be met by the Agents of the Publishing House.

JAMES CANNON, JR., *Chairman;*
R. H. WYNN, *Secretary.*

Bishop Mouzon: As the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has intervened since our last meeting, and since it may be worth while to bring to you an interpretation of the action taken by our recent General Conference, I am authorized and requested by my Commission to say to you that the following action was unanimously taken by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South:

Be it resolved, That our Commission stands on the same basis and with the same powers as when our Commission first met in joint session in Baltimore in December, 1916.

Bishop Cranston: That, of course, becomes a matter of record.

Bishop McDowell: These statements do of course become matters of record, and for the purpose of having it clearly in mind let me call to the attention of the Joint Commission that in the Baltimore proceedings you will find the list of declarations of General Conferences and the Federal Council, given in their order. I do not this minute recall the pages, but the document just read by Dr. Thomas and the statement made by Bishop Mouzon should now be in your minds at least with relation to these similar statements of the action of various bodies which were before us.

Bishop Moore: I would like very much if you would have a statement from Bishop Cannon, who was the Chairman of the Committee on Church Relations, and had much to do with formulating this report adopted by our General Conference. I am very desirous that this Commission should have a thorough knowledge of the exact status of things and of our state of mind.

Bishop McDowell: Mr. Chairman, we have been long enough together now to proceed with one another without any hesitations and without any feeling that either must seek to take advantage in the proceedings or in any other method or any measure. I have, therefore, pleasure in moving that, without the time limit attached to our debates, Bishop Cannon be requested by the Joint Commission to make such statement as he may desire to make concerning the action of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at Atlanta.

This motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Bishop Cannon: I had not expected to be called upon to make this statement. Bishop Moore did intimate in the meeting of our Commission this morning that it might be in place. But I will try to make it as concisely and consecutively as possible. As Bishop Moore says, I was Chairman of the Committee on Church Relations, and with the assistance of a subcommittee I prepared the report which was adopted. And when the minority report was presented before the General Conference, it became necessary for me to make some statements in the debate, and those statements were made to clarify the situation and to emphasize what was in the mind of the committee who did prepare the report. And the report of the majority was adopted with practical unanimity after those statements had been made, the minority leaders withdrawing the minority report, and then the vote being taken with probably not more than six or eight in the negative. So I think it is only fair to conclude that the statements which were made by the Chairman of the committee at that time were practically approved by the General Conference itself, by its action. In offering the amendment at Okla-

homa City to the report of the committee, I remember very distinctly, I did not write it out at the time, but made a verbal amendment, and Bishop Moore did, perhaps from memory, write the exact words which now appear. But I was so well satisfied with the wording, when I saw it, that it expressed exactly my idea—namely, that the colored membership should be formed into an independent organization, holding fraternal relations with the united Church. I had in my mind, in offering that, something a little different from the relation of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church to our Church. I never was exactly satisfied with that relationship. I was satisfied with the relationship proposed by our General Conference in 1866, which was mentioned by Dr. Watkins in a speech which he made in Savannah. I think our fathers were wiser in their proposed action than in the action that was finally taken—namely, in their proposition to give the negro membership of our Church a separate Conference, which, however, would be tied to the General Conference of our Church very much as one Annual Conference is tied to another. But in that amendment I had in view very distinctly another report, which the Committee on Church Relations presented and which was adopted by our General Conference in Oklahoma City—namely, the constitution of a committee of the Connectional Board Secretaries to confer with the Secretaries of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, in order that in some way, better than that which had been in the past, we might help those men, by advice, that was authorized by our General Conference and by appropriations that would be made after conference between the Secretaries of the colored membership and our own Secretaries. And that was in my mind when I offered that resolution. It did mean a little more than the tie which existed between the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and our Church. So the words "independent organization" do not of necessity mean an independent Church in the broadest sense of the word—that is, from my own viewpoint. Now, when the matter came up before the Committee on Church Relations at the General Conference at Atlanta the question was very clearly before us whether we should continue our negotiations, whether it was wise to go further, and if so, on what basis. And the committee was overwhelmingly in favor of continuing the negotiations, and on the same basis as had already existed. That is to say, when an effort was made in the minority report to instruct the Commission to tell them they must have regard to certain things, the majority of the committee said, "No, we do not want to do that. We have not done that before." And when the point was made that the Oklahoma City declaration did tell our Commission that it must not do certain things with reference to the colored membership, it was very distinctly emphasized

that that statement was a mistake, that that was not an instruction, it was a recommendation. And in the debate that followed, in order that it might be very clear, as Chairman of the committee I made this statement: "We stand on the Oklahoma platform. That says that we 'recommend.' We do not tie the Commission's hands. I was on the committee that shaped that resolution, and I think I made the motion to insert that clause, and I understood it exactly as inserted, that we 'recommend' that the colored membership of the various Methodist bodies be formed into an independent Conference holding fraternal relations with the reorganized and reunited Church. I thought that to be the statement of our position. We simply repeated that recommendation. We do not go any further. We did not say to the Commission, 'You cannot do this'; but, 'There is our recommendation.' Judge Candler said he was willing to abide by the action of your Commissioners at Savannah. He was intimating that he was willing to go that far, but his words now intimate that he is not willing to go that far. That Joint Commission did not break up or say, 'We have come to an impossible situation.' It said: 'We transmit to our respective General Conferences the statement of those items which have been tentatively accepted by the Joint Commission, together with the statement of those items on which agreement has not been reached, and we recommend the continuance of the Joint Commission.'" That is the action they sent down to us, to our Commission and to your Commission. So, brethren—I may be tedious, but I want to state as clearly as I can my understanding of the meaning of our General Conference action—our General Conference did not bind our Commission with instructions any more than it was bound in 1914. It left it there. And those instructions do contain a recommendation of what we think is wise, of our viewpoint, of what we believe is the wise thing to be done. As far as I know, there has been no change of view on the part of our General Conference. They reaffirm the Oklahoma City declaration; and that declaration is clear, and that declaration, we think, is wise. But we do not say that that declaration is an ultimatum. We do not tie our Commission's hands. And we come here to-day with the practically unanimous vote of our General Conference, saying as plainly as a body can say that we desire the unification of the two Methodisms if it can be accomplished by such methods that there would not be, in our judgment, greater damage done by the unification than by leaving matters as they are. I do not know that this is the time to state my own personal views on this matter to any extent. But in response to Bishop Moore's request, I have stated what I think to be the mind of our General Conference, if a vote can ever indicate to representatives what is the mind of the body

which they represent. This perhaps is an additional fact that is worthy of mention—namely, that when the question arose as to whether we should authorize, or rather if it should be declared—that is a better word than authorize—whether we should declare that in the event the Joint Commission could reach an agreement which should be submitted to the General Conferences of the two Churches, our General Conference—although it was distinctly emphasized that the bishops could call the General Conference together—our General Conference by a very great majority (What was it? 194 to about 74?) put itself on record as desiring that statement to be made, that we desire unification so much that we want to declare to the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church that we would call a session of our General Conference whenever the Commission of our Church felt that it was justifiable so to do.

Bishop McDowell: The statement as I had prepared it proceeded partly on the supposition that it might precede what has now come from the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I am just as happy to have had this statement precede what I have to say as I would have been to have my own precede what has been said. For the full object in what I wish to say in behalf of our Commission is that we shall lay down upon the table just as frankly as possible all that is in our minds. I am very sure, Mr. Chairman, that this statement will help toward economy of time and toward progress. We come here to-day to our fifth formal meeting, putting Cleveland in the list now with Baltimore, Traverse City, Savannah, and St. Louis, and desire to get as quickly as we possibly can to the very heart of our task. We of course regard the Joint Commission as continued with slight changes in personnel. Some blades that were in the old knife have been exchanged for new blades, but I understand that the knife is the same knife. In other words, we look upon our negotiations as being continued, and not as being now started. I am very sure that the members of this Commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church would not like it if I were to fail to say that we begin this fifth session with a great deal more satisfaction, because of the wealth of personal fellowship and confidence and affection that we have developed in the preceding sessions, than we had as we began the first session. We did not know one another so well then. We did not trust one another then quite so well. We did not love one another quite so affectionately. And I am sure my brethren would want me to say that we have a very different feeling as we come together now from that we had when we came together at Baltimore.

A. J. Lamar: We were very polite, however, at Baltimore.

Bishop McDowell: We were awfully polite; but our politeness seemed to me to be rather studied at times, and as though

we wished to prove that we had good manners. Whereas now I am very sure we need no such effort, but can just take our good manners for granted. A good deal of water has run under the bridge since our first meeting. We have discussed pretty elaborately certain subjects, and I suppose we do not need to say over again, even for the education of our new members, the things that we have so well said in the previous sessions! All that is in print, and can be read for the edification of those who need edification. At Baltimore each Commission made a statement as to its object and the interpretation of its own powers, and we have now had additional statements due to the action of the General Conference which has acted since our meeting at St. Louis. Your General Conference has met and received the report of the Joint Commission and has acted, and we have received with great satisfaction this report which has come from your General Conference and your interpretation of the action of that body. You will remember that we have held from the beginning that each Commission must be the interpreter of its own powers and of the authority under which it acts. Now, in order that you may know at once the spirit in which we come to this meeting to continue that work already begun, I am endeavoring to lay before you our mind on the supreme object and on what we conceive to be the chief unfinished tasks of this body. We are here with some new members, with some new conditions. The world war is in process of ending. The Centenary has been a glorious triumph in both Churches, for which we devoutly thank God. And the world call is upon us and the world endeavor is at hand, whether we take up this world endeavor separately or together. We desire therefore to say, first, that we regard it as our primary instruction to obtain unification as far as that can be done by this Joint Commission. We regard it as our instruction to obtain unification and not prevent it, to obtain it and not simply to show why it cannot be obtained. Secondly, that we regard ourselves as instructed to obtain unification by reorganization, and reorganization on the basis of Regional Conferences. This is in loyal accord with the Chattanooga plan which has been approved in principle by both Conferences. This leaves, of course, as we all understand perfectly well, a large area of undetermined matters—undetermined as to the powers of the Regional Conferences, undetermined as to boundaries, undetermined as to relations. Nevertheless, we regard ourselves as under instructions to push the Regional Conference matter just as far as it can be pushed, and to endeavor to obtain unification on that basis, so as to report to our General Conferences what we have done, leaving those General Conferences to say, if they will, that what we have done under what we believe to be instructions is, or is not, acceptable. We do not, of course,

regard certain modifications of that plan as constituting instructions in the sense in which we regard the plan itself as instruction. We regard what has been said in modification as in the nature of advice, and the expression of honest opinion of each General Conference; but these matters are not to be regarded exactly as a mandate. On that basis, we are here to continue negotiations for the great end desired, we believe, by our Churches and desired by us. There now remain, of course, we all know, two major matters yet unsolved, the full and perfect plan for Regional Conferences and the status of our negro membership. The general provision for the creation of Regional Conferences has been adopted tentatively by the necessary vote, but no detailed plan has received the necessary approval of both Commissions. I am now instructed to say that we will accept and report to our General Conference, if satisfactory to you, a provision for six white Regional Conferences, as reported in Article VI., Section 1, of the Savannah folder. Or if six does not seem to you the best solution at this time, or if, for any reason, you desire it, we will join with you in the appointment of a Committee of Conference to consider and deal with this matter and report back to this Joint Commission. I think we are all agreed that no plan yet presented fully meets the individual views of every member of this Commission. For example, if I may interject this as a purely personal statement, the adjustments for the Conferences on what we call the border have not yet been, to my satisfaction, properly made. Nevertheless, we are prepared to do our level best to reach an arrangement which will loyally hold and perfectly protect all the Methodists involved, and hold them to the new Church which under God we are trying to form. For I think we should regard it as a distinct misfortune to make any plans of Regional or other Conferences that would cause a large loss of Methodist Episcopal people, whether they belong to one or the other of the two Churches. We recognize that a solution of the two major problems will not end our labors. There will be needed the most careful study of details, of the powers of the several classes of Conferences, of the work of the Churches in foreign lands, of the adjustment of property rights and of funds, of the consolidation and coördination of boards and benevolences. But these things, though not simple, are yet possible of solution through committees, and some of them we may leave to be solved by the regularly constituted agencies of a united Church. Touching the negro membership, we have no additional word or proposal to make at this time. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at Oklahoma City recommended, as Bishop Cannon has so frankly stated this morning, a modification of the Chattanooga plan. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South,

at Atlanta, has met since our formal meeting, since our elaborate discussions, since those sincere efforts were made, when (shall I say it in the presence of those who were at Savannah?) we stretched ourselves and almost strained ourselves in the effort to see how far each of us could go in the endeavor to get together. Now, your General Conference has met since that, and we await with intense interest any additional words you may now have to say to us in the light of the action of your principal body on this phase of the subject as well as upon the whole subject. You have had the opportunity to take official counsel of your constituency. You know what you can wisely and safely do. We have not had opportunity to have official counsel with our constituency. That opportunity lies ten months ahead. But this is our intense desire that we shall reach such an agreement upon these two major subjects as will enable us to make reports to the General Conferences which can be accepted. Evidently this is your desire. You would not have made the provision for a General Conference—an extra session of the General Conference—that you did make, except with the hope that maybe we could get a plan that we could submit. Mr. Chairman and brethren, those of us who for the years since 1916 have labored over this matter, prayed over this matter, worked over this matter, day in and day out, talked over the matter and listened to talk, cannot come to this meeting with any other than feelings of the utmost seriousness. It might be perfectly easy for us to find a way not to do this. But I believe I speak your minds, as I know I speak the minds of my own immediate brethren, when I say, with the world's pressure upon us that there has been, with the spirit upon us which the Centenary has helped to bring, with the new confidence that the years of counsel have brought, it is our intense and passionate prayer that God may guide us to a safe and large place for one Church of the living God, under the name of Methodist, at this hour. I thank you very much for the privilege of saying these words, Mr. Chairman and brethren, in behalf of our Commission.

Bishop Cranston: What is your pleasure, brethren?

Bishop McDowell: I did not take the time to consult Bishop Denny. I would move, if I were not on that Committee—but I will move it anyhow, that the Committee on Procedure—was there not such a committee of which you were Chairman?

Bishop Denny: I was Chairman of such a committee; but Bishop Mouzon will make the statement for our Commission from this time on.

Bishop McDowell: I was going to move, simply for the purpose of getting the matter before us, that we now take a recess and that the Committee on Procedure take under consideration

the subject of procedure and report to us at the beginning of the afternoon session.

A. J. Lamar: I move that when we adjourn it be to meet at three o'clock. We will be here until 6:30 practically. That will give three and a half hours, which will be about as long as we will want to be here.

Bishop Moore: I suggest 2:30.

Dr. Lamar accepted this suggestion, and it was voted to reassemble at 2:30 P.M.

Bishop McDowell: I was moving that the Committee on Procedure be requested to bring in a plan for procedure at this afternoon's session.

Bishop Cannon: Some of us do not know what committees you have, nor the membership of the committees. Could we have all the different committees which we have constituted here read, so that we can be informed?

Bishop Denny: I should be obliged if Bishop Mouzon will make the official statement, from our side of the committee.

Bishop Mouzon: I would like Dr. Thomas, the Secretary, to find, if he can, the names of the members of that Commission and announce them.

Bishop Denny: I am mistaken in my understanding of the action taken by our Commission. Our Commission passed a resolution and formally elected a Committee on Committees. My understanding of that was that so far as we were concerned that Committee on Committees was to recommend the committees to represent our Commission. The Bishop offered the resolution, and I would like to know what was intended. If that is the case, I am not a member of any committee.

Bishop Mouzon: It seems that there must be some misunderstanding, for it was not my understanding that the Southern Commission took action looking toward the creation of new committees entirely. A committee was elected to which was given the duty of electing members of committees where such elections were necessary. But we did not wipe out all the committees that we had. We do not have to begin *ab initio* with those committees.

Bishop Cranston: I rather think that is a question to be decided in the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Bishop McDowell: I think this matter, however, can be clarified if you are willing. Have you the names of the persons who did serve on this Committee of Procedure?

A. W. Harris: It seems that the Procedure Committee, as far as the Southern Commission is concerned, consists of the same persons who were called the Business Committee; and practically the same thing is true of our Commission.

Bishop Cranston: The motion before you is the request to the Committee on Procedure to make a report. I presume that the Chairman will be able to determine in a little while who are members of these respective committees. I do not see how you can call the meeting here until you know.

T. N. Ivey: It is undoubtedly a mistake, the statement that I am on that committee. I am sure I have never been on that committee.

D. G. Downey: I think I can recall the members who represented the Church, South, on that Committee on Procedure. They were Bishop Denny, Dr. Lamar, Dr. Du Bose, Judge Walton, and Mr. Blackwell.

Bishop Cannon: I was not present Saturday at the meeting of our Commission, but my understanding was that the Committee on Committees was appointed for the purpose of examining these committees and making suggestions as to readjustment, owing perhaps to the fact that there had been a number of new members appointed on the Commission, and that this Committee on Committees would be expected to propose such suggestions as to the readjustment of these committees as might seem wise. Therefore I suggest to our brethren that that Committee on Committees be given a list of members of the committee; and our Committee on Committees can then propose such readjustment of our names as we see fit. Without any formal action of our body, I make that statement.

Bishop Denny: There was not a word said about readjustment. But our Bishop is here to state the meaning of his resolution which was adopted. My understanding of that action was that we did extinguish the personnel of our committees and adopt a method of appointing our committees. I have no preference at all, but am simply trying to follow out what I understood to be the action of our Commission.

Bishop Mouzon: I will ask the members of the Commission representing the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to meet here in this part of the room immediately upon adjournment, in order that this matter may be determined; and then in a very short while this Committee on Procedure will be able to come together.

Bishop McDowell: I was about to move that that procedure take place. We shall need to make one change in the personnel of our committee, as Judge Rogers is absent. I will move that the two Commissions shall complete their respective portions of the Committee on Organization and Procedure, and that then the committee be authorized to get together without being obliged to be reported here.

Bishop Cranston: It will be perfectly competent and con-

venient now to fix the hour and place of meeting. It is not required that we shall have to reassemble.

Bishop McDowell: So I assume, then, to call the Committee on Organization and Procedure to meet at 12:30 P.M.

Edgar Blake: I wonder if we cannot get together at 12:15?

Bishop McDowell: I shall be glad to have them get together whenever they are composed.

The session adjourned at 12:12 P.M., with the benediction pronounced by Bishop Denny.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At 2:37 P.M. Bishop Cranston called the meeting to order.

The hymn, "My faith looks up to Thee," was sung.

Prayer was offered by Rev. C. C. Selecman.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr., W. N. Ainsworth, Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, W. D. Bradfield, T. N. Ivey, A. J. Lamar, A. F. Watkins, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey, Edgar Blake, David G. Downey, F. M. North, J. F. Goucher, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, J. R. Pepper, H. H. White, J. G. McGowan, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, Ira E. Robinson, J. R. Joy, Alex. Simpson, Jr., C. A. Pollock, E. L. Kidney.

Bishop Cranston: We will have the journal of the morning session.

The minutes were read, and with slight changes were approved.

F. M. Thomas: I would like to express, in the name of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, our profound and sincere sympathy at your loss and the loss of the nation in the death of Ex-Vice President Fairbanks. Some of us knew him and appreciated him, and remember the profound interest he had in the great work before us. He was also, as you know, a fraternal messenger from your Church to ours.

Bishop McDowell: I am very sure that the Commission will allow me to express our thanks to Dr. Thomas and the generous Church, South, for this expression. Mr. Fairbanks was one of the distinguished citizens of the country, one of the faithful members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a sincere and loyal patriot, and a Christian man who died in the faith. In these days of political stress and strain we greatly miss as steady and steadfast a man as Mr. Fairbanks was. We thank you very much for these gracious words.

Bishop Mouzon took the chair and said: Is the Committee on Procedure ready to report?

Bishop Moore: The Chairman of our Commission will now announce the members from our Commission before we make our report.

The members were stated to be Bishop Moore, W. J. Young, P. H. Linn, P. D. Maddin, and J. H. Reynolds.

Bishop Moore: The committee met and is ready to report. We have two items, one referring to committee meetings and adjournments, and the other to a matter of business. Dr. Blake is the Secretary of the committee and will make the report.

Edgar Blake: The Committee on Procedure met at 12:30, consisting of Bishop Moore, Dr. Linn, Dr. Young, Mr. Maddin, Mr. Reynolds, Bishop McDowell, Dr. Downey, Dr. Joy, Alex. Simpson, Jr., and Edgar Blake. Bishop Moore was elected Chairman, and the committee voted to make the following recommendations: (1) That the hours of meeting be fixed as follows: Morning session, 9 to 12:30; afternoon, 3 to 5:30. (2) Voted, that a Committee of Conference, consisting of five from each Commission, be appointed to consider and report upon the status of the negro membership in the reorganized Church. I move that the report be received and considered *seriatim*.

This motion was seconded and carried.

Item 1 was adopted.

Item 2, recommending that a Committee of Conference, consisting of five members from each Commission, be appointed to meet and consider and report upon the status of the negro in the reorganized Church, was read again.

Bishop Moore: It was the opinion of the committee that we should give this matter first consideration; that unless we could come to some sort of agreement on the status of the negro membership in the united Church, we could not very well go forward. We felt that this issue should be met at once, and that the best way to do it would be to appoint a joint committee of five from each Church to take up this whole matter with the different reports that may have been made hitherto and any propositions that the committeemen themselves might make, and bring back to us a report or recommendation for our consideration. That would mean, of course, that this committee would be appointed now and go to work at once. Some proposed that we discuss other matters while this committee should be out, but it was the opinion of the committee that the best thing to do is simply to give this whole matter over to a committee and then await their report.

Bishop Cranston: I have two questions at this point. One is whether it is better to provide such a committee than to have meetings of the Commission separately to discuss the matter.

So far as I know, it is a matter that we have not formally considered. Then, if there is to be a committee, I think it ought to be a larger one—I would think at least ten from each Church —eight or ten from each Church, rather than five; so that there may be a wider range of opinion and counsel. I am not going to oppose the motion. I am simply giving my views about it. I would like to have the matter canvassed by the Commissions separately, so that they will know where they are. It will come to that in the end. The Committee on Conference will report, and then we shall have separate meetings.

Bishop McDowell: I think it was thought that five from each Commission could, in view of the fact that they would be expected to report back to the Commission as a whole, do better than if the number were larger. We talked of seven from each Commission, and finally decided upon five, as in the interest of promptness and efficiency in getting a report back to this body, in which the whole Joint Commission will have a chance to consider the report. I favor the suggestion of the committee.

Bishop Hamilton: I think we can adopt one of Bishop Cranston's suggestions. I am quite clear in my own mind that the selection of these five men ought not to be left to the Chairman of the committee, but that it would be well for us separately in the Commissions respectively to let each Commission select its own five persons in such way as it may choose. Then, as to the other matter suggested by the Bishop, we can determine that as well when we have met in our separate Commissions. If we desire to discuss that matter when we are appointing this committee in order to indicate to them what might be the view that we would come to in final decision, they would have, if not instructions, yet suggestions from each Commission to help that Joint Committee decide when it came together. After the pending matter is settled, I propose to make the other motion, that we separate and these matters be considered in the separate Commissions.

Edgar Blake: Before this motion is put, it seems to me that we ought to have an understanding that the committee that is to consider the status of the negro should be permitted to take under its consideration any and every phase of unification that will assist it in arriving at a satisfactory solution of the negro question.

Bishop Cranston: I thought it was better to have the Joint Commission fix its thought upon the point in view of its importance—that is all. If the Commission is satisfied with the proposition as it stands now, at five from each Commission, I shall of course be in the same situation as the rest of you when the report comes in.

The second item of the report as read above was adopted; and then the report as a whole was adopted.

Bishop Moore: I think it desirable that we should now take a recess in order that each Commission might make the appointment of its own committee.

Bishop Mouzon: Dr. Harris has a paper that he would like to present before we proceed to this.

A. J. Lamar: I do not see that it is necessary for our whole Commission to meet on that. Did we not appoint a Committee on Committees?

A. W. Harris presented a communication signed by Dr. William F. Warren. He read only the letter of transmittal, and the communication was referred to the Committee of Conference.

Bishop McDowell: I move that the Joint Commission do now take a recess to enable the separate Commissions to appoint the Committee of Conference, in accord with the resolutions just passed. It seems to me it is quite sufficient for each Commission to appoint its representation on this Committee on Conference, and then we can get together and go to work. Dr. Blake suggests that the Joint Committee on Conference be authorized to convene as soon as possible in this place, and I so move.

This motion prevailed.

Bishop Moore: I move that we adjourn to nine o'clock tomorrow morning unless called sooner.

This motion prevailed.

Each Commission was called to meet immediately upon adjournment.

The afternoon session closed with the benediction pronounced by Dr. A. J. Lamar.

SECOND DAY, TUESDAY, JULY 8, 1919.

The Joint Commission was called to order by Bishop Mouzon.

Dr. David G. Downey conducted the devotional exercises.

The hymn, "I love to tell the story," was sung.

Dr. Downey read the sixty-third Psalm.

Prayer was offered by J. R. Pepper and Alex. Simpson, Jr.

The members present united in repeating the Lord's Prayer.

Secretary Thomas read the minutes of yesterday afternoon's session, which were approved.

Bishop Cranston took the chair.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr., W. N. Ainsworth. Ministers: D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, F. M. North, C. B. Spencer, J. J. Wallace, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, W. D. Bradfield, A. J. Lamar, A. F. Watkins, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman,

J. E. Dickey. Laymen: A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, Ira E. Robinson, J. R. Joy, Alex. Simpson, Jr., C. A. Pollock, E. L. Kidney, M. L. Walton, W. J. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, J. R. Pepper, H. H. White, J. G. McGowan.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Is any committee ready to report?

Bishop Cannon: Dr. Blake is the Secretary of the Joint Committee constituted yesterday, and I wish him to report.

A. W. Harris: I think the Chairman, Bishop Cannon, can report.

Bishop Cannon: As the names of the members from each Church should be placed on the record, I can call them: Bishop McDowell, Dr. Goucher, Dr. Blake, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Harris, Dr. Thomas, Dr. Bradfield, Judge White, Mr. Maddin, and myself from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The committee organized by the election of Bishop Cannon as Chairman and Dr. Blake as Secretary. The committee then discussed very informally and very freely (I think perhaps it would not be a reflection upon us to say very sincerely) the question that was before us. And we adjourned at 10:30 with an agreement that we would request the Joint Commission when it met this morning to give to the committee—I should say the thought was an hour. Ten o'clock was suggested. But it is now nearly 9:30. I think the thought of the committee was that we should have at least an hour this morning for our conference. And we make that request.

D. G. Downey: I move that the request be granted and that there be a recess until eleven o'clock.

This motion prevailed unanimously.

Bishop Cranston: The committee is in recess until eleven o'clock.

After the recess the Commission reconvened at 11:50 A.M.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Let the Commission come to order. Our committee has made its appearance.

Edgar Blake: In the absence of Bishop Cannon, the Chairman, the Secretary is instructed by the committee to say that the committee is ready to report, or will be ready to report just as soon as its report can be put into proper form. It is probable that it will require until the opening of the afternoon session for that work to be done, and we recommend that the Joint Committee take a recess until 2:30 this afternoon, at which time the committee will be ready to make its report. I move that the request of this committee be granted, and that we adjourn until 2:30 this afternoon.

Bishop Ainsworth: Might we not adjourn to meet at two o'clock to-day, in view of the fact that most of the members of

this body have not had very much to do through the morning and therefore could afford to stay a little longer this afternoon?

Bishop McDowell: The preparation of the report ought to have a little extra time. I make the suggestion 2:30 in behalf of Bishop Cannon.

On motion, the Commission adjourned until 2:30 P.M.

The benediction was pronounced by Bishop Ainsworth.

Afternoon Session.

The meeting was called to order at 2:35 P.M. by Bishop McDowell.

One stanza of the hymn, "I love thy kingdom, Lord," was sung.

Prayer was offered by Rev. F. M. North.

Secretary Thomas read the minutes of the morning session, which were approved.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Earl Cranston, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr., W. N. Ainsworth. Ministers: Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, F. M. North, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, W. D. Bradfield, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, A. J. Lamar, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey. Laymen: A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, E. L. Kidney, Ira E. Robinson, Alex. Simpson, Jr., J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock, M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, J. R. Pepper, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, H. H. White, J. G. McGowan.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Is the Committee of Conference ready to report?

Bishop Cannon: Mr. Chairman, the committee is ready with its report. I will request the Secretary, Dr. Blake, to read the action taken by the committee by majority vote; following which a statement by a minority will be read.

Edgar Blake: The following action was taken by a majority of the Committee on Conference:

> We desire to propose as the report of the Joint Commission that the colored membership of the Church shall be constituted and recognized as a Quadrennial or Regional Conference, with proportionate representation in the General Conference.

This report was signed by the Commissioners from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and by W. D. Bradfield.

Bishop McDowell: I desire to move the adoption of this report as thus presented.

Bishop Cannon: Mr. Chairman, I will present the statement of the minority of the Committee:

MINORITY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE CONCERNING THE STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNIFIED AND REORGANIZED CHURCH.

1. We suggest that there be the following Regional Conferences:
(1) A Regional Conference for Colored People.
(2) A Regional Conference for Latin America.
(3) A Regional Conference for Europe.
(4) A Regional Conference for Eastern Asia.
(5) A Regional Conference for Southern Asia.

2. These Regional Conferences shall have representation in the General Conference in proportion to their membership in full standing; *provided,* that each of such Regional Conferences shall be entitled to at least five clerical and five lay delegates. *Provided, further,* that the number of delegates from any one of these Conferences shall not exceed five per cent of the entire membership of the General Conference.

3. These Regional Conferences shall have the powers proposed for the Central Conferences as contained in the report of the Committee of Conference at the Savannah session of the Joint Commission on Unification.

4. Whenever the membership in full standing of any of these Regional Conferences shall exceed four hundred thousand, upon request of said Conference, the General Conference shall organize the membership of said Conference into an Associate General Conference with the powers proposed for such Associate General Conference in the report of the Committee of Conference at the Savannah meeting of the Joint Commission. Such Associate General Conference shall have representation in the General Conference of ten clerical and ten lay delegates, with the right to speak and vote in the General Conference on all matters which affect their relation to the Church.

5. The relation of these Regional Conferences to the General Conference may be changed by the vote of two successive General Conferences.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES CANNON, JR.,
P. D. MADDIN,
F. M. THOMAS,
H. H. WHITE.

Bishop Cannon: I will say that Judge White signed the paper, not agreeing absolutely with it in every particular, but sufficiently for him to feel that he preferred to sign it; and it is presented here as the expression of the views of the minority of the committee.

Bishop Cranston: The significance of this report evidently depends upon the associations of propositions there. I would like to have it read again. Perhaps others sympathize with that feeling.

Judge White stated that he signed the report with the understanding that the best designation would be "Missionary Regional Conference for Colored People."

Bishop Cannon: We agreed that while the word "missionary" was not used, yet the placing of the colored people in the same classification as Latin America, Europe, Eastern Asia, and Southern Asia did indicate that it was missionary jurisdiction. Yet

the word "missionary" is not used, because it might be offensive and might be misunderstood.

F. M. Thomas: I think it was agreed by those who have signed that the word "missionary" was practically in it.

P. D. Maddin: I understood that the word "missionary" was to be left out for the reason Bishop Cannon has given. That was done, after the other committeemen had given the reasons why they objected to the term "missionary" being used.

Bishop Cannon: I have no objections to inserting the word "missionary" in order that it may stand this way, and then if it seems wise to strike it out it can be done. That will leave the report as it is.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Is it offered as a substitute for the majority report?

Bishop Cannon: No. But I have no objection to making a formal motion. This paper has not been presented to our Commission at all for any action of our Commission thereon. It has not been read since our committee stated the substance of it to our Commission. A gentleman asked me that question, and I am making this statement for that reason.

Bishop Moore: I would be very glad that these two reports should not come in as majority and minority reports. It would be a pity to pit one against the other. I would like for them to come in as two reports from the Committee, signed as they have been, one by six and the other by four; that the two might be before us and we could send them to our various Commissions and discuss them and then come back with them.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I know of no parliamentary usage that would justify that.

Bishop Moore: We could make some.

Bishop McDowell: That, Mr. Chairman, shows a right kind of new bishop. When a precedent does not exist, make one!

C. B. Spencer: Mr. Chairman, I rise to ask a question for personal information. I was not quite certain, in hearing Bishop Cannon's report, as to whether the negro membership included the negro members in Africa, for example, as well as in this country.

Bishop Cannon: Yes, sir.

C. B. Spencer: Let me ask also, Does it include the negro members that might be in Brazil and elsewhere in South America?

Bishop Cannon: No, sir. In this country and Africa.

W. D. Bradfield: Mr. Chairman, I do not know just what the wisest procedure would be, but I trust we will induce Bishop McDowell to speak. My own personal preference was—

At this point it was asked that Bishop Cannon re-read the report, which was done.

Bishop Cranston: I noticed a discrepancy between the two readings. First, it was said that they *might* ask and be organized; secondly, that the General Conference *shall* organize.

Bishop Cannon: No. Whenever the membership shall exceed four hundred thousand, *upon request* of said Conference the General Conference shall organize.

Bishop Cranston: My hearing is not so good as it was once; but I am very apt to hear the things I want to hear!

W. D. Bradfield: I arose to say that I very frankly told the Committee of Conference that it would be much more likely that we would get this paper signed by our four brethren, through our Church; and only when assured by Bishop McDowell that after a very careful and brotherly and prayerful consideration of the subject our Commissioners from the Methodist Episcopal Church cannot agree to anything less than proportionate representation—I said then, "For unification I am willing to submit the question of proportionate representation to our own Church, South." Now, I believe that the most helpful procedure at this point would be a careful statement by Bishop McDowell of the situation in this region of our great country, and a likewise statement from Bishop Cannon of the situation in the region South. We are here, brethren, not as diplomats. We are here as counselors. We are here, I believe, every man of us, with an open mind. And I am sure, I am sure that the disposition is not in the heart of any Southern man to make conditions difficult and hard for our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and I am equally sure that there is not any desire in the heart of any of our brethren in the North to make the conditions hard for the Southern Church. I am sure that we feel that unification ought to come. I am sure that we had a practical demonstration in the Centenary of what a united effort will bring. I am sure that every heart and mind here is open to the call of the ruined and distressed world. And I am sure, brethren, that we feel that our Methodism in America is to be the leader in the reconstruction and in the redemption of this world. Now, some days ago I saw in the daily press a statement from one of our colored editors in the North, commenting upon the fact that a labor union had received the negroes into its membership, commenting upon the fact that the negro must turn to economic and industrial organizations rather than a hypocritical Church for liberty and for leadership. I believe the day has come when a united Methodism ought to put its hand, a brother's hand, into the hands of our colored brethren, and not relegate them to socialistic leadership in this land of ours. I move that we have this brotherly statement from dear Bishop McDowell, and from

our good Bishop Cannon, that we may see with brothers' eyes just what the situation is in each section of our country.

This motion was seconded, and prevailed without dissent.

Bishop McDowell: Mr. Chairman, the persons who have served on this Commission for the last two or three years will recognize this as rather an extraordinary, if not superfluous, procedure, that the Commission should feel obliged to request me to speak, in order to get a speech out of me! It must seem very strange to those of you who have come all the way since Baltimore! Evidently, only a new member of the committee would have suggested such a course. I may say, with all frankness and unaffectedness, that this is so sudden and so unexpected that I am hardly prepared to respond to it. I had supposed that the debate would proceed in a somewhat regular way, and that I might take my part in it at such time as would seem wise to me, not necessarily at such time as might seem wise to the Commission. But, Mr. Chairman and brethren, I am wholly willing to make an endeavor to respond to the motion that you have just passed, fearing that I shall omit many things that I ought to say and may say imperfectly some things that will find expression, but sincerely desiring to come to the heart of the matter by the most direct and simple process and way. We have had a very large amount of very able discussion of this profound question. Rereading, as I have done recently, the debate that took place at Savannah, I desire to record my immense admiration for the candor and the frankness, the whole spirit of that debate. We did not agree; but very few words, if any, were said by any person there present which he would not be willing, I think, to have his descendants read in all the years to come. And that is a very high tribute to the debate on so difficult a subject as this. Now, in the course of that debate and in the course of our voting and consultation back and forth, a good many different propositions, first one and then another, were made. These propositions were all made with the sincere desire to find, if possible, a way through the difficulty that we all felt. They were not final expressions of our judgment. If we should be told that at Savannah we made such and such propositions, we should answer "Yes"; and we should reply that a good many propositions have been made since Baltimore which are not now before us. For there has been nothing more marked in the whole history of our negotiations than the general growth and expansion and clarification of our views. Now we have come up to this session of the Joint Commission. The Committee on Conference met, with five brethren from each Commission; and each member of that committee talked out frankly and fully his present view of this particular question—namely, the status of the negro in the united Church. We did not talk out at length the relation of

that vital question to many others. It seemed to the Commissioners from the Methodist Episcopal Church that the time had come for us to face this simple question. And if I may repeat here what I tried to say there, I tried to state the question in substantially these words: "Can the Commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, accept, in accord with the suggestion of the Federal Council at Chattanooga, a Regional Conference for the negro membership with proportionate representation in the General Conference? Can the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, conscious of its responsibilities to the South, conscious of the conditions in which it does its work in the South, obedient to Jesus Christ and wanting to do his will in the world—can the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, accept that arrangement? Can the Annual Conferences in Mississippi and Alabama and Georgia and elsewhere in the South accept such arrangement and go forward with their work among the people whom in God's providence they are sent to serve?" That serious question is asked upon one side. The other serious question would be this: "Can the members of the Commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church stand for and accept and recommend anything less than that? Can we discharge our legal, our moral obligations to the negro members who belong to our Church on any other basis than that? Can the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with the history of that Church behind it, with the task of that Church before it in America and in Africa, with our missionary endeavor pressing down upon us, with our acute consciousness of the race conflict in America and the world—can we stand for and accept anything less than proportionate representation in the General Conference for the negro membership?" Now, Mr. Chairman and dear brethren, those were the questions that were laid down. And those were the questions which, with a kind of candor that warms my heart to remember, with a brotherly kindness that I shall carry the memory of through my lifetime—those are the questions, in themselves and in their reach and in their implication, that we have tried to answer. That we have two reports is due to the fact that a part of the Committee of Conference felt that it could only answer these questions in the one way, and a part of the committee felt that it could answer them only in the other way, and all of us alike sincerely desiring the same thing—namely, the unification of the Church and the glory of God and the strength of our Church in all the world. Now, I understand that at this time you do not desire anything more from me than a simple statement as to the processes that went forward in the committee, and do not desire from me at this time an argument as to why I favor the majority report as presented. If this

does state the case in accord with Dr. Bradfield's wishes, I am very glad. If this is not quite what you want, Dr. Bradfield, I am very sorry.

W. D. Bradfield: It is not quite. I did not want an argument. I just want those reasons that had convinced you why the Methodist Episcopal Church could not take less than this. I did not want an argument; I did not want a discussion—just a statement of the situation here and down yonder.

Bishop McDowell: With your permission, I will be very glad to go on a moment to state the reasons. These reasons have already been well and fully stated in the elaborate debates that have taken place before. We felt that now we ought to meet this question in a simple and uncomplicated way, detached from everything else. That is why we submitted just the simple proposition, without tying it up with the elaborate arrangements for dealing with other issues, like the Church in Europe, the Church in Asia, the Church in Latin America. It was felt that we had come so far now that we ought to look at this simple question: Can we offer less, can you accept this? Now, Mr. Chairman, the reasons that convinced us that we should not offer less are, among others, these: (1) The legal rights and standing of our negro membership, which cannot be abridged or disregarded by us. (2) Our historic attitude and our sense of our moral obligation in view of our history, in view of our relations to the negro people, in view of our desire to do our missionary work among them, in view of our whole theory of the Church of Christ, convinced us that we could not offer less. (3) Our conviction that in the present state of American life, with the increased sensitiveness between the white race and the black race in America, the Methodist Episcopal Church ought not to help to add to the chasm between those two races. And that feeling we have quite as strongly for the South as for any other part of the country. We have it particularly also for ourselves, because great numbers of negroes have come into the North. (4) And we felt that we could accept no less and face our missionary task, our missionary purpose, and our missionary ambition and aspirations, now mightily enlarged by the success of the Centenary movement. It seemed to us that for us to do this would stop, in part if not in whole, would seriously complicate the whole avenue of our approach to the black population of the world; and that we are not willing to do. Now, Mr. Chairman, the rest of all the reasons are in the minds of all of us, but these are the things that we have in our minds now. We do not pretend, Mr. Chairman, to determine what is duty for anybody but ourselves. We do not pretend to determine what anybody else's obligations and responsibilities are. I may be going beyond my province just now in saying that if you should take a wholly

different view we should know in our hearts that you were taking that wholly different view under a sense of duty and obligation just as strong as that which rules us. It is in that spirit that we have conducted our negotiations, it is in that spirit that we present the report now. Thank you very much.

Bishop Cannon: Mr. Chairman and brethren, I hardly think it necessary to insist or to emphasize that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, desires the unification of the two Churches, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Our leaders are men of sufficient vision to recognize that Methodism has a great responsibility in the world to-day, and that God has indicated our duty to the world of Protestant Christendom in carrying on aggressive warfare against sin in this country, in Europe, and in all the world. I do not think that anything need be said to emphasize the sense of responsibility which is felt by the members of our Commission on that point. We know, as Secretary Daniels said so forcibly at Columbus last Saturday, that Methodism is the Church that leads in all the great reform movements in this country, and that we are recognized as a militant Church against all forms of sin. And we are feared as no other Church is feared by the hosts of wickedness. We know also that if Roman Catholicism is to be met in this country and in Europe, Methodism must lead the van; and I am more deeply convinced than ever, than I was at the Oklahoma General Conference or at the General Conference in Atlanta, that we ought to go to the extreme limit of our convictions in order to attain this unification. I believe there is only one question to be asked by each of us here, and that is, "What will, what policy will, what course will best advance the interests of the kingdom of God on earth?" In an article that I wrote some years ago on this subject, and in some other articles since, I have stated very frankly that I thought this was a matter of the highest Christian expediency, that I thought the separation in 1844 was a matter of Christian expediency, and that our fathers acted wisely and for the best interests of Methodism in both sections of our great country when they decided that they could best do the work that God had called Methodism to do, in two organizations rather than in one. Now, to-day, the question of expediency confronts us again. What is best for the kingdom of God? For us to unite or to stay apart? And if we agree that it is best to unite, what plan can we adopt that will secure the best possible results? Well, our General Conference in Atlanta recognized, just as this Commission does to-day, that the question which must be settled was the question of the status of the negroes in the Church; just as in a measure that was the question in 1844—not constitutionally, but as an incidental question that threw the whole Church into a ferment.

And our General Conference at Atlanta certainly expressed its great concern about this matter in such fashion that the delegates from our Church cannot hesitate in agreeing to go farther perhaps than our Church has ever gone before. The General Conference at Atlanta had before it two reports, the majority and the minority, and in the minority report there were two paragraphs concerning the status of the negro in the unified Church. One said that no further action looking to unification is proper to be taken by us until such time as the Methodist Episcopal Church has taken proper and suitable action with reference to the negro question. The next paragraph said that we believe it due to Christian candor to say that our Church cannot safely depart from the policy that it has followed since the organization of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America in 1870, with reference to Methodism in the United States, and cannot accept any plan of unification which would tend to weaken its interest in or withdraw its interest from the said Church, to which we are bound by the most sacred obligation. After a very full discussion of that minority report in the Committee on Church Relations it was voted down by—well, I think perhaps that only the signers voted for it; there may have been two or three more who favored the report. And when it came to the General Conference, so determined, as I understand it, was the General Conference that our Commission should not be hampered with positive instructions on this question, that they should be free to negotiate, to discuss, to bring back the best plan they could, that the minority report was finally withdrawn, because the framers of it saw that there was no chance at all for its adoption. And the majority report was adopted with a vote against it, I think, of perhaps only six or eight. Before that happened, however, Dr. J. O. Willson offered a resolution as follows: "We further instruct our Commission that the welfare of the South and the fixed opinions of the great body of our people make it very necessary, if the peace of our Zion is to be preserved, not to vary from the Oklahoma declaration as to the place of the negro in unified Methodism, and that we must take care of the interests of all Methodism in this country." That resolution did endeavor to bind the Commission to the Oklahoma declaration, so that they could not vary from it at all. That resolution was laid on the table by a great majority. I felt therefore, in acting on this committee to which I have been appointed by my brethren, free to follow out what I thought to be the attitude of our Southern Methodism on this question. And while I said frankly at Oklahoma that I thought the plan we proposed was the better plan, that the negroes should be in an independent organization with the closest possible fraternal relations to our Church (and I still think that that is the better

plan), yet, as the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church say frankly, flatly, that that is an impossible proposition, that they have a negro membership in their Church which is not willing to be set apart in an independent organization, and that they cannot withdraw themselves from their negro membership (and I agree to that; I understand their position; I do not think they can), we are faced, therefore, with the fact that they cannot withdraw, that the colored brethren are unwilling to go into this independent organization, and therefore if we are going to stand for that position we might as well discontinue negotiations now and wait for another time. I do not think our Church meant that. I do not think our General Conference meant that. There may be brethren on our Commission who do think that. But I do not. And in acting on this Committee of Conference, I have tried to represent what I think is the view of our Church. I say this because it may not be clear to some brethren of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They may not recognize that, in presenting this report which we have presented, we have gone further to meet them on this question than we have ever gone before. In fact, the records show that with very minor variations this is exactly the proposition that your Commission presented to our Commission at St. Louis, when the Savannah proposition had been at last laid aside, if not voted down, and your Commission presented practically this proposition to our Commission. And it was sent down to our General Conference in this document for us to consider, along with other actions taken by that Commission. We have practically agreed to their proposition. And why have we been willing to do that? How could our Commission or our committee agree to that position? Well, because we think that this paper does recognize what we consider to be fundamental, and what we think is in accord with the position taken in the past by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church agrees with us that the negroes should have separate congregations; and that is your practice. The Methodist Episcopal Church agrees with us that the negroes should have separate Conferences; and that is your practice. The Methodist Episcopal Church is proposing to adopt the Chattanooga platform, which provides that the negroes shall be in a separate Regional Conference. That is the proposition presented to us to-day. Now, those three things indicate very clearly that both Churches are agreed that the negro is not to be, in the unified Church, in exactly the same relation as the white membership. No question about that at all. We all are agreed on that by our practice and by the proposition that is now made up. He is in a different relation—namely, he is by himself, so far as his local activities are concerned.

Bishop McDowell: Mr. Chairman, if Bishop Cannon will allow me, I would not like that statement to go, with the understanding that it is accepted as an accurate interpretation of the relation of the negro members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. I do not care to do more than say that.

Bishop Cannon: I am very frank to say that I had no intention of not stating what I understood to be the fact—namely, that the negroes in the Methodist Episcopal Church do have separate congregations—

Bishop McDowell: They do.

Bishop Cannon: Do have separate Annual Conferences—

Bishop McDowell: They do.

Bishop Cannon: And that the proposition of the Chattanooga plan is that they shall have a separate Regional Conference.

Bishop McDowell: It is also true that the white people have separate Regional Conferences.

Bishop Cannon: He is put in a separate Regional Conference, just exactly as the white membership is in separate Regional Conferences; but the fact that he is placed in separate congregations and is in separate Conferences, and that we propose to put him in a separate Regional Conference—that fact clearly indicates that there must be some reason why this procedure is followed. We of our Commission think that that procedure is wise because we think the negro is still, first, largely a missionary proposition; that the negro is an immature race; that the negro is a child race; that he should be dealt with from the missionary viewpoint—not every individual, not every single Church, but as a mass; that while one negro Church may develop, or the negro may develop in one section, yet for the negro as a mass this Regional Conference which we are proposing is what is best for him and is to our view similar to what we propose for the Mexicans, the Brazilians, and the inhabitants of Argentina; people who have equally as much civilization as the negro, but who are distinctly missionary so far as the relation of the Church to them is concerned. We propose, therefore, that the negro shall be placed in one of these Regional Conferences, just as are the Latin American people and the people of Europe and the people of Eastern Asia and the people of Southern Asia. And that he shall be given a representation in the General Conference that is limited at both ends—namely, that he shall not have less than a certain number, and that he shall not have more than a certain number. Why should we put that limitation? Because we do not think that it is wise to bring into the General Conference a larger proportion of delegates than five per cent from this Colored Regional Conference, and from those other Missionary Regional Conferences, giving as a maximum of those people, who differ from us in race and in

habits and in methods of thought, no more than 25 per cent, we may say, of the total membership of the General Conference. We from the South are willing to agree that the colored man shall have his Regional Conference, just as we do, and that he shall come into the white General Conference, but with the representation that is suited to his immaturity, his lack of development, his missionary relationship. And now, to us of the Southern Church that is a question just as much of moral right, of moral sense, as it is for you brethren a question of moral right when Bishop McDowell states that the negro is entitled to full representation without any limitation whatever. We honestly believe that it is best for the negro, that it is best for the white man, that there shall be that difference so long as the negro is in the present immature state and so long as he is largely a missionary proposition. Your Church figures will show that the Freedman's Aid Society and Home Mission Board are pouring money out for the development of your Negro Conferences; just as we are pouring money out for our Mexicans on the border and for other Mexican work, so you are pouring out missionary money. They are clearly still, as a mass, a missionary field, a missionary people. I do not hesitate to say, brethren, that I think it will be far better for the negro and far better for the white people if the Churches unite. I believe that the opportunity for friction will be greatly abated thereby. I believe that the man who, either in the black race or in the white race, desires simply to stir up racial questions for some personal reason will find little field for such conduct when the Church is unified and reorganized as we are proposing. I think there will be a very great gain for both negroes and whites by this method that we are proposing to follow. Now as to the expediency of it. I told the committee, first, and I say here just what I said there, that if I were convinced that the plan proposed by the majority report here would be adopted by your Church and by our Church, and that the plan we proposed could not be adopted by your Church even if it were adopted by our Church, I desire the unification of Methodism so greatly that I might be able finally to vote for that plan. But I do not believe it. I believe that the possibility for the adoption of the plan proposed by the majority report is very much less than the possibility of adopting the plan proposed by the minority. I say frankly that there will be a very great deal of objection even to this plan among many of our people. They will say that it is giving the negro representation in the General Conference, and until they get to the bottom of it they may say "proportionate" representation. And we must answer that by saying "No, it is proportionate representation with a limit, which safeguards the General Conference from too great a number of the representatives of the im-

mature race." And I can stand for that, and I can advocate that action on the missionary basis among the people of our Church. But as to the other plan, I say very frankly that I doubt, I greatly doubt whether it can be carried through the General Conference and through the Annual Conferences. It might be adopted by a majority of our Commission. It might be adopted by a two-thirds vote of our General Conference. That might be possible. But it would be exceedingly difficult, I think, for it to be adopted by three-fourths of the members of our Annual Conferences. I do not say it cannot be done. I am trying to be just as frank as I can be. It might be done; but it would be very difficult to do. Now I believe, brethren, that if you desire the unification of Methodism, you will recognize that the proposition we present to you does not really curtail the rights of the negroes who are at present in your Church. I would be willing, if it should turn out that to-day in your Church the representation should be six per cent instead of five per cent, simply to safeguard the point of the rights of your present membership, I would be willing personally to vote five and a half or six per cent to cover that point. But having done that, I feel that your own attitude toward the negro, with separate congregations and separate Annual Conferences and the separate Regional Conference, all indicates that you agree with us, in practice at least whether you can agree with us in theory or not, that the negro race is still an object of our missionary endeavor, of our deepest solicitude, of our helpful service; and that your brethren in your General Conference and in your Church would recognize that there was an opportunity given by the alternative proposition that as soon as the negro membership reached four hundred thousand they could go to the General Conference and ask for an Associate General Conference, and the General Conference would be obliged to give them that if they want it. Then they would have equal rights and privileges in every way, and they could have twenty delegates in the General Conference to speak and vote on any question that pertained to their own interests in the United Church. I do trust that you can see your way clear to adopt the paper, not necessarily in every item of it (it might be subject to some little adjustment as to the powers of the Central Conferences and Associate General Conference), but the principle which we have laid down in this paper, that this contains your realization that the four men who have signed it have gone as far as they think it is safe and right to go, if we are to go down to our Church with much hope of securing the adoption of the plan. I am open to conviction. If I can be convinced that you are right and I am wrong, I will vote for your plan; but to-day I cannot see it that way.

A. J. Lamar: Simply to clear up the parliamentary situation, for as I understand it at present the minority report, or whatever you call it, has no standing, I move the adoption of the minority report as a substitute for the majority report, just to get it before us in a parliamentary way.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The report is before you in that shape now.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: There is one matter with which Bishop McDowell dealt, which he left, however, in an uncertain attitude, which, in my judgment, ought to be made very clear, so that when consultation is had, especially in the separate Commissions, each of us may be enabled to obtain the legal judgment of the judges and lawyers in the separate Commissions, and vote intelligently from the standpoint of the advice they have given. In my opinion, the minority report, if adopted by this Commission, adopted by both General Conferences, adopted by the Annual Conferences, and proclaimed to be in force in the Church, could be overthrown in equity by the action of any of our negro members. Now I put that exceedingly broadly, as you observe, for I mean to have it understood just in that way. I say it because there are a number of lawyers here who can correct me if they disagree with me and advise properly in regard to it. Bishop Cannon accurately stated the situation when he said, in view of the fact that those colored brethren are to-day members of our Church they have certain rights of which they cannot be deprived without their consent. But the whole basis of his argument failed to apply that proposition. Their rights are not found in mass. It is not that those rights are to be determined by taking in bulk the total colored membership and determining what are the rights of the total colored membership in bulk. But the right of every individual member of the Church to-day, the Church being a voluntary organization, possessed of certain property—the right of every individual member in the Church as an individual is equal to the right of every other individual member of it; and he has a right to maintan at the bar of any court of competent jurisdiction an action in equity to prevent his being deprived of any substantial rights which any other member in like situation has. Now, I want you to get the expression I make there, "Any other member in like situation has." If in point of fact he is in the situation, by reason of his personal immaturity, that the law could put its finger upon him and say, "By reason of your personal immaturity the general Church has a right to say to you that you cannot act fully as every other fully mature person may act," that is within the power of the Church to regulate. It is likewise within the power of the Church to say that if you associate yourself in your Annual Conference or in your Church with a body of men who, taking

them altogether, are not of the same maturity as another Church or another Annual Conference, you may, as a member of that Church or of that Annual Conference, be deprived of the possession of rights which the other Church or other Annual Conference has. But that is not what this minority report proposes to do. We might as well face it squarely. It proposes to say to every colored member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as it is at present constituted, "No matter how mature you are, no matter how able you personally are to deal with every question which comes before the Church, you shall not have that right, simply because your skin is black." Now, that is the situation of it, and you have got to face it so. If we could go before some court, and say to that court, "Here is a substantial recognition by the law of the land of a substantial difference between this man and that man," then the law of the land would say, "You may give to this man more or less than to that man, because there is a substantial difference between them." But the law of this land to-day recognizes that the black man is entitled to the same suffrage rights, civilly, as the white man is. You may regulate it, as I have said, and you have regulated it, and the courts have sustained the regulation. But there has been no regulation made by a State, which the Supreme Court of the United States has sustained, which did not in some way turn to the individual and say, "Because of your lack in this or that regard you may be deprived." There is not a provision in any regulation of a Southern State, which has been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, that in the slightest degree varies from the principle I have expressed. What is the application of this? Every one of our existing members—I am not talking about those who are not members, but as to existing members—every individual existing member of the Methodist Episcopal Church has an equal right with any other individual existing member in the property rights of the Church and in lifting his voice and saying as to what shall be done with those property rights. That is putting it broadly. But is there a lawyer here that doubts it? I would like to hear one here if he has any legal doubt of that proposition. If there is none, you have answered the whole of the minority report. Unless you can get the consent of the colored membership to it, the minority report is not worth the paper it is written on. I am in entire accord with much that Bishop Cannon says. But I cannot lay my finger on Brother Jones and say, "You have certain rights that I have. I am going to take them away from you." I cannot do that. I have no desire to do it; but the law of the land does not permit me to do it. When you come to deal with this matter in your separate Commissions I want you to take that thought into mind. If we cannot devise some plan to accom-

plish what we want which will not interfere with the existing rights of our colored members, there is no use in undertaking to devise any plan. I think it would be perfectly proper without condemning the colored membership *en bloc,* to say to those who are in Conferences which are in fact missionary, "You shall be treated as Missionary Conferences." That is perfectly proper, for it is depriving no man of any rights. It is giving him in that relation exactly the same rights that every man in that relation has; and the law permits it. But to say to a man, "Though you are not in fact in that relation, you shall be treated as if you were," is to say what the law of the land will not let you say. And unless you want some one of our colored members (and any one of the whole multitude can do it) to file an appeal in equity and make all that you are endeavoring to do of no effect, you will hand them some other plan to accomplish what you wish to bring to pass than the plan that appears in this minority report. I am willing, if some plan can be found fairly and equitably and justly, to modify the report of the majority. I am not enough versed in the figures of our Church to know, and it is not necessary that I should know now; but if you have a choice between these two plans, you have a choice between one that is legal and one that is illegal; and if that is not a Hobson's choice, I don't know where you will find one.

Bishop Moore: I am rather hurt to confess that I cannot understand that speech. I do not know what you are talking about. That is not in my line. I am not a lawyer and do not know anything about law. So I cannot handle that part of it. I am trying to get at these two reports to find out the difference between them. It seems to me that the majority report had as its real core this one statement, that there shall be a Conference, a Regional Conference, for the colored membership. It does not make any difference what you name it. You can call it missionary, associate, administrative, or jurisdictional. We will probably change all these names. But there shall be a Regional Conference for the colored membership, which shall have representation in the General Conference, in proportion to its membership in full connection. That is what I understand the majority report to be. Am I wrong? I understand the minority report to add simply this other clause, "Provided that this representation shall not exceed five per cent of the entire membership of the General Conference." That is all the distinction I see between those two reports. It gives the negro proportionate representation in the General Conference—not a particle of difference there. The minority report provides that this membership of negroes in the General Conference shall not be beyond five per cent. What is it to-day? Five per cent. If you give him any proportionate representation, you get five per cent of

the General Conference. We will have in the neighborhood of six million members. There are about three hundred thousand negroes in full connection. That is about five per cent of the membership, five per cent of the General Conference. It seems to me that the white membership will grow as fast as the colored membership. There will be no perceptible change in twenty-five years. Why, then, put in this "five per cent"? That protects us against the coming in of any great block of colored Methodism.

Bishop Cranston: In expressing the judgment that there is no difference between the two reports, does not one report use the word "missionary" Regional Conference?

Bishop Moore: That is naming, just simply naming this Conference. Then that works itself out. We submit this to the Joint Committee, and all the naming will take care of itself. In adopting this word "missionary," it simply puts it in the list.

Bishop Cranston: If you take three hundred thousand members out of one of these Churches and class them with the Asiatic and African membership, they being Americans, does it not make a difference?

Bishop Moore: Not as I see it. I suppose it does for some people. But that is the way I see it to-day. I think we are about as close together as we could be and be apart at all. I have never known this Commission to be as close together as now. We have made immense progress since yesterday morning. The fine paper brought in by the Methodist Episcopal Church settled the matter of the Regional Conference; and now, so far as I see, the only thing dividing us is that matter of the five per cent. So I say that I really cannot understand the force of Judge Simpson's argument. I will be glad to have that cleared up.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I would answer the suggestion of Bishop Moore in this way. The difference is just exactly this: If you and I, having equal rights in a common thing, are entitled to protect our equal rights in the common thing, you may not take from me that equal right, nor I you; nor if three are in it can two take my rights from me. That is the difference here.

Bishop Moore: Do you think something is taken away here?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: That is exactly what this proposes to do.

Edgar Blake: Does that point you make apply to our colored membership in Africa as well as to our colored membership in America?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: No, because they have never been in the situation that our colored membership here is in.

H. H. White: I hesitate very much to cross swords with the legal argument of so distinguished a lawyer as Judge Simpson, of Pennsylvania. I do not, however, fully appreciate the argument of Judge Simpson. For one lawyer, I do not agree with

him. My principal training in law has been in Louisiana, and under the civil law, and perhaps under somewhat different canons of law from those prevailing in most States. However, I think, in a matter of this sort, the general equitable principles of law prevailing here would prevail there, and *vice versa.* In the first place, I do not see where the negro is deprived of any rights. He has the right of communion in his Church, to sit in his congregation, to take part in his Conferences, Church Conference, Quarterly Conference, District Conference, Annual Conference, and Regional Conference. There is certainly nothing taken from him in reference to this supreme General Conference which is contemplated, because that is a new Conference, created by the instrument which we are presumed to adopt, and thereby additional powers and rights given to him there that he does not now possess. He is not deprived, as I see it, of any physical or of any property rights that he now enjoys. If this is adopted, he will have his share in every piece of property owned by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Therefore I do not believe—though I say I differ from so distinguished a lawyer as Judge Simpson with great hesitation, and have made no special study of this subject—but I do not believe that under the plans contemplated by the report which Bishop Cannon has read there is any equitable or legal right of which the negro would be deprived that could be enforced in any court of common law or in any court of equity. While I do not entirely agree with him, perhaps (though again I say I would hesitate to differ from Judge Henry Wade Rogers on any question of law, for he occupies, as I apprehend it, a position as high as that of any justice in the United States, unless it be one of the Supreme Court justices of the United States), in discussing this very matter (unless I am misinformed the very report referred to in part in this report read by Bishop Cannon), Judge Rogers said, as reported, on pages 354, 355, and 356 of the proceedings at Savannah*:

> The reason why we provide "without the right to vote" is because these members will have the right to vote in their own General Conference; and having the right to vote there, it seemed hardly the thing to provide that they should have the right to vote in our General Conference. Now, if you will allow me a few words, I desire to call attention to the fact that the proposition now submitted, if adopted, will not deprive a single colored member of his membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church. I also call attention to the fact that by express provision it will not deprive him of any right of property. It does, however, take from him the right to sit and vote in the General Conference, except as he may sit there as a member of an advisory commission. I also say that there is nothing in the law of the land or in ecclesiastical law which makes it illegal for us to adopt the proposition as proposed. If we make it a part

*See pages 339 and 340 of Volume II. of these Proceedings.

of the Constitution of our united Church, no rights of property will be illegally divested. The State of New York adopted, the other day, an amendment to its Constitution. The Constitution of that State gave the right to vote to white male citizens. The amendment dropped the word "male." What followed? That a woman in New York may now vote not only for presidential electors, but for a Senator of the United States and for a member of the House of Representatives; that she may vote for a Governor of the State, for members of the Legislature, and for all State officers. What else? That she may herself be elected a presidential elector; that she may herself be elected to the Senate of the United States or to the House of Representatives; that she may herself be elected Governor of the State or to the State Legislature, and even elected a Judge of the New York Court of Appeals. No one supposes that the fact that these rights have been conferred upon the women of New York by that amendment would prevent the State from repealing that amendment, thus withdrawing the rights granted. It could do it. When it adopted that amendment it did not affect any property rights. No woman in the State was worth a penny more or a penny less. Her property was just exactly what it was before, and if the State should now withdraw from her the right to sit in the Senate of the United States and in the House of Representatives or in the Legislature of the State, it will not affect her property rights in the least. Her rights of property would be just exactly what they were before the change took place. So here, so long as we do not deprive these brethren of their membership in our Church, or take from them their property rights, the Church can by a constitutional amendment withdraw from them their right to sit and vote in the General Conference.

And Judge Rogers goes on at further length and fortifies and elaborates that opinion. Now the position I am taking here—and I am rather defending an instrument that I am not particularly heartily in favor of—but I do not think it can be attacked on the ground of legality, and I am defending it from that standpoint. The instrument which we proposed does not by any matter of means deprive the negro of rights or privileges, ecclesiastical, personal, property, or otherwise, to anything like the degree that Judge Henry Wade Rogers's plan did. I suppose I can say, while I would not put my opinion against that of Judge Simpson, I will balance Judge Rogers and Judge Simpson and let you gentlemen judge which is the heavier of the two.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I want to know if Judge White does not see a difference between a voluntary organization in which every one has exactly the same interests in the property of the organization as very other, and a civil organization in which no one has any interest in the property of the organization.

H. H. White: I do not see just where that applies; and I cannot answer it, except this, that I believe that the rights of which Judge Rogers speaks are in the same category as here, only that Judge Rogers's plan takes away more rights.

Bishop Cranston: I do not know whether this question is pertinent or not, but it is historical. Dr. Lamar, do you remember on what basis the Supreme Court made its decision in ren-

dering its verdict after the separation of 1844? Was that the basis of individual membership in the South as compared with the North?

A. J. Lamar: I think so.

Bishop Cranston: Brother Simpson, I ask whether the Supreme Court which gave to the Church, South, a proportion of the Book Concern property acted upon the basis of individual membership or upon some other membership? My recollection is that it was individual membership.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: That was the case of Smith vs. Swormstedt. The Supreme Court divided all funds between the two Churches proportionately on the ground of membership, on the ground that the preachers and their widows in the Church, South, had a property right of which they could not be deprived. It was decided on that basis, and covers the matter now under consideration.

J. H. Reynolds: I raise a question. I presume it is due to my lack of legal acumen. But I have so far failed to have stated the points in which legal rights are destroyed. Is it property right, right to vote, or to hold office in the General Conference?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Nothing to do with the General Conference. Suppose that you and Judge Walton and I had a property right in this table, the property right in the table could not be taken away from me by the action of you and Judge Walton. Neither can you take the usufruct of this table away from me. So you cannot take away my right to protect my right in the table. But this action of the minority report is *pro tanto* a taking away the right of the colored man to protect his right in the property, and so forth, of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

J. H. Reynolds: Presuming that the colored membership is five and a half per cent of the total membership, and we give him six per cent of the total membership and limit it to that, would his power to protect his rights be destroyed?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: If ever it became equivalent to seven per cent, then every one now in the Church will say you are depriving him of his rights.

J. H. Reynolds: Of a potential right.

Bishop Ainsworth: I, too, want to ask Judge Simpson a question for my own enlightenment. I do not wish to enter into the debate concerning the legal proposition involved. Would not the assignment of your present negro membership to the Regional Conference be a deprivation to them of some rights that they now have? Might we not be estopped by legal action?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: Not at all. They would have proportionate representation in the General Conference and therefore all proportionate right, then as now, as other members.

Ira E. Robinson: I want to say that, while I think this matter of legality is not in place just now, it may do good. Judge White has taken up the advocacy of a thing he does not believe in. I have gone into cases before now for clients, not believing even in their reputations, and yet, being in the scramble for them and being paid by them, I came to believe that they were the best fellows in the world. I think Judge White is getting into the position of supporting this Conference Committee. I do not want to discuss the legal proposition. I have some views about it. The question is how far the civil courts will entertain this matter. Time and again they have refused to go into ecclesiastical matters. I think this question ought to remain in abeyance, and we should assume that the reunion of the two branches of the Methodist Church will be not out of legal questions, but out of the questions of love that have come in this day. So I hope we will proceed with the spiritual phases of the matter rather than the legal phases of it. I am very much pleased to see the sentiment that exists in this Commission. I confess that, attending the first meeting of the Joint Commission, I felt maybe we would never make any progress in unification. That had nothing to do with my refraining from going to Savannah. But at St. Louis I saw there was some forwardness. Here we are nearer together than ever. And we are going to get together, not by the discussion of legal propositions, but that we may make a great force for carrying on the spiritual life. My friends in West Virginia say that in talking on these matters I always want an old-fashioned Church. So I do, and I believe we are going to get back to that old faith that has been my anchorage from my boyhood days. Let us not get away from the very crux of it all, the faith our mothers taught us. I am willing to concede many things that I do not want to concede, for the sake of unification, providing you do not get away from that verse my mother taught me, "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life." I am talking off the subject, getting away from that which is before the Commission, practically; but, brethren, whatever we do, let us not forget, in the reunified Church, to keep to the traditions as closely as we may, let us keep to the life of Methodism. I think sometimes and feel that perhaps we are getting too much into a business fashion and away from the personal spiritual fashion. I am glad that Methodists, North and South, are getting together more than ever. But I am not much for a sort of wholesale religion. Again, I may say that the legal proposition is always one difficult to deal with and one that in the negotiation ought to be avoided. In fact, it is the province of the modern lawyer to keep one away from legal propositions. Here we are, we men of the Methodist Epis-

copal Church, saying that the question is never going to arise anyway, because we cannot think of putting the colored brother out. We want to keep him, because we want to continue our great work of caring spiritually for all the races, black, white, red, or any other color.

R. E. Blackwell: What is the real difference between the two propositions as to the number of representatives in the Central Conference?

Bishop Moore: None; no difference whatever.

R. E. Blackwell: I want to know what is the difference between the majority and the minority proposition as to the number of colored representatives in the General Conference. That is, immediately. You say none. So, then, the only question is as to preventing all the other Negro Methodist Churches rushing into this combination. Is that the only difference?

J. H. Reynolds: I want to ask another question. I understood you to say that if we fix six per cent as the limit of representation in the General Conference, when the colored membership exceeded that per cent in numbers they would have the right to go into court and have declared null and void the operation of that six per cent. That being the case, I want to ask you this question: Is not the colored man, and are not his rights, as well protected under that document as under the one you prepared? Because it would at once be set aside as null and void, and he would have the rights of representation in the General Conference even as now. In other words, that would be the only feature of that document that would be set aside by the courts, and the rest would stand intact and his rights and privileges would be as much protected under that instrument as under the other.

D. G. Downey: There seems to be an effort here on the part of the friends of both these reports to make it plain to us that there is no real difference between them. Bishop Moore argued that it simply meant proportionate representation, and that that was all. If that is all that it means, why not take the simple and plain report, without a lot of additional and extraneous matter, if that additional and extraneous matter is of no moment? He further argued that the growth between the negro membership and the white membership would probably always keep them on a parity. If that is so, if we really believe that, why cumber the thing up? Now, brethren, the simple fact is this—

Bishop Moore: A question of personal privilege. I think Dr. Downey did not hear something I said. Didn't you hear me say anything about why we put that five per cent in?

D. G. Downey: Yes. You said it made no matter.

Bishop Moore: I said it did matter; that it protected against any large number of people coming in in the future.

D. G. Downey: Then that part of your speech negatives the

other part. With me and others of us it is not a matter of numbers; it is a matter of discrimination. And the point is that we do not feel that there ought to be any discrimination. And there is a further point, that we do not believe that it is wise for the future of Methodism to cumber it up with a lot of Conferences and a lot of machinery like Regional Conferences and Central Conferences and Associate General Conferences and General Conferences. All this, Mr. Chairman and brothers, is devised as machinery to accomplish a certain purpose. Now, if we have just one simple purpose—to wit, that we may get together, with the colored membership of our Church having its proper place as a Regional Conference with other Regional Conferences and proportional representation without any strings to it, plain, simple, and clear—that is one thing and everybody will understand it. If we attempt anything else, no matter how we may strive to cover it up, in a proper way, everybody will also know what we mean. Now when the Church is united and we have a General Conference, it is perfectly easy for us then to do the things that the Spirit of God will indicate to us as the right things to do. The thing for us to do to-day is to do the thing that seems to us to be right in the sight of God. We can trust some things to the future. I think it was Bishop McDowell who said, "If the brethren of the Southern Church feel that they must vote for the Southern plan or some other like it, I would have as much confidence that they are voting for what they think right as that I am doing so." We are all striving to do that. Let us vote according to the way which seems best to us at the present time, for the present emergency; and let us have a certain faith in the future. I think that we ought to understand that there is a difference between these reports. If there is not a difference, let us take the simpler plan. If there is a difference, brothers, let us not strive at this stage of our proceedings in any sense to cover it over. In heaven's name, let us bring it out plain and fair and simple, so that we may know just what we are doing.

Bishop Cannon: I have a question of personal privilege. When Dr. Blackwell asked whether there was any difference and Bishop Moore replied to the question, it might have been felt that I acquiesced in that answer. But I did not. I thought that the speech I had made indicated that I did think there is a discrimination made as to the negro, because they are a missionary, immature people. That is my answer to Dr. Downey. There is no question at all that there is a difference in the reports, and it is made on the basis that the negro people are a field for missionary operation. That is why we make the difference.

D. G. Downey: I understood Bishop Cannon so to say. And I did not at all indicate that I did not understand what he said.

Bishop McDowell: A question of personal privilege. I feel that it ought to be said in all fairness that the two reports are presented because in the judgment of those presenting them they are different.

F. M. Thomas: The members of the committee from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have had no opportunity to confer with their Commission on the problems before this Joint Committee. We have not had a meeting since our last General Conference until this session. At the meeting of the Committee of Conference it was inadvertently suggested that such a meeting could be held. Then some one called attention to the fact that some might consider that a breach of courtesy, if a part of the Joint Committee talked with our Commission, and so we decided not to talk. But we resolved, after the matter had been presented here, to ask the Joint Commission the privilege of withdrawing, so that our Commission might discuss the matter somewhat. This is done because we were assured by the members of the committee from the Methodist Episcopal Church that they had had a rather full conference concerning this matter, and we felt we ought to have the same privilege; and I so move.

Bishop Hamilton: We did not hear that motion.

F. M. Thomas: The Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, decided to have a meeting after this matter was presented here, so that the members of the committee might confer with their Commission. They had not discussed the matter.

Bishop McDowell: Of course, there is only one motion to make, which I have pleasure in making—

Bishop Cranston: Before any motion is made, I would like to have a clear understanding of the facts. There has been no meeting with reference to the report of this Committee of Conference. We are all on a level here with regard to this report.

Bishop McDowell: Do I understand, Dr. Thomas, that the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church has had this report before it?

F. M. Thomas: No. We understood from the statement made in the Committee of Conference that you had discussed some phases of this matter rather fully, and so we ask this privilege.

Bishop McDowell: I make the motion that after necessary announcements the Joint Commission adjourn for the purpose of enabling the separate Commissions to meet if they wish.

J. F. Goucher: I rise to second the motion, and to say that I wish there were some way whereby we could hear the arguments and discussions of the Commissions.

Bishop McDowell: I was going to move that we would accept the invitation of the Southern Commission to be their guests!

Edgar Blake: Much has been said this afternoon concerning this matter. I do not care to debate the merits of either one of

these reports. I rise merely to point out what appears to me to be the only real difference between the two reports—and for that matter the only real difference that there appears to be between these two Commissions, on the negro question. I quite agree with what Bishop Moore has said, that we have gone a long way in our discussions and agreements on this matter. Indeed, I think we have traveled a far greater distance than any of us ever hoped we might do when we met in our earlier meetings. We have traveled a long distance since that first meeting at Baltimore. As I understand it, we have agreed that our colored membership shall remain in the Church as an integral part of the Church. We have agreed that our colored membership shall have their separate congregations, separate Annual Conferences—

Bishop McDowell: Mr. Chairman, I made the motion, in view of the fact that Dr. Thomas had presented what I understood to be a formal request from the Church, South, for the privilege of going into separate sessions.

Edgar Blake: I did not understand that that was a formal request from the Commission of the Church, South.

F. M. Thomas: That was the fact. We do desire to make the request formally, but had allowed the discussion to go on.

J. R. Pepper: We would be glad to have Dr. Blake go on, analyzing the situation.

Edgar Blake: I did not understand that I was trespassing against a request made by the Commission of the Church, South. I must apologize for having done so. But I greatly appreciate your courtesy in allowing me to continue. I was saying we have gone a long distance, and have reached an agreement that our colored membership shall remain in the Church as an integral part of the Church and shall have their separate congregations, Annual Conferences, and Regional Conference. Thus far, it appears to me, we are agreed. We are also agreed that our colored membership shall have representation in the General Conference, the supreme lawmaking body of the Church. We are agreed, as I understand it, in these two reports now before us, that our colored membership shall have a representation in the General Conference proportionate to their membership in full connection in the Church. On that matter there appears to be no difference between these two reports. They are as one. The only difference between the reports, as I see it, as it affects this particular matter, is that the minority report proposes that that representation shall never be in excess of five per cent of the entire membership of the General Conference. The majority report has no expressed limitation of any kind. As I understand it, that is the sole difference on this particular matter between these two reports.

Bishop Cooke: May I ask Dr. Blake a question there? Is not the real core of that question not the amount of representation but the status of the negroes? The reducing the status of the colored membership from full membership in the Church to a missionary status?

Edgar Blake: Not as I understand it. Let me call Bishop Cooke's attention to this fact: The minority report did introduce the term "missionary" after the report was presented here. But the introduction of the term "missionary" in no wise changed the privileges and the powers of the jurisdiction. Am I correct in that matter? I think I am.

Bishop Cooke: Did it change the status?

Edgar Blake: It did not change the status, in so far as the status had been defined in terms of privilege and power. That word "missionary"—let me say a word on that in passing. Personally I hope the word "missionary" will be dropped, if the Chairman of the Minority Committee will pardon the suggestion. And for this reason: We started out using that word "missionary" for the discussion of our foreign groups, but soon found that we were in difficulty. Our European brethren seriously objected to being designated as a missionary jurisdiction. Then we dropped it and took "Subregional," and dropped that, and took "Central," and dropped that, and at St. Louis we agreed that we would call all of these Conferences "Regional." But what I want to come back to, is this matter as to whether, granting the right to our negro membership to proportionate membership in the General Conference, there is any necessity for putting a limitation of five per cent on the representation? Now, there are those who feel that putting that limitation of five per cent upon the representation of the negro membership in the General Conference is a discrimination against the negro on account of his color. There are many who feel that way. Indeed, I think that is the principal objecton that lies in the minds of many. That is to say, we do not want to appear to discriminate against a man in this particular on account of the color of his skin. I think in a matter of this kind every one of us can afford to be generous, as I am sure every one of us desires to be generous. Surely this is a time, above all times, in this day and in this state and stage of the world, when the strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak. And unless there is some adequate reason for putting such limitation into our Constitution, it would seem to me it were better to leave out the discrimination, or the apparent discrimination. It has been stated here that there is some delicacy and some difficulty in the relation of the races. I am quite sure that we are facing a very serious relation between the races at this time, in the North. It was only last

week, in the city of Chicago, that a race riot occurred in which a negro lost his life. The next day a negro was taken from a street car in the South End and beaten almost to the point of death. We are facing a very serious situation in Chicago at the present time. And I do not believe that we, as representatives of the Church of Christ, can afford to do a single thing that will add so much as a feather's weight to the delicacy and difficulty of the situation that all of us want to alleviate so far as possible. Now, if it were necessary that such a limitation should be placed in order to save the kingdom of Christ or any part of our nation from real embarrassment of a serious kind, I confess to you I would favor such a limitation. All of you know what my position has been in the past. I have spoken my position from the housetops (sometimes I think rather too often). If I thought a limitation of this kind were necessary to safeguard the General Conference, the Church, or any section of the Church from a really serious or grievous embarrassment, I would not hesitate for a moment to advocate it. It has been said by my good friend Bishop Moore that this limitation of five per cent is necessary to prevent the colored people from coming *en bloc* into the Church. I presume that what he refers to is the possibility of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, or the African Methodist Episcopal Church, or the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, coming into the Church and uniting with us. What I want to point out is this, that those Churches are not coming in with us in this original union. If they come in at all, it will be after this union is consummated. After this union is consummated on any action looking toward the receiving of any other communion *en bloc* into the Church, or any other item before the General Conference, any two of the Regional delegations can ask for a vote by Regional delegations. And the vote shall be taken by delegations, and it shall require a majority of the Regional delegations to consummate the action. In other words, we hold it entirely and absolutely in our hands to state the terms under which any communion of any kind or character shall unite with ourselves. And therefore I do not think we need this five per cent limitation to save us from embarrassment in that particular. We may face, as some of you might think, the embarrassment that our negro membership as the years pass may increase in numbers to such an extent that they would have more than five per cent of the membership, ten or twenty per cent even, until they have enough members in America to entitle them to a representation in the General Conference that would be an embarrassment and menace to us. If I thought, Mr. Chairman, that the time would come when the negro membership would dominate the General Conference, or seriously menace its working efficiency, I would not hesitate for a moment to advo-

cate a limitation of five per cent upon its representation. But here are the facts, and I will use the statistics for 1916, the latest available that have been analyzed. According to those statistics, we will have a little more than six million members and probationers in the reorganized Church. Of that number, about three hundred and fifteen thousand people constitute our colored membership in full connection—that is, about five per cent. I think we all agree that three hundred thousand of our colored membership in a body of six millions cannot be any serious embarrassment to us, certainly not sufficiently so to require a limitation of the kind proposed. Then this other thing we have agreed to tentatively, that the General Conference shall consist of not less than six hundred and fifty nor more than eight hundred and fifty members. That is, we are to have a Conference in which a minimum and maximum membership are fixed. Proportional representation means that our colored membership in a General Conference of six hundred and fifty would have about thirty-two members; in a General Conference of eight hundred and fifty, a representation of about forty-two. I submit that that does not look like a very serious embarrassment. If the negro is to be in the General Conference at all, I do not believe that either thirty-two or forty-two will be a menace or embarrassment to us in any particular. "But," some one says, "our negro membership may increase, and their numbers in the General Conference may increase." What are the facts in the case? And I would like to get this into the thinking of our Southern and of our Northern brethren alike. A study of the growth of our Church for the last quarter of a century shows that our negro membership has been the slowest growing element in our Church. I regret that I have not all the data here this afternoon. The facts are in my office in Chicago. But I think I am stating the situation conservatively when I say that for the last five years the growth of our negro membership has hardly been more, proportionately, than one-half or one-third the growth of our white membership, and not more than one-fourth or one-fifth of the growth of our foreign membership. So you can see that, as we go on, the ratio of our colored membership to our white membership in this country and to our foreign membership abroad is going to be a decreasing ratio. If the increase in our white and foreign membership shall continue at the same ratio for the next ten years as for the last three or four years, we shall find that at the end of a decade our colored membership, instead of having five per cent of our membership, will have only about four per cent of our membership. If I were a representative of our colored membership, I would rather have a fixed ratio of representation than the proposed proportional representation. As it goes on, the rate of increase being

what it is, there will be a steadily decreasing representation of our colored membership in the General Conference. As a matter of fact, the five per cent limitation is not necessary to protect the Church from any embarrassment that some of you brethren feel. Of course I know that it would be an easier matter for some of our Southern brethren to explain to their people that an agreement has been entered into that the representation shall never exceed five per cent than to make this somewhat difficult statement that I have made. But the facts in the case are that, so far as our ratio of growth is concerned, the five per cent limitation is not necessary to protect the Church. Just this further word: I sincerely hope and earnestly pray that when these two Commissions have traveled the great distance we have traveled since Baltimore—and, thank God, we have traveled it together—somehow this Commission will stay on this thing until we see eye to eye and reach a conclusion that we can accept together in this matter.

Brethren, any plan of union which we devise is bound to leave its unhappy minority: this is a thing that we must keep in mind, that while any plan we may adopt may have its embarrassments, the failure to adopt a plan is likely to result in the most serious and most tragic embarrassment of all. Not the effect upon the minds of certain people, but the effect upon the kingdom of Christ of our failure to negotiate to a successful conclusion is what we must consider. At this hour, when we have been marching together so splendidly in the Centenary campaign and have put on a great exhibit that is challenging the attention of America, I wonder what we might not be able to do if we would really get together in one great united Church. The day is done for a sectional Church in America. The day is gone by for a Southern Methodism or for a Northern Methodism. America is united to-day. Was it not Brother Hines who brought in one of your Southern papers, during one of our meetings, which contained this beautiful poem—

Here's to the Blue of the wind-swept North
When we meet on the fields of France;
May the spirit of Grant be with you all
As the sons of the North advance!

And here's to the Gray of the sun-kissed South
When we meet on the plains of France;
May the spirit of Lee be with you all
As the sons of the South advance.

And here's to the Blue and the Gray as one
When we meet on the plains of France;
May the Spirit of God be with you all
As the sons of the flag advance!

That is the spirit of America. Right in this city two months ago I heard your own Dean Plato Durham say that last September when the English were advancing against the Germans and had driven them back until they had entrenched themselves behind the famous Hindenburg line, and it was the toughest proposition the British had ever faced, word was sent to General Pershing asking if there were any American divisions who could break through the German position. Pershing ordered up the 27th New York and the 30th Carolina. They came up under the cover of darkness. In the mist of the dawn they lined up to go over the top. A young Carolina captain found himself side by side with a New York captain. He raised his hand in salute and said, "Carolina, ready to die, salutes New York." Instantly the New York captain came to attention and said, "New York, ready to die, salutes Carolina." Then they went over the top together. You know the rest. Brethren, you may make up your minds to this, before God, that these boys of ours who have gone into the valley of the shadow of death and faced hell itself side by side are not coming back with much toleration for a sectional Church. I tell you that a divided Church can never save a united America. It is things like this that ought to force this Commission to get a toe hold here somewhere and say, "God helping us, we will stay by this proposition until we get our two Churches to come to an understanding so that we may go out unitedly in this new day to make the full impact of a united Church upon the life of America and the life of the world.

Bishop McDowell: In response to what I understand to be the request of Dr. Thomas, I renew the motion for an adjournment in order that separate sessions may be held if desired. I suggest that we adjourn until to-morrow morning.

Ira E. Robinson: Why cannot we come together in night session?

A Delegate: We have never got anywhere by night sessions.

Ira E. Robinson: We are all here in the same hotel. Laymen have other business than this. To be sure, this is of utmost importance; but we have other business. I agree with Dr. Blake that we ought to stay with this business. But since we are all located in this hotel, we could have a night session of an hour.

J. F. Goucher: If it is necessary or desirable for the Commissions to meet separately, it is equally necessary and desirable that they have some time in which to meet. It is hardly worth while for us to come together after ten o'clock at night. I think we would better come together in the morning.

It was voted unanimously to meet at nine o'clock Wednesday morning.

Announcements were made, the doxology was sung, and the session closed with the benediction pronounced by Dr. Nast.

THIRD DAY, WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1919.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Bishop Mouzon.

The hymn, "My faith looks up to Thee," was sung.

Rev. E. M. Randall read the sixty-seventh Psalm.

Mr. John R. Pepper and Judge Pollock offered prayer.

The members joined in repeating the Lord's Prayer.

The minutes of the last session were read, and approved with slight corrections.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Earl Cranston, W. F. McDowell, R. J. Cooke, E. D. Mouzon, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr. Ministers: Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, R. E. Jones, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, F. M. North, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, A. J. Lamar, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey. Laymen: A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, Ira E. Robinson, E. L. Kidney, Alex. Simpson, Jr., C. A. Pollock, M. L. Walton, P. D. Maddin, J. R. Pepper, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, J. G. McGowan.

Bishop Cranston took the chair.

Bishop McDowell: I rise to a question affecting the rules of procedure and the privileges of the house. Rule 7, adopted at Baltimore, says: "The deliberations of the Joint Commission shall be in secret session, and its proceedings shall not be disclosed until final action shall have been taken and officially promulgated, except by order of the Joint Commission." Monday, by vote of the Joint Commission, following a separate vote taken by each Commission, we admitted to the sessions of the Joint Commission the representatives of our official press. I rise simply to call attention to the fact, in my judgment, that they are admitted under this rule, and that the proceedings are executive proceedings, to which they are admitted, and they are here just as we are here, under this rule. I felt it was fair to them, perhaps not knowing of the existence of such a rule, that I should call public attention to it.

Edgar Blake: I am sure that all of us are very grateful to Bishop McDowell for calling this rule to the attention, not only of the editors, but of members.

Bishop McDowell: I did not feel the necessity of that.

Edgar Blake: I am sure that if we may judge from what has transpired in the past the members of the committee have been quite unconscious of the existence of this rule.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The Secretary will please give us the status of the discussion yesterday when we adjourned.

The Secretary: We were discussing the report.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): We had before us two reports, majority and minority, with a motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report. The debate was proceeding when, by request of one of the Commissions, the joint session closed for the day. A discussion on the report is in order. If no one desires to speak, the Chair will put the question.

Bishop McDowell: I do not rise to speak. I only rise to say that, if you are about to put the motion for the substitution of the minority for the majority report, we think we ought to understand the method of our parliamentary procedure, in view of the fact that there is a slight difference of usage among us. That is, we very often make two bites of a substitute. We first accept it and then have a motion for the adoption of it. The acceptance of a substitute simply puts it before the house in place of the original motion. I am not at all careful as to what the method of procedure shall be in this case, but only that we shall proceed with a perfect understanding and not find ourselves in a tangle after taking a vote on this matter. I therefore suggest that the vote on Dr. Lamar's motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report shall be regarded as being equivalent, if it should carry, to the adoption of the minority report, and that the single vote be all that is necessary, instead of the double vote that we ourselves sometimes use. Do I make that perfectly clear?

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Have we any rule on that?

Bishop McDowell: We have no rule. Our usage sometimes differs.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The Chair understands that under our procedure the acceptance of a report gives it precedence. Bishop McDowell's motion is— I am not sure that I heard a second.

The motion was now seconded.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Bishop McDowell's motion is that in the vote on the substitution of the minority for the majority report an affirmative vote be considered decisive— that is, equivalent to the adoption of the minority report.

F. M. Thomas: I am not going to burden you with a speech. I had a serious touch of insomnia since I have been here, and my head is not much like the head I have had down South. May I say this, and I speak out of my heart, there are some of us here who have labored long and prayerfully for unification?

A. F. Watkins: If Dr. Thomas will please excuse me, I do not wish to interrupt him, but there is a motion stated by the Chair which has not been put to vote.

R. E. Blackwell: Mr. Chairman, I would like to know exactly what the difference between the reports as to the question of proportionate representation is. That is, what we are to vote on?

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The question now is on a matter of parliamentary procedure. I will state the motion again: it is that the acceptance of the substitute in place of the majority report shall be considered equivalent to the adoption of the substitute. So that makes this vote decisive of the main question.

Bishop McDowell: That is all my motion involved. It is just an interpretation, and does not put the question as to the adoption of the report at all. It only puts the question as to the meaning of the vote when we take it.

P. D. Maddin: I do not understand, or else am misinformed. I do not understand that if we put the motion to adopt a minority report, and that fails, it is equivalent to adopting a majority report.

Bishop McDowell: It does not. The only question is a question of attitude to the difference of procedure in the two bodies. In our bodies we very often first of all take the vote upon the acceptance of the substitute—the minority report in this case. When that vote is taken, if it is affirmative, then the minority report is before the body for adoption, which is done by a second motion. If, now, the vote on the acceptance of the minority report as a substitute for the majority report should fail to carry, then the majority report is before the house for action. All I wanted was to make perfectly clear that the action upon Dr. Lamar's motion for the substitution of the minority report for the majority report should be perfectly understood when we come to take it.

A vote being taken, the motion was carried.

Bishop McDowell: Now the motion to substitute the minority for the majority report is before us.

F. M. Thomas: I am not going to make a speech. I am not physically able to do so. But I feel that in all the negotiations of the Joint Commission this is perhaps the most critical hour we have approached, for the Commission, for American Methodism, and for the world. We are confronted by the possibility of the unification of two of the most potential religious forces on earth. We are also confronted with the possibilities of evil contained in unwise action. I heard it stated yesterday, by brethren for whom I have the highest esteem and appreciation, that there is no difference between these two reports. Brethren, in my judgment (and I have thought through the matter for many years), there is a difference between these two reports almost as deep as life itself. And that question is the question of the right of certain groups of people to determine the destinies of other groups of people. That is the basic principle. It is a question of the interpretation of human life that we are dealing with here this morning, and not a mere matter of carpenter work. Your

Church has come to be the mightiest evangelistic Church on earth, under the working, at least in one department of your life, of one of the concepts presented in one of these reports, the majority report. The Church, South, has through suffering and tremendous vicissitudes come to be, perhaps with the exception of the Southern Baptist Church, the most potential homogeneous body on earth, working under another concept of life. I will say very frankly, brethren, that the concept presented in the minority report differs somewhat (I will not say from the concept of my Church, but I will say) from the concept that has prevailed in the political and social life of the section that we represent, in the years that are gone. This minority report registers a new approach of the Southern mind and heart to the very gravest problem that lies at its heart. In my judgment, the majority report registers an approach to the same grave problem which is far beyond the thought of the present South to-day. I have been hoping, brethren, I have been praying, and I have toiled, with the exception of Bishop Cranston, for unification as much as any man living. I have hoped that we might, under God, be able together here to formulate some concept of this great problem, which is not only an American but a world problem, a problem that confronts the English empire, which would register a just world concept in the light of Christian thought upon this problem; that it might be so framed that it would be a beacon light for all Christians everywhere in dealing with the various races of the world throughout the years to come. I do not say that my own is the Christian concept. I would not dare say that yours is not. You believe it to be. And you have done magnificent work for Christ under that concept. But, brethren, the two concepts are different—irreconcilably different. And I believe, if you will allow me to say so very frankly, that the adoption of either concept would create storm and confusion in that branch of Methodism which was confronted by a concept that it had long opposed. Now, brethren, we are instructed to bring about unification. I believe that this means the unification of American Methodism and not of a part of it. I tell you frankly, brethren (I may be mistaken), there are men here from my section of the country, though I am perhaps the most isolated man in my section, having spent my life entirely on the border—but I do say this very frankly (I may be mistaken), I question whether a large part of Southern Methodism could be adjusted to the concept framed in the majority report. It is not a concept that is indigenous to Southern life. It is a conception that has prevailed elsewhere. It is a question of how far races that have progressed in life can determine the destinies of other races less progressive. That is the question. On the other hand, the adoption of the minority report might

work incalculable harm to your own great communion. And to you brethren I will say this frankly, as much as I desire unification, I would not, under God, be an unconscious instrument or a designing instrument in carrying a definite line of cleavage into your own great Church. But if a large majority should prefer the majority report, then we in the South would be confronted with carrying to our people a concept of right entirely different from that which they have held. It is very difficult to change men's opinions. And in the attempt to change these opinions, even if we admit, which I do not admit, that the best Southern opinion is wrong, we should find ourselves confronted with the fifty years' drift of a people's life. The Lord Provost of Scotland, Provost Salmon, said that the longer he lived the more he was convinced that men were not governed by logic but by deeper causes. And you will find yourselves confronted by that drift, and we shall find ourselves confronted by that drift. And while I admit that unification is most desirable, and while I admit that there are men here who believe that unification is supreme to everything else, I believe that it would be the part of wisdom (This is no tactical move, brethren. I do not know how the members of my Commission may vote on this. I perhaps may know their preferences, but that is merely a guess)—I believe it would be the part of wisdom for American Methodism to say, loving the common Christ supremely, that we find ourselves in the last analysis, after all the negotiations, confronted with two irreconcilable concepts of dealing with the grave problem; and therefore we judge for the sake of the kingdom of Jesus Christ that we ought to delay this matter until there can be a larger and a more widening approach to this problem. We know what happens when the attempt is made to unify great Churches sometimes. And, brethren, say, for example, the majority report might be adopted. If there should be a small loss —and there always is a loss in unification—it were well to pay that price for the kingdom of God. But listen, brethren, the loss of the major portion, or the best portion, of that great homogeneous Anglo-Saxon territory lying east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio River would be a tremendous loss to Methodism. On the other hand, the loss to your Church of the most virile, potential, splendid body of Anglo-Saxon virility in this great middle Northwest would be an incalculable loss to American Methodism. So I believe we to-day need to make no mistake. I know that men in their anxiety to achieve results and to put plans through, and after all these years of labor and the cry of the world it seems a pity not to be able to unite—but, brethren, listen: you cannot unify two irreconcilable concepts of life. Those concepts have got to be adjusted. Now, listen. Let me state these concepts as I see them. One is that the more

mature race has for a time the right to determine the legal status of the other. Especially so is the society which the stronger race has largely made. How far that might go, I will not say. The other is the power of every man, regardless of his racial condition, to freely function in Church and State. The concept that underlies the majority report is that the negro membership within the Methodist Episcopal Church shall have power to act freely as a mature man in reorganized Methodism. And the concept that underlies the minority report is that, for reasons that need not be mentioned here, reasons that I could justify to myself, you must in some measure limit that capacity and power. And I want to say to you very frankly, brethren, that if I were a Northern Commissioner, and I believed that some of my colored Conferences had come to their full manhood, I would not submit for one moment to placing this limitation on their power. Now, I have taken this position, I think, in distinction to some of the concepts that prevailed in the Old South. If you will pardon me, when I stood at the grave of John Stewart I tried to controvert the position taken by Henry W. Grady at the Dallas (Tex.) State Fair, some thirty years ago. He said that there were ordained places for races in this world. He did not believe that every man, regardless of color or previous condition of servitude, could come to full development. I asserted that when a man has come to his full development he has a right to be a free man anywhere in both Church and State. I believe that until he does mature, both in State and Church, there should be the right to prescribe some of his privileges. Now, brethren, you may think that this is academic. When John Locke formulated his reply to Hobbes and Filmer, men thought it was the speculations of a dilettante philosopher. And yet Mr. Wilson and the representatives of the United States in their dealings with the peoples of the world have but enunciated the political philosophy of John Locke, and all the fruitings of modern liberty have been largely the offspring of that academic theory, because in the long run you cannot escape the remorseless flow of the truths of logic. If we of the South should vote for this majority report, we should find ourselves confronted with the logic of Southern life, with the drift of our people. And listen, brethren, we should find ourselves confronted with the gravest social problem that ever was placed upon the heart of a people. The men who live under the shadow of that do not always reason calmly. And, as I see it, if we of the Southern Commission should vote for the majority report, we should carry to our people a position which—as I see in my looking at life, from my standpoint of the interrelationships of men and their functions in human society—I cannot defend, much as I love unification. The other night, worn and weary and unable to sleep, burdened

with the world's problem and our problem, I said to God in the silences that if I could bring about the unification of American Methodism wisely, I would be willing to forego the pleasure of seeing my Kentucky home again, I would be willing not to see that dear mother who still lives, I would be willing not to kiss again my wife and dear children, but to die to-night, passing so from this fleeting, transitory world into the beautiful presence of my Redeemer, if thereby I could bring about wisely the reunion of American Methodism. Brethren, allow me to say it frankly—frankly and honestly in the fear of God—I do not believe that either one of these propositions will bring about wisely the unification of American Methodism. If the majority of our Commissions should vote for your proposition, in the great heart of the South you might face immeasurable loss. If the minority report should be adopted, I am satisfied that you could not get it through your General Conference, with the present attitude toward the question. I do not know what to suggest. Brethren, you are facing a crisis. And listen! Would it not be better to wait? Would it not be better to say that we find ourselves confronted with two different ideas which at present are irreconcilable? Shall we not continue to love each other? Shall we not work together and try to help each other, rather than do something that might impair the beauty of that sublime Church of God, that glorious Methodism that is some time coming, is sure to come? And listen! I am too tired and exhausted to speak further. You will pardon me. I have spoken out of my heart, as a man who went against the current of Southern Methodism for some years in developing the spirit of unification. Let me leave this with you, as a legend of the Middle Ages. Men longed to see the City of God, the Kingdom of God. Men sought it in various ways, hastening over land and sea. There was a man who toiled in the thick underbrush there. He cut his way painfully, sometimes exhausted, sometimes despairing, sometimes doubting if the underbrush and the tangled vines and the accretions of the years would ever break away so that he might see through. But he toiled on, he prayed on, and he bled on, slowly, painfully, for the price was great, until at last the last barrier fell, the last tangled vine gave way, and there in the distance, as beautiful as the morning, all complete and glorious, was the City of God!

C. C. Selecman: I rise not to make a speech, but to make a motion, to amend the minority report in two respects. First, with reference to the word "missionary," which characterizes the second group of Regional Conferences as set forth in this minority report; and, secondly, with reference to the classification of the Regional Conference for Colored People with the colored people in Africa. I desire to move that we strike out the word

"missionary" in the first line of paragraph 1 of that report. That would be to strike out the word "missionary" and insert the word "additional." I do not believe that anything is to be gained by reminding people either in America or elsewhere that they are missionary territory, any more than something is to be gained by reminding people to whom we offer help or charity that they are objects of charity. I also desire to move that this motion shall include the addition of the words "in America," in the second line of the first paragraph, so that it shall read, "1. A Regional Conference of Colored People in America."

Bishop Cranston: Would it not be better to keep those motions apart, to test one and then the other, whichever you prefer first? You complicate the discussion.

C. C. Selecman: I would be glad to make the motion in that way. First, the elimination of the word "missionary" and the substitution of the word "additional," so that it shall read that there "shall be the following additional Regional Conferences."

Bishop McDowell: I do not understand that the word "missionary" is in that report.

Bishop Cannon: Two members of the committee said they had understood it would be in, and so, to command the support of all, it was seconded.

The Chair stated the motion as above set forth.

C. B. Spencer: I wish there were some method possible for providing that the second part of Dr. Selecman's motion might be made effective. It is that the words "in America" be added to the minority report, representing the mind of the Southern members of the Committee on Conference with reference to the Regional Conference for Colored People. I know it is most perplexing to construct the details of the polity for reorganized Methodism and provide for the work we are doing, and together will be doing, in Southern Africa, without linking that work in with our American colored membership in that or some such manner. At the same time it must appear to be all that such an arrangement is, a great defeat, because it really forces the legislation and management of our colored Churches and institutions here in America under the possible control of the membership we are gathering in native Africa. What could be more incongruous than that? There is nothing in common between the negroes of the United States and the negroes in Africa. Long since, even the blood has ceased to be the same, so far as that goes. Biologically they are not the same. And so far as making it possible for the raw natives of the Congo, or elsewhere, who never have tasted of civilization, and have not even a written language, to have a voice in directing the colored work in this country, it is a hazard and a depreciation of our own work past, present, and future, which ought to be avoided if possible. I

spoke of this at Savannah, and only refer to it now. As we proceed with our labors, I believe some way out will be found. Incidentally, let me ask, If this minority report is adopted, what will be its effects upon the colored membership of the reorganized Church? I have here the report of the Commission on Unification submitted to the General Conference at Atlanta. On page 38 I read that Dr. Lamar called for the reading of the resolution adopted February 2 by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which reads:

> The Commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has taken the following action. It took action by amending the report of the Joint Committee of Eight as follows:
>
> Add to the recommendation on the fourth page the following: *Provided,* that if the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church decides to become a part of the proposed organization, the colored members of the reorganized Church shall have and are hereby granted the privilege of organization into an Associate General Conference in accordance with the plan herein provided. In the event that the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church should not accept the invitation to join in the organization of an Associate Regional or Associate General Conference, as proposed above, the Regional Conferences within the territory predominantly Southern Methodist territory shall be allowed to direct their contributions for the colored work to the benefit of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

If all that stands, are we not face to face with another anomaly —namely, adopting and imbedding in our organic law two contradictory principles? On the one hand we declare for negro membership in the reorganized Church, and at the same time we declare that if a colored Church does not see fit to come with us, but arrays itself against the principles for which we stand and becomes a rival in the same community, that portion of the white reorganized Church which is right there on the ground where the rivalry exists, and where altar stands against altar, "shall be allowed to direct their contributions for colored work to the benefit of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church," and thus throws its full weight of support and indorsement and encouragement to the antagonistic and rival principle. If as a Joint Commission we declare that the work of the reorganized Church amongst its own colored members is a "missionary" work, as the report brought in by Bishop Cannon proposes, whilst the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church has no such disparagements; if our colored people have laid on them the burden of Africans, just from the jungle, voting as to the policy of the colored work in the Church; and if, especially, this subtle discrimination of the reorganized Church that is on the ground, there where its influence will be daily felt, undercutting its own whilst it contributes to the other, what will the effect be upon the colored membership of the Churches where this is going on? We all understand the laws of psychology well enough

to understand what the tendency will be—what the outcome will be. Those who to-day stand for the principle of colored members in the new Church will be far away, in distant regional jurisdictions. The only white Methodists the colored people will know will, by their attitude and every cent of their contribution, be contradicting and depreciating the basic principle of the reorganized Church. What it will mean in the long run, I shrink from speculating upon it. It may be a doing by indirection what we declare against in principle. And this brings me to a final thought which is germane to this whole business. I am led to speak of it by the speech of Dr. Thomas a few minutes ago. I was much stirred by the spirit and the matter of Dr. Thomas in the deep and essential speech he made a few minutes ago. It will be a thing incredible that any member of this Joint Commission should go away and throw stones at the opposite Commission; for in providing in any manner for the black man, we are trying to solve a question which historically seems to be insoluble. I go back over the studies I have been making during the past ten years into the deeper phases of this race problem, and—I confess it with a deep sorrow—I sympathize in some measure with those who say the race problem is insoluble—that heredity, that race prejudice, scarcely can yield even to the gospel. Understand: Race prejudice is not of necessity a bad word. It may be bad; as we see it in practice it often is, showing itself not only in race antipathy, but in the fearful exhibitions of race hate. But the prejudice of race may not imply these things. It may mean race feeling, race consciousness, race pride, race protection. If it means a prejudice in favor of race purity and race protection and keen help all the way round, it may be a source of uplift, of solidarity, and mutual help, all the way round. Thus a race is taught to lift itself; and at the same time, if there is an interracial brotherhood, white hand in black hand, white hand in yellow hand, all the great races can go forward and upward side by side. May I repeat it, for that is the greatest boon the reorganized, world-girding Methodist Church of the future can bring mankind, the spectacle of providing for race help through race solidarity, and getting together in mutuality to help as in the uplift of a geological, gradual, granitelike emerging of a new world order. Some way will be found as we go forward, considering the distances we have already traveled in this Joint Commission. I am sure some way will be discovered, as we go forward, which will obviate this deadening presence of race separation to defeat what we will together stand for in our ideal. I was just speaking of the emerging of a new world order. Mr. Chairman, it has a great significance for us as creators under God of the new Methodism. They tell us that since the world war we are coming into a new

order of things; that we are in the Second Series of the Year of our Lord—Anno Domini, Second Series, Year One! They say that new currents, new ideals, are blowing like the winds of God over the face of the earth. They say that Methodism is potentially the greatest connectional, concrete expression of Protestant evangelism and religion throughout the length and breadth of the earth. And now the question that faces us to-day is whether we shall imbed in this new force that we are to let loose upon the world, the effect of which we cannot compute, which will be age-long and centuries-long—whether or not we shall so handle this racial question as to make it possible to contribute something to the solution of a question that is older than Babylon or Tyre. We may think that it will not matter much. I presume that when they laid the foundation of caste in India it was looked upon as a very incidental and trifling thing. Yet, over there, long ago in the ages when they were building for the second time the Temple of Solomon, there was imbedded in their religious doctrine a color line—a discrimination between races on account of color; for the word "caste" simply means color. What has happened? Why, the color line of caste is so drawn that Christianity has scarcely touched the life of India. And if Christ brought a super-racial gospel, a gospel of brotherhood for all mankind—if Christ came to save the world, that color line must give way in India, or we will be as impotent a thousand years from now as we are to-day. But we must begin at home. And, brothers, it seems to me that with the organization of Methodism as it is before us in this unofficial document that is the product of our work at Savannah, and previously and since, providing at once for racial solidarity in officers and legislation in the Regional Conferences and inter-racial or super-racial solidarity in the General Conference, there is—thank God! —a solution; that there in this new polity we can let loose a force throughout the earth that will tend to solve this question which has been so insoluble. It is all foolishness, in my thinking, to think about this general plan, as it is here in this document, as causing any kind of racial intermixtures which would break down any of those concepts of which Dr. Thomas has spoken. Where and how can it do that? But it does place the Methodist Church, the reorganized Methodist Church, as a daysman or mediator between that giant white god of the Anglo-Saxon race and that immature race, if you wish to call them so, of the colored membership of this Church—reaching its influence up into millions in its racial members of both colors in this country and in all countries—and enable us to do a work which cannot be done simply by mere fraternity, or by those pleasant rhetorical phrases, by means of which it is proposed, by some, to bring simply colored Churches within arm's length of each other. But

I cannot look down the future from this Judgment Day, at this crisis moment in this Anno Domini, Second Series, Year One, when forces are here and now being unloosed which are to touch and mold and direct the forces of mankind—I cannot look upon it, I say, with anything but apprehension that we should make a color line cleavage between races and in the name of God. Are we to arrange for such relations between these races as will hold one of them at arm's length with some sort of pleasant, more or less superficial, fraternity and coöperation? Brothers, the thunderbolts of God are hot. I am not preaching at anybody, least of all to those brothers whom I esteem so highly in the Church, South. But where are race riots to break out next, either South or North? We will have them in the North yet. What is the condition of Russia to-day? It is the outgrowth of persecution of the poor, of the proletariat, of the Jews, coming down through the bitter ages. It is that Nemesis which shows that the God of the universe does not sleep. Soviet Russia is in the hands of the Jews. Strange retribution! That race which was persecuted, which was detested, has leaped up on the springboard of a new opportunity, and itself is laying down upon Russia something of that which Russia in previous times has inflicted upon them. In India the reaction from race prejudice and segregation is a cobra stroke that atrophies the heart of India, and makes India the open sore of the world. And who can read the future there? I do not know that I made my point clear. I will simply go over the points again. The proposition made by our brother containing the official disparagement that is to be laid down between white and colored members of our Church—when I say "ours" I refer alike to all in the new Church, to those living in Louisiana and to those living in Maine—by calling the colored members "missionary" will be an essential disparagement which will all the time gnaw and grind at every one of them, while it exalts a discrimination on the ground of color for which the Church organically and professionally, at least, does not stand. And, in the second place, it will project upon the coming ages from the mouth of possibly the most democratic, most highly organized, most efficient, most abundantly puissant body upon the face of the earth—it will project out upon the ages the old, old cleavage, writing it infinitely more insolubly than it is at this moment, and inviting upon that Church which we represent to-day and that reorganized Church which we will represent to-morrow that which we see in India and in Russia, that which is the inevitable inheritance of those who forget that the Watcher of Men does not sleep and that He holds watch over and calls to retribution, whether good or bad, all of us, peoples and nations as well as individuals.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): We have a rule limiting

speeches to ten minutes, and providing that no one shall speak twice until others who may desire shall have spoken. The brethren who have spoken to us this morning have been speaking under a handicap. The rule may have been violated, but not intentionally.

Bishop Mouzon: Would it not be wiser, brethren, to permit us to perfect the report of the minority before going so far afield in your discussion? It is not my purpose to make any reply to what my good friend Dr. Spencer, whom I have known and esteemed most highly since the days when as pastor of our Central Church in Kansas City I was associated with him, has said, except to say this: It is a little surprising that he is so far from understanding the position taken by the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I could make my own almost every word that he has said. He totally misunderstands the position taken by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, touching this whole matter. I do not know where my good friend has been living. He does not seem to be living in this modern world, and he does not seem to know the currents of thought that are running through the country and through the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. However, I simply rose to say that we would make progress if we are permitted to perfect the instrument before us, this report of the minority. The motion has been made to amend it by striking out the word "missionary." That will be done at once, if you will let us do it; and then another motion is to be made striking out that part of the report which connects the work of the colored people in America with the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the negro races in Africa. That ought to be done. If I were a colored man living in America, I should object to being associated with those men over there in Africa. We do not want our American negroes put in the same Regional Conference with men in Africa. Let us perfect that minority report, and vote on striking out the word "missionary."

D. G. Downey: To whom does Bishop Mouzon refer when he says let "us" perfect the minority report? That was signed by four brethren of the Church, South. Some of us feel delicate about attempting to do anything with that.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The motion to make this change came from a member of the Church, South. I do not see anything to be gained by discussing in a general way this special proposition, though it includes in it the carrying of the whole question.

A. W. Harris: What I desire to say is not in conflict with what Bishop Mouzon has said, for I plan to go even farther back than the minority report. Our ship seems to be nearing port. It will not be a waste of time to consult the chart. The

part of it written at Atlanta contains fifty-eight words; the part written at Oklahoma City contains ninety-two words, or one hundred and nineteen words, including recommendations. The original document made at Chattanooga contains less than a hundred words. Let me read only what is essential; the full statements you have before you. At Atlanta the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, adopted this: "Resolved, that we hereby reaffirm the action of the General Conference of 1914." We may, therefore, devote our attention to the action of 1914. It was: "The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, regards the unification of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as feasible and desirable, and hereby declares itself in favor of the unification of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in accord with this general plan." The action at Saratoga uses the identical word. Chattanooga suggests—these are the important words—"Three or four Quadrennial Conferences"; and, "The colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church may be constituted and recognized as one of the Quadrennial or Jurisdictional Conferences of the proposed reorganization." Let us apply these to our present situation. The Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church presented through Bishop McDowell a proposal. If you noticed it carefully, you heard the following words: "In our opinion"—and what I am now reading is of very vital importance—"it is now desirable to make clear in a concrete way our understanding of what are our binding instructions. We therefore say that we regard it as our primary instruction to obtain unification, unification by reorganization, reorganization on the basis of Regional Conferences, reorganization in loyal accord with the Chattanooga plan. . . . Recommended modifications of the plan we do not regard as instructions. There now remain unsolved two major matters, the plan for Regional Conferences and the problem of the negro membership. A general provision for the creation of Regional Conferences has been adopted tentatively by the necessary vote. But no detailed plan has received the approval of both Commissions. We now say that we—that is, the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church—will accept any satisfactory provision for six white Regional Conferences." (Article VI., Section 1, of the Savannah Folder.) That accepts the action which received a majority vote of the Southern Commissioners at St. Louis, but failed to receive a majority vote of the Northern Commissioners at St. Louis. Note the following carefully: "Or if this does not seem to you the best solution, or if for any reason you desire it, we will join with you in the appointment of a Committee of Conference to deal with you in this matter." Let me read again

the last two words—"This matter." What matter? Regional Conferences. I proceed: "We recognize that the solution of the two major problems will not end our labors, for there will be need of most careful study of details of the powers of the several classes of Conferences, of the work in foreign lands, of the adjustment of property rights and of funds, of the consolidation of Boards and benevolences, etc. But these matters, though not simple, are yet possible of solution through Committees, and some of them may be left to be solved by the regularly constituted agencies of the United Church." "Touching the negro membership, we have no additional word or proposal to make at this time." There were two issues. In this statement the Northern Commissioners said: "Tell us what you want on the Regional Conferences. If it be what you voted for at St. Louis, we now approve it. If it be something else, tell us what it is. Or if, for any other reason, you want to go into a Committee of Conference with us, we are ready." You of the South asked no Committee of Conference on Regional Conferences. You did ask a Committee of Conference upon the negro problem, and we went into conference with you. The majority report of the committee simply followed the Chattanooga plan, which said that the negro membership may be constituted and recognized as one of the Quadrennial or Jurisdictional Conferences. I find in conversation that the position of the Northern Commissioners has not been clearly understood. I supposed it was. Bishop Cannon will remember that at the end of the committee meeting I asked him whether his difficulties were not helped out by remembering your instructions. I think I have now made clear what I then referred to. I supposed the representatives of the Church, South, had this deliverance of our Commission thoroughly in mind. I find you did not. The course of procedure proposed by the Northern Commission will very surely lead us to success if both Commissions will adopt it. I cannot use too much emphasis when I say that the Methodist Episcopal Church has no consuming affection for Regional Conferences. Nevertheless, our Church assented to the Regional Conference plan, and for the sake of union; and we now hope anxiously that the Southern Commissioners will in turn feel that the action of the General Conference at Oklahoma City justifies them in accepting for the negro membership the plan there approved. If they do so, the only great obstacles will have been removed.

E. M. Randall: I do not rise to argue this matter. I doubt if very much change of opinion will come as the result of argumentation at this time. For that matter, I feel that the unification of these Churches must arise out of a mutual understanding and a spiritual unity of which the agreement, whatever it may be, shall be simply the expression. I think the conditions

and the progress we have made under these conditions in this Joint Commission have been delightfully full of promise, so far as that is concerned. Now, as to the matter immediately before us, I think it desirable that everything should be done that will enable us to consider any phase that is up in the way that is most acceptable to those concerned. From what Bishop Mouzon said, I understand there is a desire that the minority report may come before us in a modified form, not as it is stated now. Presuming that that may be true, recognizing that in a parliamentary way it is now in possession of this house and can regularly be modified only by the action of this body, while at the same time there is a portion of this body that for obvious reasons is reluctant to vote upon any modification of it, and feel it would be morally wrong that we should do so, I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that unanimous consent be given for those who signed that minority report to make any modification they desire in the report, that it may come before us in just that form that is most acceptable to them. That will solve the parliamentary difficulty.

Bishop Cannon: That is just what cannot be done. That report was presented in the same form that Dr. Selecman now proposes it shall be as amended. But two of the four signers said that that was not their understanding. So the words were re-inserted. It is not possible, since we are two and two on that. We prefer the paper shall stand as it is. Some of us do not believe that striking out the word "missionary" changes at all the meaning of the paper, because it indicates clearly that all these additional Regional Conferences are of a different standing and are missionary, whether you use the word or not. Therefore, some of us do not see any reason for stressing that word. But the four members cannot agree to strike it out; and it would have to be stricken out, if at all, by the body.

E. M. Randall: If difficulties exist among those who have signed the report, that removes from any portion of this body any embarrassment that might arise any time it is presented.

Bishop Leete: It seems to me it increases the difficulty of some of us very greatly to vote on this matter, because it indicates that really there are three reports before us, one inchoate and unformed, one made by a minority of four, and then the majority report signed by six men. Personally I should much deplore any action taken here that would seem to deny to the minority who have not stated their views in any formal way the opportunity to express their views and to stand for the things which they believe to be just and right. There are some things which are more priceless than the results achieved by a vote in a body of this kind. As a matter of fact, Dr. Thomas has made us a very frank and illuminating statement, with the general

subject of which, as to facts, many of us who know conditions absolutely agree. I do not wish to be misunderstood. I think the things he has suggested as being the conditions to be met are absolutely correct. It seems that there are three possible reactions of mind with reference to these facts and conditions. I am not discussing the question at all. If there were opportunity at some time, I would like to say something on the whole matter. I now say simply that I do not believe that those who may possibly adhere to the major division of this body would like to take any action which would seem to put the minority (and it may prove to be either the larger or the smaller part of the minority) into a position where they would not be able to express themselves or would be left in some attitude which they cannot defend when they go home from this body. It does seem to me that if our Southern brethren wish to do so they ought to be permitted to decide upon the form of their minority report, without having some fraction put into the position of not being able to express itself intelligibly to this body.

Bishop Cannon: I am informed that all the signers of the report agree that the change shall be made. In order to remove any sort of difficulty, the report now will read with the word "missionary" stricken out and the word "additional" inserted. And as to the other matter, it is only fair to the four signers to say that we had no zeal with reference to the term "Regional Conference for Colored People." It seemed to us to be more an incidental matter in this, that it was for the body to determine what should be the boundary of it. If Africa was not placed in that jurisdiction, where should it be placed? We have no hesitation in accepting any convenient or appropriate change of that sort. It is not at all a matter with us of principle on that point, but a matter of making an arrangement which we have no objection to having modified. It seems to me that if you say "in America" the report is not complete because it does not provide for Africa.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The Chair is uncertain as to Bishop Cannon's purpose. We understand him to say that the signers of the minority report are all willing that the word "additional" shall be introduced. Does it include the striking out of the word "missionary"? Does any one object?

Bishop Hamilton: Are you going to include Africa?

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The amendment contemplates the removal of the word "missionary," striking out Africa.

Bishop McDowell: I understand that Dr. Selecman proposed two amendments.

C. C. Selecman: I withdrew the second for the time being.

Bishop McDowell: Then the question is now the question of unanimous consent that those persons who signed the minority

report may make the modifications which Bishop Cannon now proposes. That carries it back to the form in which yesterday he presented it. I am perfectly willing to give unanimous consent to that. But it will be remembered that yesterday when Bishop Cannon presented the minority report with the word "missionary" out, he said that he himself felt that the Regional Conference thus created by the minority report would in fact be a Missionary Conference and he would have so to interpret it among his own people in speaking of it. And I judge that he omitted the word with the understanding that the thing remained in substance.

Bishop Cannon: I just repeated that, with the arrangement and designation of these five Conferences, I indicated that they were in a subordinate relation which I consider to be missionary.

Bishop McDowell: I want the body to get that with absolute clearness before it gives its unanimous consent to this change. The status must be perfectly understood before we come to vote.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): There seems to be an open way to a perfect understanding. The only question is whether anybody objects to allowing the committee having charge of this matter to conform to the amendments proposed by Dr. Selecman.

Bishop Hamilton: That is what I arose a moment ago to state as a matter of fact, so that you could see how it would affect our Church. We have in Africa only one Conference, which is as much American as any in this country. It is simply a colony of this country. We have no other work there that is not a mere mission.

Bishop Cranston: The Chair hears no objection to the proposed rearrangement.

C. C. Selecman: I now renew my motion that the minority report be amended so as to read in the second line of the first paragraph, "The Regional Conference of Colored People in America."

J. F. Goucher: I would like to say, as the Bishop has just said, we have a Conference in Africa. We have a mission in Africa. The aggregate membership, colored membership, in Africa, is about thirteen thousand. About two thousand of them are in the mission. Twelve thousand or less are in the Conference; where will that portion of the colored membership find its affiliations? The only other group of colored people of any considerable size is in Brazil. It would not do to associate Africa with South America. It seems to me that this is a normal adjustment—with a little difficulty, possibly, but that at a minimum; and that none other can be made that will be at all satisfactory. Therefore, I think it ought to stand.

Bishop Mouzon: This word of explanation. The members of the Commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the brethren who formulated this minority report, were just endeavoring to perfect it so as to meet objections which had been brought against it, as we understood, by brethren from the Methodist Episcopal Church. We understood that our colored brethren object to having the work in Africa associated with them. We understood that brethren from the Methodist Episcopal Church had also objected to it. We were simply trying to meet their objection. That is all.

J. F. Goucher: The objection has a very slender basis.

Bishop Cranston: It strikes me it could easily be amended by the addition of a word after the words "colored membership in America"—namely, the words "in which the Liberia Conference shall have the right of representation."

Bishop McDowell: I have this feeling with reference to the discussion of the main subject. I am sensitive about it because it applies to me. Bishop Cannon spoke yesterday in presentation of his minority report, at the request of this body. Now, as the debate develops before the vote is taken on the minority report, Bishop Cannon ought to have exactly the same freedom that he would have if he had not spoken yesterday, which he did upon request.

Bishop Cranston: That is well taken. They were formally requested to do the Commission a service. Now they are requested to do themselves a service.

Bishop Cannon: I am going to speak specifically to this amendment. I do not think that the addition of the word "Liberia" will settle the question finally, because it leaves out of the question the mission of your Church and that of our Church in Africa. I do not think, however, it is a matter of sufficient moment for us to delay at this point. It is something that we all want to adjust for the best interests of the kingdom. It seems to me that Africa can be joined to South America with less difficulty. As a matter of fact, the Latin Americans do intermarry more frequently in Brazil and in Cuba with the negroes than is the case in this country. And when it came to a practical arrangement, it might be wise to join Africa to South America or Europe. It does not seem to me a matter of such vital importance that we cannot leave the committee to consider it later on.

The Chair called on Dr. Selecman to state the amendment again.

C. C. Selecman: My motion is that the report of the minority be amended by the addition of the words "in America," so that line 2, paragraph 1, shall read: "(1) A Regional Conference of Colored People in America."

This motion was put, and it prevailed.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Now, you have before you the minority report as amended. The subject is still open for discussion.

Bishop Cannon: I had anticipated that some one else would raise this question: It is no secret, I suppose, that the Commission of our Church did discuss it last night in our meeting. I had the idea that somebody was going to raise the question this morning, because in our discussion it seemed to be a vital matter—namely, that is, an inquiry as to how this majority report will affect the status of the negro in the General Conference, or rather, what will be the relation of the negro Regional Conference in the General Conference? We had that matter up and talked about it. It seemed to us there that it was a matter of such prime importance that we should understand just what it meant. Are there to be seven Regional Conferences which will come under the General Conference, instead of the six? If the idea of the majority is that in taking the action they proposed we are to confer upon the negroes exactly the same rights as we give to the white membership, if their relation as delegates to the General Conference is to be exactly the same as that of delegates from the white Regional Conferences, what effect will that have upon the matter when it comes to voting by Regional Conferences? Now, we were not clear about that matter—we did not know whether the brethren who presented this report had thought it through or not; whether they had determined, themselves, what position the delegates from these Regional Conferences would hold in the General Conference. But for myself, I say frankly that it would make all the difference between going as far as I said I might go, yesterday, and being unable to go one step further, under any circumstances, than the minority report. I think there must be a clear definition on that point. Certainly it is necessary for me. I understood it was necessary to most of our brethren.

Bishop McDowell: I am not authorized at all to make a categorical answer to Bishop Cannon's inquiry, which I understand he makes in behalf of—

Bishop Cannon: No, I make it personally as an individual.

Bishop McDowell: I understood you to say that you had agreed to ask this question.

Bishop Cannon: I understood that it would be asked.

Bishop McDowell: Of course, that is absolutely proper. You will all remember that when Judge Reeves once stated that you had had a conference on a certain subject and had reached a kind of agreement, I arose and assured the Judge that you had nothing in the world on us, because we had done the same thing! Mr. Chairman, upon the subject concerning which Bishop Cannon now asks, we have not had a formal agreement. But it is

my understanding that the negro Regional Conference in the General Conference stands on the same basis as other Regional Conferences. If the vote is required by Regional Conferences, surely the Regional Conference of negroes should vote as a Regional Conference. Now, if there is an injustice or an impropriety in allowing a Regional Conference with possibly thirty-two delegates to have the same voting strength as a Regional Conference with three times as many, I think I am warranted in saying that we will join you in reconsidering, reopening the question as to the method of voting in the General Conference, so far as that method pertains to the Regional Conference vote. But our thought, in this particular report which is before you in behalf of the majority of the Committee on Conference, is now simply to create, constitute, and recognize a Regional Conference composed of our negro membership, which Regional Conference shall have proportionate representation in the General Conference and the identical standing in the General Conference that other Regional Conferences have. By "identical" I mean that it is not distinguished against as subordinate. I am not authorized to say—if any one thinks I ought to say more, I will. Have I said what you desired to have me say? If there is anything more I ought to say, I would be glad to say it.

Bishop Cannon: I would like to inquire if that, as you understand it, is the judgment of your Commission.

Bishop McDowell: I am not authorized in this particular matter to speak for our Commission, because this matter has not been formally before our Commission; and yet I am frank to say that it represents our Commission in this manner and to this extent, that we are proposing a Regional Conference of negroes which shall stand in the General Conference on the basis of proportionate membership and without any inferior standing. That is to say, not to be regarded as "missionary," not regarded as subordinate, not regarded as other than a Regional Conference possessing the powers of the Regional Conferences, with possibly only such limitations as belong to the fact that it has not so large numbers.

J. F. Goucher: That would imply that in its powers as a Regional Conference it should have the proportionate influence that the very strong Regional Conferences have—proportionate, not identical. If there are only thirty-two members, it should not have the same power as the stronger Regional Conferences.

Bishop McDowell: I expressed willingness to examine that question with you. I do not wish to express for the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church an opinion as to what ought to be done concerning that matter. I only expressed the opinion that if questions of the voting by Regional Conferences are now raised by the creation of the Regional Conference of negroes,

we will with you reëxamine the manner of voting by Regional Conferences.

D. G. Downey: I wonder if I might not ask Bishop McDowell if he would not be justified in saying that the matter of protection of minorities, which was in our minds when we talked about these Regional Conferences—if it would not be the mind of our Commission that that matter of protection of minorities should be properly safeguarded if we have this new arrangement of Regional Conferences.

Bishop McDowell: It was understood that the adoption of this matter did not involve the violation in the slightest degree of any of those agreements which we had tentatively reached in relation to other matters. I would, therefore, go as far as Dr. Downey suggests.

C. M. Bishop: I would ask Bishop McDowell if he means to disregard the provision once made that Regional Conferences should consist of at least one hundred thousand members. And I would inquire as to the meaning of the statement made by Bishop McDowell yesterday morning as to the position of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church concerning Regional Conferences. Mr. Chairman and Bishop McDowell, it seemed to some of us that your statement as representing the Methodist Episcopal Church left the question of Regional Conferences where it was in the record—their character and rights and the number required to compose them being, so far as your statement was concerned, what they were when we last discussed the matter. Now, this changes that entire situation. That is part of what we wish to have cleared up.

Bishop McDowell: I think you have asked me two questions in one. The first question is about the provision as to the representation of a Regional Conference in the General Conference if it had less than one hundred thousand members. Clearly, the adoption of the majority report would require a modification of that tentative agreement. Will you state again your second question?

C. M. Bishop: It was with reference to the meaning to be attached to that statement of yesterday morning concerning what you understood to be the concession on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church as to Regional Conferences.

Bishop McDowell: The concession was a concession on the basis of a single item—namely, as to number, and with a distinct limitation as to powers, with distinct reservations openly made. I will read what I said: "We will accept, if satisfactory to you, the provision for six white Regional Conferences. If this does not seem to you the best solution, we will join you in the provision for a Committee of Conference." Later I read: "There will be needed most careful study of details of the powers of the

several classes of Conferences and of the work in foreign lands and of the adjustments of property rights," etc. We were quite conscious yesterday in making this agreement as to six white Regional Conferences and in proposing the creation of a Regional Conference for negroes, that it would invite reopening of those questions with reference to powers, methods of voting, and various and sundry other matters. We have no desire to create a misunderstood condition by the adoption of the majority report. We have no desire at all to take any advantage that would be due to the adoption of that report. Therefore I say that if the majority report is adopted and if the six white Regional Conferences are accepted, as we have agreed they shall be, we would reëxamine with you all the implications, all the powers, all the provisions that we have heretofore constituted; we would reexamine with you all the implications of this action. I am simply trying to say to Dr. Bishop that if there is any fear on the part of the brethren from the South that by putting the majority report into our record to-day we therefore, or by that process, have created (if it were a body in which such things would be done) a body which would be getting a parliamentary advantage by subterfuge, we want the full implications of this to be the subject of the fullest conference. We mean that all equities shall be fully preserved. What Dr. Downey has said in reference to the protection of the rights of minorities, for that we still would stand—the protection of the rights of a minority by the method of Regional Conference voting, whatever method is necessary under the new order.

W. D. Bradfield: This is my first appearance as a member of the Commission from the South. I believe there is no man here who has kept better informed, according to his ability, of the proceedings as published from time to time of this Commission, than I. I took a very bold stand yesterday when I seconded Bishop McDowell's motion that the majority report should be adopted. I assumed, brethren, when I took that stand, that the tentative agreements as to protection of minorities, as to classification of Conferences, would stand. I assumed that. I should not have taken that position if there had arisen any shadow of doubt in my mind. I tell you that my brethren who differ from me are not speaking of imaginary phantasms when they tell you about difficulties in the South. I see those difficulties. But with a Regional Conference which is a Regional Conference in fact as well as in name, with the provision for the protection of minorities by the voting by Regional Conferences, as you had tentatively agreed upon them, I believed and I now believe that the majority report, with friendly explanations of the plan, can prevail in the South. I am willing to stand upon that majority report with the tentative agreements in substance carried out.

But I would not for my hand vote for the majority report if there is any shadow of doubt about the protection of minorities, which is so necessary, being given.

Bishop McDowell: I just asked Bishop Denny if my statement seemed to him to cover the whole matter. He raises a question that I am glad to answer. It touches two matters. One is the matter that was thought to be secured by voting by Regional Conferences, which was for the protection of a minority. I answer concerning that, that I am very sure the spirit that provided the plan now tentatively agreed to will provide another plan equally efficient at that point to cover the case of seven Regional Conferences in case there should be seven. My second proposition, in answer to Bishop Denny's question, privately put, relates to voting upon constitutional matters not by Regions but just by numbers. Concerning that, I feel obliged to say that in a General Conference of six hundred and fifty men, with possibly thirty-two negro men, or a General Conference of eight hundred and fifty, with possibly forty-two negro men, the thirty-two or the forty-two negro men would vote as other delegates, as individuals.

H. H. White: In a former meeting, something went into the record from the Southern delegates relative to the protection or financial assistance that would be accorded to the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. I do not recall whether it became the action of the Joint Commission or not. I do not know whether this is the proper place to raise the question or not. But I presume, from the general tenor of your remarks, that probably all matters would be dealt with in the most liberal way for consideration and adjustment, provided either one of these reports is adopted. I desire also to know whether it is understood that the position which the Southern delegation took in reference to financial assistance of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church would be adhered to.

Bishop McDowell: Secretary Harris reported this action: That we approve the report as a basis for determining the status of the negro in the reorganized Church. We have not had that subject up anew at this time. But my recollection is that we approved your deliverance upon that subject, Judge White, and therefore it stands unmodified. And in no discussion that we have had since last Friday has that question been before us. I assume, therefore, that it stands.

Edgar Blake: Just a word, a word that I want to speak at this time, more in the nature of the question of personal privilege than anything else, I think. Therefore it may be in order. I think I have already spoken upon the main question. With the statement made by Bishop McDowell concerning his interpretation of the attitude of our Commissioners—namely, that ade-

quate provision should be made for the protection of the rights of minorities, either in the form in which we have proposed, or in some other that shall be equally effective—with that, speaking as a member of our Commission, I am quite in harmony. I am also in harmony with Bishop McDowell's statement that it was the understanding, at least of some of our own Commission, that any statement or agreement entered into between us did not affect those agreements on related matters already tentatively agreed to between the two Commissions. That was my understanding. With reference to the standing of the Colored Regional Conference, in its relation to the other Regional Conferences, it is quite clear that it cannot have exactly the same standing, so far as it relates to certain privileges and powers, as that of other Conferences. And that is not due to the matter of color. That is due to the matter of deficiency in numbers. That is to say, if we will keep it clearly in mind, that that relation for various groups falls into two general classes. We have, for instance, one group of Regional Conferences the membership of which will run from seven hundred and twenty thousand to over a million. We have another group of Regional Conferences the membership of which will run from thirty thousand to three hundred thousand. It is perfectly clear that the latter group cannot be accorded the same privileges and powers as the larger group, except in kinds, not in degree. For instance, we have provided that the delegates from the Annual Conferences to the General Conference, from these larger jurisdictions, shall constitute the Regional Conference of those jurisdictions. And we have provided that they shall have the power, among other things, to elect bishops for their jurisdiction, as well as certain other privileges. And in order that that power may be exercised by a number of delegates sufficiently large to be truly representative of the jurisdiction, we have provided that the number of delegates from those jurisdictions shall be not less than one hundred. And as a matter of fact these jurisdictions as they are now designated in their boundaries (I am referring to the six white) will produce, on the basis of two delegates for each fourteen thousand members, a representation in the General Conference for each jurisdiction in excess of one hundred. But when we come to our foreign and to our colored jurisdictions the case is not at all the same. That is to say, speaking with reference to this colored jurisdiction, the number of delegates that will be returned to the General Conference from our colored jurisdiction on the basis of two delegates for each fourteen thousand members will be presumably thirty-two or forty-two. It is very clear that it would not appear to be wise to give those thirty-two or forty-two colored delegates the power to elect bishops for that colored jurisdiction. Neither would it appear to be wise

to give to that small number of delegates the power either of legislative or administrative control of the affairs of the jurisdiction. I think there can be do difference of opinion at that point in this group.

A Voice: There is a very great difference.

Edgar Blake: I was not aware of it. There is a difference. I will not attempt to argue it. I will simply state that in my judgment you cannot get our colored constituency to consent for a single minute, gentlemen, that any thirty-two or forty-two delegates whom their Regional Conference might send to the General Conference should elect their bishops for them and control their affairs.

D. G. Downey: There are about three hundred and fifty thousand colored members in that Regional Conference, with a representation of about forty-two. Do I understand you to say that there are about six hundred thousand or seven hundred thousand membership in each of the other Regional Conferences?

Edgar Blake: My statement was that the membership of our colored jurisdiction, if you omit Liberia, in 1916 was about three hundred and eight thousand in full connection. And the membership in the six white Regional Conferences ranges from seven hundred and twenty thousand in the smallest jurisdiction to something over a million members in the largest jurisdiction.

D. G. Downey: Would it not be as reasonable to say that forty-two men representing three hundred and eight thousand should perform certain duties for those three hundred and eight thousand as that one hundred men representing seven hundred thousand should perform like duties for the seven hundred thousand?

Edgar Blake: It seems to me that that is not quite the question. The question is as to whether the number of men that are to discharge a certain duty and exercise certain powers is sufficient for those duties and powers. A number has not only to be truly representative of the constituency but also to embrace within the number sufficient wisdom and strength to do the things submitted to them.

C. B. Spencer: In speaking of forty delegates do you mean twenty ministers and twenty laymen?

Edgar Blake: Yes, sir, presumably. I do not believe that our colored constituency, and I do not believe that the majority of this Joint Commission would for one moment want to make any arrangement which would give the colored jurisdiction one hundred delegates in the General Conference. If we should do that, it would mean giving to this jurisdiction two and one-half times its proportional membership. I do not believe that you mean to give or that it would be desirable to give such a jurisdiction or any jurisdiction such disproportionate representation in the

chief lawmaking body. It seems to me, upon this, that we have got to devise a different form of Regional Conference for what I may call the smaller jurisdictions from that under consideration. It simply throws us back upon the proposition of providing a Regional Conference for them of such character as will be truly representative and truly efficient and sufficient in numbers to do the work committed to them. Speaking now of these smaller Conferences, we have reached a tentative agreement that the smaller groups numerically should be composed as follows: One ministerial and one lay delegate elected by each Annual Conference or Mission Conference for each two thousand members or major fraction thereof. In other words, instead of having the delegates elected to the General Conference by the Annual Conferences of one of these smaller jurisdictions constitute the Regional Conference of that jurisdiction, we have provided that they shall have a Regional Conference composed of a certain number of delegates, one ministerial and one lay for each two thousand members or fraction of two-thirds thereof, which delegates shall constitute their Regional Conference; and which, as I now recall it, for the colored Regional Conference would mean for them a Regional Conference of three hundred and eight members. I do not see how we can possibly do otherwise than something like that. My understanding is that this report brought in here does not affect that at this time, only as it shall seem necessary to reopen that matter to find something more satisfactory than what we have agreed on tentatively.

D. G. Downey: Is it not the fact that that provision for that type of Regional Conference was made with reference to a Regional Conference that did not have full rights in the General Conference, and that you are applying now a tentative provision proposed for a different type of Regional Conference from that proposed in the majority report?

Edgar Blake: The powers of this Regional Conference, the legislative powers, are precisely the same as any one of the white Regional Conferences has. In other words, the powers agreed upon for these smaller Regional Conferences—that is, their legislative powers—are defined in precisely the same words, as I recall, as are the powers of larger Regional Conferences as those have been agreed upon. They are identical. The point at which that difference comes, as I see it, is as to the constitution of the Regional Conference, as to its representation in the General Conference, and as touching its powers with reference to the election of its bishops. That is to say, we have agreed that these smaller Regional Conferences, those having one hundred and fifty thousand members or more, shall have the right to elect the bishops for their own jurisdictions, which bishops shall be limited to the jurisdiction by which they are elected.

That is my understanding. And I understand that that is not affected. Again we have likewise agreed that in these smaller jurisdictions having less than 150,000 members their bishops shall be elected for them by the General Conference.

R. E. Blackwell: It seems to me that some of these things ought to be cleared up in committee. The majority report ought to set out these things so that we shall know what it means. A great deal of our talk was based on our separate actions. It seems that they did not understand it any more than we did. These things ought to be straightened out. I think it ought to be sent back to the committee and the whole thing worked out in a committee of ten, so that they may state what they mean.

C. M. Bishop: I second that suggestion of Dr. Blackwell's and call attention to the fact that under the present situation the proposal of the majority report is not at all so simple a matter as it appears on the face of it. It quite sounded to me yesterday as if the matter of negro representation in the General Conference had been separated from the other questions, and that we were simply to discuss that. But here Dr. Downey in his questions to Dr. Blake a moment ago says: "Have we not provided now for another view of the Regional Conference of the colored membership?" I think in the light of the discussion that that is what is contemplated. But it is not so stated in the paper. We do not know where we are. I do begin to apprehend the very great difference between the two papers which Dr. Downey and others insisted upon yesterday. It looked to some of us as if there were not a very large difference, but now it gapes wide. I confirm Dr. Downey's view as to the vast difference between the two. But it is not indicated altogether on the surface of the papers themselves. I cannot understand how the report of the majority of the Conference Committee yesterday with reference to proportional negro voting could be understood by those not on the inside as referring to anything more than when it was last discussed at Savannah and St. Louis. Certainly we did not understand that it meant the lifting a negro jurisdiction into the first class. We did not so understand it then, and I do not see how we could understand it now without sufficient explanation. So we have to ask further light upon the report of the majority of our committee.

D. G. Downey: I think it is well that this matter should have come out in just this way. I had not thought that there was any serious misapprehension on the part of anybody. The statement that was made by Bishop McDowell in behalf of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church had its foundation in the Chattanooga action. And the sort of Regional Conference that we are asking for in the majority report is the sort of Regional Conference proposed in the Chattanooga document.

C. M. Bishop: Does that mean that the definition of Regional Conference which we are now to operate under shall be the definition which could alone have been made of a Regional Conference at the time of the Chattanooga meeting? I am in accord with the suggestion that that would change the character of all the Regional Conferences.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Dr. Downey would mean, as modified by the agreed upon changes.

D. G. Downey: I was about to complete my statement of fact. It harked back to the definition of Regional Conferences at Chattanooga. In our discussions of Regional Conferences heretofore all tentative agreements contemplated an inferior type of Regional Conferences for certain sections of the Church, including the negroes and the foreign jurisdictions. I understand —if I do not represent my fellow Commissioners I am perfectly willing to be corrected—that the Regional Conference that we are asking for in the majority report is a Regional Conference which—

C. M. Bishop: Let me ask, does the majority report refer to the Regional Conference at all?

D. G. Downey: I think so. The Quadrennial Conference referred to is the same as is referred to in the Chattanooga plan. We took certain action as to powers and privileges of various types of Regional Conferences. It is not expected that the tentative action with reference to an inferior type of Regional Conferences shall apply in all particulars to the Regional Conference that the majority report asks for. There was a further statement on the part of Bishop McDowell that all questions, in addition to the two major matters, would have to be taken up together for discussion and for certain adjustments; all the equities in the case with respect to the protection of minorities, with respect to everything of that sort, and I should think also with respect to the palpable inequity of one Regional Conference representing, we will say, only three hundred thousand members with thirty-two delegates having precisely the same voting powers as a much larger one. I think all that is open for discussion, and that we may come to an agreement on that. But I do not think it represents our mind, simply to grant membership in the General Conference to a specified number and then give them an inferior relation, as I thought was indicated by Dr. Blake's statement concerning our tentative agreement with reference to Regional Conferences of a certain type. I do not believe that that type of Regional Conference applies to our present plan.

Bishop Mouzon: I move the reference of this report back to the committee in order that all these related matters may be worked out and we may see this report in all its bearings. I

mean the reference of both reports back to the committee, that both may be worked out and brought in in perfect condition.

A. J. Lamar: I want to ask Dr. Downey a question for information. I am perfectly frank. I want light. Is it your idea, down in your heart, that the white Regional Conferences should have legislative power or should only be administrative bodies, with the legislative power in the General Conference?

D. G. Downey: I am willing that that should be open to agreement. I have never heard an agreement in regard to it. Personally, I would have it largely administrative under the unifying General Conference. But I am perfectly willing to concede on these points. I would not stop unification because we could not get a purely administrative Regional Conference.

Bishop Moore: I made yesterday some statements that I found were not true. I have had a great deal of light this morning. I had no idea that the purpose of the majority report was to tear up what we had done. I had no thought that you meant to go back and undo the work done in relation to Regional Conferences and that other group of Regional Conferences. After hearing the speakers this morning, it seems to me that the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church should come to some agreement as to what it really wants. There are different interpretations here. Dr. Blake's and Bishop McDowell's interpretations differ widely. It seems to me that we as Commissioners of the Southern Church should know exactly what is in their minds.

Bishop McDowell: Will you assure us that there is absolute agreement in your Commission?

Bishop Moore: Yes, on some things. I would like very much that there might be some statement brought out from the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church as to what you clearly have in mind. If this committee is prepared to do that sort of thing, if these five representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church are prepared to present the point of view of the Methodist Episcopal Church, well and good; if not, it seems to me that the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church should give us some statement. I surely support the motion that this go back to the committee. As I understand it, the whole question that we have before us is the question of the representation of the colored membership in the General Conference. But it has taken such a wide sweep that I am sure it should go back to the committee.

Bishop Mouzon took the chair.

Bishop Cranston: It seems to me that we are becoming somewhat nervous. Occupying the chair, and observing as fairly as I am capable of doing the working of the many minds that have been seeking expression here, it has appeared to me that some

of you have reached a conclusion that is entirely unwarranted by the facts. Let us get down to the case just as it is. We started out by endeavoring to fix our thoughts upon the two remaining difficulties hindering our progress toward unification—namely, the Regional Conference and the status of the negro. It was thought that if we could come to an agreement as to the status of the negro the other matters would adjust themselves to correspond to that understanding. You appointed a committee for that purpose. That committee has reported. The relation of this question, the status of the negro, as it has been set forth in the two reports—one contemplating a missionary relationship for his Regional Conference, and the other contemplating the same relation as the home white Conferences—is the question to be settled first. It has been distinctly stated that any equities and understandings that are affected by the determination of this one question shall be undisturbed, and that, as far as it affects any of these agreed propositions, the proper recognition of the fact and the proper adjudication shall follow. Now the matter is perfectly straight and plain. Bishop Moore may have received some new light since yesterday, when he thought the reports were just alike; and that is wholesome, because they were not alike, as we have found out since. And I also have found some new light. We have not fallen into confusion in our procedure in connection with this report. We are all right! All we want to do is to go ahead and do the rest. But if you begin by reopening all these questions back of us, we shall be here indefinitely. What we want, after we agree on the outlying principle, is a Committee of Conference that shall report to a subsequent meeting, a committee that shall have the gift of appealing to God and getting light. Let us not open the whole subject of Regional Conferences. And we will never in the slightest degree take any advantage of any possible parliamentary or equity outcome of the vote on the present proposition to give the negro the same chance as the white Conference in the reorganized General Conference. Bishop McDowell has stated that. It is perfectly plain. We are brethren believing in each other. The thing to be feared now is the fear to go straight ahead.

J. F. Goucher: I wish to say that I am not in sympathy with the motion to recommit. It seems to me that there is a very definite proposition before us—namely, to perfect the minority report. Then to take a vote upon that report as to whether it shall be substituted or accepted in preference to the majority report. If it is not accepted, then to vote upon the majority report. Now, there are a great many questions that will have to be settled, and they are very intricate. But with the declared statement that it is the positive purpose of the Commissioners

representing the Methodist Episcopal Church that the equities, the protection of minorities, the adjudication along the lines of those discussions we have had in the past, shall not be disturbed but shall be protected, it seems to me there is no reason why we cannot proceed. I cannot conceive how it is possible for us to go any further than we have (I mean, the representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church), for the reason that we have said that if the plan of these Regional Conferences, the white Conferences, constructed as they were tentatively proposed at St. Louis, is agreeable to the members representing the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, we will give it our hearty indorsement. If, however, for any reason, our brethren representing the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, should prefer to reopen the question as to the number of Regional Conferences, or their limitations, or as to their functions, we commit ourselves here unreservedly to go into conference with them and come to a mutual understanding. Now, that is not an attempt to put anything over on anybody. I am humiliated by saying it. It is simply an evidence of our fundamental desire that we shall meet the propositions that shall come from our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in reference to the difficulties of the area which they represent specifically, while in the broader sense they represent the whole Church and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Secondly, there are implications in all these motions which do not appear at first on the surface. Some points have been brought out of which we did not sense the implications completely. Therefore we say that we are determined that there shall be no interruption in the arrangements previously agreed to for the protection of minorities, and in the arrangements which shall be achieved; that if a Regional Conference is much smaller than others it cannot have the full powers. If there is anything which could possibly be threatening in its appearance, we are quite willing that it shall be made a matter for a Conference Committee, and have adjudication. Therefore it would seem to me that, having carried on the discussion as far as we have, it would be the part of wisdom and of strategy, in the best sense of statesmanship, to settle these two questions, and then refer the matters to committees that shall come back to a subsequent meeting and present an adjusted statement covering all these points. We do not to-day finally settle everything. We are making progress toward settlement by putting down tentative sections as we have done before. Therefore I think that would be the better plan. I do deprecate our resting on our past too much and our considering extraneous matter, important but not essential now. We are here to set up high ideals. Our action goes from this body to the General Conference to appraise and reconsider and modify and determine as to different

adjustments when they come to the broader discussion. Then it goes to the Annual Conferences. There is a vital difference between a statesman and a politician. I fear we are unconsciously dropping into the position of the latter. It is said that a statesman leaves his footprints on the sands of time; a politician leaves his earprints. I am not too anxious to know what is the public feeling, but more anxious to know what in the sight of God would make for the advancement of his kingdom. And then, if we can have that light, the matter can go to the General Conference.

W. D. Bradfield: I am not quite so severe on myself as I have been, for the last hour or two, when I see that strong men in the Commission of our sister Church are not agreed. I am perfectly willing now to confess that I voted with the majority under a misapprehension. That vote with the majority does not represent the vote that I would now cast. I read minutely, I studied carefully, I was cognizant of every step of progress that this Commission had made and given out through its printed report. I supposed that when this item of the number of representation was referred to this Committee of Conference the question was that and nothing more, and that all related matters and agreements hitherto made stood. Now, Mr. President, I do not like to do it; but if this matter is not referred to the committee, I am almost compelled to ask that my name be taken from that report and placed on the minority report. I hope you will refer it back to the committee.

P. H. Linn: I want to move to amend the motion to recommit, making it a motion to recommit with instructions so that we may without any further misunderstanding come to the committee's purpose. Let me say that in the committee, of which I chanced to be a member, which was to formulate the proceedings, we specifically agreed that this committee should report not only upon the status of the negro, but upon correlated matters. That was distinctly and purposely stated by the committee. So I move that we add this to the motion as it now stands, and that we instruct the committee to interpret the report, and to report provisions covering the protection of minorities in the Regional Conferences. I would have them make this statement, and I would have them make it very specific. In our own Commission last night it was distinctly stated that there were provisions for the protection of the minority. But I cannot get any one to tell me what they are or where they are. So I wish those two matters added distinctly to the work of the committee as we recommit these papers to them.

Bishop Mouzon: As the maker of that motion, I accept that amendment.

The member seconding the motion also accepted it.

Bishop McDowell: I would like permission to say a word which perhaps is not quite on the motion of reference. I do not know that it is quite a matter of personal privilege. Mr. Chairman, the majority report proposed the creation of a Regional Conference for our negro membership. Over and over, as clearly as it could possibly be said, I think, it has been said that this is not the creation of a Missionary Regional Conference, or of a Subordinate Regional Conference, or of a Regional Conference on any other status than that of the six white Regional Conferences proposed in our communication of day before yesterday. It must be perfectly evident, and this has also been stated, that the adoption of this report would carry with it the necessity for a reconsideration and reëxamination of certain matters already tentatively adopted by the Joint Commission. One of those matters Dr. Blake has referred to in the question of whether forty-two men should be permitted to elect a bishop for that region, whereas one hundred or more would be required in a white region. I think, clearly, that question would be raised. But there is no possible doubt but that it can be equitably and fairly and wisely answered. The question is now raised again as to the protection of the minority when the matter of voting by regions is raised in the General Conference. I think that with all the clearness that I could command I declared that of course the provision that had already been made for the protection of the minority in the matter of regional voting would, in the modified form made necessary by the presence of the seventh Regional Conference, be reënacted. I meant to make that as clear as possible. I do not know the method. But, clearly, that is a matter of honor with us. Now, Mr. Chairman, it must be perfectly clear that the creation of the full Regional Conference for negroes, with the definition necessary, does now reopen some matters that we have tentatively agreed to. But we have never agreed that we never would reopen those matters. Every matter that has been tentatively agreed to has been held as tentative and subject to final vote and subject to reëxamination, if the case required, by either side. I am stating that with all possible emphasis, and with more vocalization than I am accustomed to use here, because I want to make it just as clear as possible. Mr. Chairman, nothing worse could happen to the cause now than for us to get nervous and suspicious and into an attitude even dimly suspicious of the other body as trying by a parliamentary action to get an advantage. If I felt that any member of our Commission was in that attitude toward the whole Commission, nothing under heaven could induce me to go forward for one minute with this work. We must now be in the attitude of absolute confidence and of absolute composure of spirit. I am perfectly willing that the matter shall be recom-

mitted to the Committee of Conference. I would be willing to have all the suggestions that the Joint Commission wishes to send in, sent in. I therefore would be perfectly willing to have the debate go on for the rest of the afternoon before the Joint Committee takes it up, so that every question remaining in any one's mind shall be brought out here, that we all may see it. But, Mr. Chairman, I have believed, and I do now believe, that the adoption of either of these reports, the adoption of the minority report, the adoption of the majority report, will carry with it, inevitably, modifications of what we have tentatively done, that cannot be reëxamined in the length of time we can now stay here unless we now agree that we can stay here for ten days longer if that is necessary. Therefore, I would be of the opinion that the adoption of the minority report or the adoption of the majority report should be followed by the creation of a representative Committee of Conference that should take the time to reëxamine all that is involved. Every one of these subjects runs straight into every other one. The geography of one region runs straight into the whole question of geography. The question of a negro Regional Conference runs straight into the whole question of the powers of Regional Conferences and their character. Having gone over that subject, we are not barred from going over it again, but are compelled, in case we adopt the majority report, to go over it again in the light of new action which the adoption of that report would constitute. But let us never distrust one another or be suspicious of one another now. Let us observe the confidence and trust that we have had from the beginning, increasingly from the beginning. I more than half suspected you when I first saw you; and you had grave suspicion that no man could be as good a man as I looked! But as the years have gone we have come to mutual confidence and trust in one another. Let us not destroy it now. I am willing to have the matter go back to a Committee of Conference, and would be willing to have that committee enlarged. I believe the adoption of the majority report would call for a Committee of Conference that could take its time for working out the implications of that adoption.

Bishop Mouzon: I wish, as the maker of the motion that this whole matter go back to a Committee of Conference, to say to Bishop McDowell and others that there is no question of suspicion, none whatsoever. Just dismiss all that forevermore. We are not suspecting anybody. But we want an understanding. That is all. We are not prepared to vote until we really know what we are voting on. As it now stands, we do not know what we are voting for. We are asking, therefore, that it go back to the committee. I was prepared to move that four members be added to this committee, two from each Commission, in order

that we might have a larger committee to consider just the question that we have under discussion. I rose simply to say, do not think we are suspecting anybody. Let us not have that in our minds. We are not trying to take advantage of you; you are not trying to take advantage of us. We just want to understand one another and know exactly what we are voting for.

J. F. Goucher: Do I understand Bishop Mouzon to move that the committee be enlarged by four, two from each Commission?

C. M. Bishop: Bishop Mouzon has completely expressed the mind of the Southern Commission about nervousness and suspicion. I wonder whether Bishop McDowell had us in mind or his own associates.

A Voice: Both.

C. M. Bishop: It is perfectly evident that members of these two Commissions have been thinking along different lines, and that it was very necessary that these particular differences of opinion should be brought out here. I am under the impression that it would be important to present some other differences of opinion before that committee meets. I am disposed to think that going back to the Chattanooga meeting for definition of the meaning of a Regional Conference for the colored people carries us back to Chattanooga for a good many things. I do not remember, gentlemen (and certainly there is no suspicion or nervousness in this), that the granting of six Regional Conferences was a concession to the Southern demand. I do not think it was. The Southern contention from the beginning was, Regional Conferences of sufficient independence to protect local interests. And it was named a concession—I hope you will understand me in this and will correct me if I am wrong—my impression is that it was named a concession on the part of the representatives of the Church, South, when it was tentatively agreed at Traverse City that the representatives of the region in the General Conference should constitute a Regional Conference. That was not our idea to begin with. It was never one that was agreed to with any enthusiasm in our Commission, as I understand it. It certainly was never accepted as a very wise provision so far as this Commission was concerned. Therefore, I think we are going further back and opening up other questions. I think the whole question of Regional Conferences and of the powers of Regional Conferences, and therefore, also, the powers of the General Conference, are involved, and that we had better face the whole situation, practically anew, practically where we were, say, six years ago, possibly where we were eight years ago at Chattanooga. But wherever we stand, whether it is on the standpoint of eight or six or four years ago, or on the standpoint of July 9, 1919, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (I am speaking on my own authority, but I think I represent the

Church), is strongly in favor of the unification of Methodism in this country and in the world, so far as our influence reaches. It is strongly in favor of meeting the demands of these critical times by the presentation of a united front to the world, with all its hatred of some of the things for which we stand, some that are conservative and some that are progressive. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, will not allow you to take one single step in advance of its own movement toward the solution of these great questions. We are with you. But let us get back to where we completely understand each other. I quite agree that it seems altogether probable that this matter will have to be committed to a large committee to sit during the intervals of meeting of the Joint Commission and work out these problems.

Edgar Blake: I am in sympathy with the motion to recommit these two reports to the committee. But I think we ought also to refer with them another document that was under consideration at Savannah and St. Louis, with instructions to the committee to consider any or all parts of that document that may assist the committee in finding a solution of the particular problem submitted to it, so that when they return their report to this Commission it will be properly allocated with the whole document, so that you will know exactly the value of any report made. I move as a substitute for what is before us that we recommit these two reports to a Committee of Conference, together with the entire document considered at Savannah and St. Louis, for the consideration of any or all parts of that document that may assist the committee in arriving at a solution of this particular problem. I throw out this suggestion to be considered in connection with it. Would it not be wise not only to refer the paper just named and the two reports, but all other papers in any wise related, to this committee, or to a new committee if you desire? Let that committee sit for a week or two weeks or whatever time may be necessary, thresh out the whole matter, and get a complete document that will show the bearing and relations of all that is done; and, having completed their printed report, furnish it to us a week or more in advance of our meeting, that we may have a full understanding of what we have before us. I submit that if we refer these matters to this committee here now, they will work hurriedly in order to try to get something to throw into the mill for us to grind. Their work will not be matured; it will not be thought through. And when we have ground for a time we will then do just what I am now proposing —namely, recommit it all, adjourn, and ask for a committee to work it out and submit later.

Bishop Mouzon: I hope Dr. Blake's motion will not prevail. There is one critical question which we wish cleared up. We desire to know if minorities are to be properly protected. We

must know that before we are ready to vote. If you clear that up for us, and it must be done not merely by statements from the floor here, but cleared up in the report that is to be presented to us—if you clear that up, we are ready to vote. If you refer all that Dr. Blake suggests, we are going to adjourn without taking any action whatsoever; for it will require days to discuss all these matters and relate all these matters one to the other. If you will receive a report with instructions indicated in the motion made by Dr. Linn, you can discuss it with that in view, and bring back a brief report to us, letting us know whether or not minorities are going to be properly protected. Then we will be ready to vote and create a larger Committee of Reference, and let that be an *ad interim* committee, taking plenty of time to consider all these questions. I fear that if Dr. Blake's motion prevails we will talk away all our time and adjourn without coming to a vote.

Edgar Blake: I call attention to the fact that the very items which Bishop Mouzon brings up do only by the wildest stretch of imagination fall within these two reports presented here.

P. H. Linn: In my motion I especially provided that they report provisions either already tentatively adopted or that they may suggest. That would cover the matter you refer to.

Edgar Blake: That, then, involves committing to this committee more than the reports as we have them before us. That is what I had in mind. You will find that protection of the minority now listed under "voting powers of the General Conference." Now, it is very clear that when this committee comes to the question of the status of the negro in the reorganized Church, they will have to consider the very possibility of a Regional Conference. They will have to consider the relation of it to other Regional Conferences. They will have to consider this matter of the election of bishops. What I desire is this, that we shall refer this entire document for the consideration of any or all parts of it that may be necessary to assist the committee in arriving at a solution of the problems before them. That is my motion. It does not compel them to consider and report upon the entire document. It simply refers this document for them to consider any or all parts that may be affected by the resolution that they may bring back to us.

P. H. Linn: I think all that is carried by the statement that we instruct the committee to interpret their report. In the interpretation of their report they would have to consider the relationship.

Edgar Blake: Do I understand that Dr. Linn's motion involves what I aim at?

P. H. Linn: Yes, sir.

Edgar Blake: Then I withdraw my motion.

J. W. Van Cleve secured recognition.

On motion, the time was extended.

J. W. Van Cleve: It becomes increasingly clear to me that it is now time for us to do one of two things—either to act on this situation now before us, or else to refer this whole matter back to a committee to determine, giving that committee time to perfect their report. We thought that we had a perfectly plain and simple proposition; that when we said "Regional Conference" there could be no doubt that we meant the same thing as we meant by any other Regional Conference.

C. M. Bishop: Has it not been the custom of this Commission for a good many months to have two classes of Regional Conferences? Does not the Commission so understand? Was not the colored Conference in one of these classes, and was not the question of proportional representation so discussed when they were considered as a Regional Conference of the second class, while there were also to be Regional Conferences of certain other types? That is where the confusion has arisen in our minds.

J. W. Van Cleve: I grant that the confusion has an origin in what has taken place before, but we had not carried that matter in our minds. In speaking of the Regional Conference we harked back to the Chattanooga declaration; and not until this morning did it occur to us that there might be another interpretation. I think it fortunate that the question has come up. If we had completed action with different understandings on this point, trouble might have arisen. It is clear that neither of us wishes to gain any advantage. If this whole matter can be recommitted, and the committee can take up the matter in full of these Regional Conferences and the whole matter of readjusting of the Regional Conferences, it will be well. I do not think they can clear up the whole matter in a short time. I think that unless we can understand that by a colored Regional Conference we mean precisely the same thing as we do with reference to a white Regional Conference, except as to numbers—

F. M. Thomas: What would be the status of bishops who might be elected by this colored Regional Conference?

J. W. Van Cleve: Precisely the same as that of bishops elected by any other Regional Conference.

F. M. Thomas: Thank you. Is that clear?

Edgar Blake: Do we understand that Dr. Van Cleve is speaking for himself or for the Commission?

J. W. Van Cleve: For myself and also for what I believe to have been the mind of our Commission in the discussion. I think, in view of these differences, that they cannot be adjusted within a few hours. It does seem to me, unless we can act with this understanding, the readjustment of all these questions is before us. It seems to me, therefore, we ought either to act

now or else to adjourn and appoint a Committee of Conference and adjourn, giving it time to act, so that we may come together and know what is before us.

Bishop Cannon: Do you mean to adopt without any further explanation which we can refer to as authority? Do you mean we should act without defining every point that is under discussion?

J. W. Van Cleve: If you are going to open up the report for readjustment of the whole matter, it seems to me it will take more time than we have now at our command.

Bishop Cannon: I raised this question about two hours ago. I have delayed making a statement, which I really want to make as Chairman of that committee. But it is 12:30 o'clock, and I hesitate to take the time that would be required. It seems to me it would be wiser to adjourn.

Bishop McDowell: It is evident that we are confused, nervous, and liable to haste at this minute. I believe every bit of wisdom would now be conserved by our taking our recess to the regular hour of meeting this afternoon, with Bishop Cannon on the floor when we reconvene.

It was voted to adjourn to 2:30, Bishop Cannon to have the floor at that time.

The session closed at 12:38 P.M., the benediction being pronounced by Bishop Cranston.

Afternoon Session.

At 2:35 P.M. Bishop Mouzon took the chair, announced that Judge Simpson would lead the devotions, and called on Dr. Neff to lead in singing a hymn.

The hymn, "Thou my everlasting portion," was sung.

Judge Simpson read from the fourteenth chapter of John.

Prayer was offered by Bishop Ainsworth.

The minutes of the morning session were read and approved.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops E. D. Mouzon, Collins Denny, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr., W. N. Ainsworth, J. W. Hamilton, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, W. D. Bradfield, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey, Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. F. Goucher, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, F. M. North. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, J. R. Pepper, H. H. White, J. G. McGowan, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, E. L. Kidney, J. R. Joy, Alex. Simpson, Jr.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I recognize Bishop Cannon.

Bishop Cannon: Mr. Chairman and brethren, it occurred to me this morning that, as the Chairman of the committee which

brought in these two reports, I should perhaps make a statement. Why should this report be referred back to the committee? It is in one sense an agreement on the part of the committee that the report was either not complete, or that the language used was not exactly what all the committee thought it was, or that it means less or more than the committee understood. I think it is very evident, from what was said here this morning, that all the members of the committee did not understand the report to mean the same thing. Dr. Bradfield and Dr. Blake both in their statements clearly indicated that they did not agree as to the meaning of the language, or the sweep of the language, with some other members of the committee. Furthermore, I think it ought to be referred back in order that the committee should have opportunity to reconsider its action in view of statements made this morning as to the understanding of the language used, in order that a statement may be prepared which will set forth in a sound form of words the plan proposed for the protection of minorities. General statements are made, and may declare intentions. But when we have traveled all the way here and are faced with the prospect of traveling back again to the same point, it seems to me it would be better while we are here to see whether on that point, which is a vital point, some form of words could be found which would be satisfactory to both parties. Now, I am satisfied that, because our minds were fixed upon the thought of proportionate or limited representation in the General Conference, the majority report did not especially call the attention of the committee to any other matter. For I am sure that if the majority report had said that proportionate representation meant that the negro Regional Conference should have the same rights and privileges as the six white Regional Conferences are to have in the General Conference, every one of us would have seen at once how great a difference there is between that proposition and the proposition that the Methodist Episcopal Church made at St. Louis. But that point was not emphasized. I realized somewhat, while Bishop McDowell was talking yesterday afternoon, that it was evident that in his mind there was the sweeping thought that the negro membership was to have all the rights and privileges of the white membership. And so when I spoke I emphasized a little more strongly than I might otherwise have done the difference between the two reports, and the fact that the minority report did put the negro membership into another classification—into a subordinate classification. And yet it did not occur to me that what I understand now was clearly the thought of the majority report. But as the afternoon went on the speeches made were such that when our Commission met last night and the question was raised, I stated that while nothing was said in the committee on that point

except a motion of indefinite reference that was not really significant, yet I did not see how the speeches made yesterday afternoon could be logically interpreted in any other way. So this morning I raised the question here, because I felt that the time had come when we should get this question clearly settled. And if the committee had brought in a report which was not clear, and it did not fully state what all the members of the committee had in mind, it should be known. And I think now the committee should take the matter up again. Now the case, as I see it, is a very clear-cut one. Stripped of all possible misunderstanding, it is something like this: Shall the status of the negro membership in the reorganized Church be that of an immature, undeveloped child race, with corresponding privileges, or that of a race which should be given exactly the same rights and privileges as the white race, but set apart into separate congregations, Annual Conferences, and Regional Conferences, solely on the ground of race, not to say color? That, it seems to me, is the issue as we have it to-day. This good brother sitting in front of me has been my friend for many years. We are real friends, but he writes things sometimes that I do not understand. I do not understand how he can think that certain things exist. Now, the issue is not as Dr. Spencer has said in a recent number of his paper, I think perhaps within the last four weeks. He says it is the race question that is keeping the Churches apart, one Church standing for the exclusion of negroes from the reorganized Church because of their color—that is, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; the other Church, under its conception of the fatherhood of God and the heart of its message to the heathen world, unable to impose upon its own loyal colored membership such an exclusion. Now, I say that is not the issue. That is not the question here to-day. That never has been the issue, in the language Dr. Spencer used. It was not the issue in 1844. It was not the issue before the war. The negroes were in our Church. We never thought of excluding them from membership in our Church. When the war was over and it became evident that unless some new arrangement was made—a new arrangement, for they were in our Church—they would practically all leave our Church, and their leaders consulted with our bishops and our other leaders, and the proposition was made to adjust their Church relationship so as to get the best results for the development of the kingdom of God among the negro people. Our leaders first proposed the Associate General Conference idea. When that was proposed, the negroes did not want it. They wanted an independent Church. We never put the negroes out of our Church. We never put them out of our Church on the ground of color. They are out of our Church because they asked to go out, and because conditions are so, not

only in the southern part of the country but in the whole country, that it has been found better for the negroes to worship in separate Churches and to have separate Conferences. Now, this much I wanted to say to Dr. Spencer, because I read this paragraph of his in Columbus and I had it in my mind to say it when we met in this Commission. And I determined, by God's help, after I was placed on this special committee, to go the full length that I could go, preserving the only principle that is ever to govern me in my attitude toward the negro. At Savannah the Southern Commissioners agreed, nineteen to six, that the negroes should be represented in the General Conference. That was two years ago. This article of Dr. Spencer's is recent, only four weeks ago. We said frankly in Savannah, nineteen to six, "Yes, we will take the negro into the General Conference, but as a child race, as an immature race." I have wanted to go just as far as we could. I wanted it to be so that even Dr. Spencer would be thoroughly convinced that that statement of his did not have foundation. So I proposed to go right up to the proposition of the Methodist Episcopal Church in St. Louis and say, "Why, yes. Take proportionate representation for your present negro membership. It is not a question as to numbers. Bring the negro into the Church. There is no question at all of exclusion, of keeping him out of the Church. But bring him into the Church in the relationship in which he ought to be in the Church, as a child race and in the same relation as the Mexicans and Brazilians and other races that are undeveloped and have not yet the capacity to come into the great body and to determine the affairs of the Church." My children are the joy of my heart, and they are in my home; and there are times when it is all right for the youngest and most immature of them to be present in the family circle and hear discussions concerning family affairs. There are other times when only my sons and daughters who are of age can gather with my wife and myself and discuss affairs pertaining to the affairs of the younger children. I do not love the younger ones less. They are not in that discussion because it is not best that they should be there. That is the principle upon which the minority report from the beginning to the end is based, and not to exclude the colored man from the Church. Let him come into the Church, up to say five per cent, or six per cent—if you brethren must cover the point that you have a certain number of negroes in the Church at the present time—if you must cover that point we will not split hairs on that. But the principle upon which alone it seems to me we can base our action is on the immaturity of the race. I cannot agree personally to the idea that we are to base the setting up of the negro into separate Churches and separate Regional Conferences, as is proposed in the minority report, solely

on the ground of color and race. That is another reason, quite evidently a very different reason. They are brought into the General Conference under the plan of our Northern brethren with a proportionate voice, but up to that point the only ground on which they are set apart is the ground of race and color. Now, I say very frankly that there is a sweep to this majority report that I can hardly conceive was in the minds of the brethren who signed it. I must think that it did not carry everything to their minds that it must logically carry. It carries the selection of negro bishops by the negro Quadrennial Conferences, and they are coming into the General Conference exactly as the other bishops and to be assigned, as the other bishops, by the Board of Bishops. That is something that the Methodist Episcopal Church has not done in the past. The Methodist Episcopal Church has not yet elected a colored man bishop. Why? Because of race? I would not think of saying that. It is because of his immaturity and because that Church has not felt that up to the present time it was wise to put the representative of an immature race in control of the Conferences. I think there is in their minds, as well as in the minds of Anglo-Saxons generally, a certain percentage of racial feeling, unavoidably. Not anything improper; but the fact remains that this report would carry us further, in my judgment, than the committee which brought it in thought it would do.

Bishop McDowell: I move the extension of Bishop Cannon's time, if he desires.

By unanimous vote, the time was extended.

Bishop Cannon: I am speaking, of course, on the motion to refer and not on the merits of the case. That is understood. Now, brethren, I come back to this point. Shall the distinction we make be on the ground of race and color, as the majority proposes, or on immaturity? I like the word "missionary" best. I call attention to what I may have a little pride about, and an honest pride—to the fact that this paper does have some logic in it, that there is a thread running through it. I do not at all claim originality for the details of this proposition. The only thing that I tried myself to emphasize was, that I wanted to go to the extreme limit that had been asked by the Methodist Episcopal brethren on the matter of representation for the colored man, always providing that he remain in the relation that this paper places him in—namely, a missionary relation, if not by the word being used, by the classification in which he is placed. Now, this paper goes on, in paragraphs three and four, to carry out the idea of the first and second paragraphs, that these Regional Conferences, all of them, not some, or simply those of the colored membership, but all shall have the powers proposed for the Central Conferences in the report of the Committee on Conferences

as contained in the report of the committee at Savannah. I cannot claim to be as well posted as Dr. Bradfield is. I was in Europe a good deal of the time last year and this year—certainly last year. I did not study the report of the Savannah Conference as carefully as I might have done. I am not sure that, if it came to the discussion of these powers proposed for the Central Conferences, I would stand finally for this paper. Some of these powers proposed for the Central Conference, upon study, I might think should be changed. But it seemed to me, reading them over as I did night before last as carefully as I could, that it was all right to put that clause in this paper, subject to modification should that become necessary. Now, then, section four. I went further in my thoughts than the brethren at Savannah. As you know, they insisted that whenever the time came that the negro membership reached, I think it was, six hundred thousand, they should pass out of the relationship which they held; that the General Conference must then erect them into an Associate General Conference. I was not satisfied that that was necessary. But I did think that after these Missionary Regional Conferences reached the point that five or six per cent was no longer a fair proportionate representation, even though they were immature child races, if they felt that they were not being fairly treated, they should have the right to come to the General Conference and say, "Now, we have increased. We are a large body. And we think you should set us apart in an Associate General Conference, giving us equal powers with yourselves and with the proposed nexus between us." Therefore it is declared in this paper that whenever these Regional Conferences attain a membership of four hundred thousand, it would be possible for each of these Regional Conferences to ask for a different relation, and I think the Church then ought to give it. Then the final paragraph—namely, that the relation of this Regional Conference to the General Conference may be changed by the vote of two successive General Conferences. I think the General Conference should have authority to determine when the time has come for the relationship of a Missionary Regional Conference to be changed. So this section provides for it. I thought it wiser to put in "two General Conferences," to give time for reflection about it. Now I believe that the thread in this report is one that is not broken at all, but that there is one single thread running through it—namely, that the one way to treat people is to treat them in accord with the facts as they exist. We have treated the colored people in the mass in all the relationships of life not as our enemies, not as those with whom we can have no dealings, not as a hostile race, but as a race that is under tutors and governors, as the child is. And the civil government in our Southern States, to be frank about it, has never

been animated by hostility to the negroes in its resolutions and laws and legislation in reference to the suffrage. It has had in view the best interests of both races, that they might live helpfully together. There has been injustice sometimes. Nobody has ever denied it. There has been injustice in the North, as well as in the South, on racial lines. But the intent and purpose of the ruling classes (if I can use that word), of the dominating classes, or dominant class of the Southern people has been to order the life in that section of our country so that there would be the best results for both races. We believe that what is true in the State is desirable in the Church. These brethren, these colored brethren, need our help in the State. We are obliged to tax ourselves for their school fund. If it was their property alone that should be taxed to educate them, they would have no schools at all in some sections. They are developing in property; but we tax ourselves largely for their help. We help them build their churches. Almost every month negro men and women bring papers to me and say, "Now, boss, we expect you to lead in this; put us down a good bit." We do help our colored people. We do desire their good. But to us they are still a child race. And this paper is drawn up in accord with the facts as we see them. And we believe that it would be a great mistake to put the negro in any different relation. We are honest in it. And we hope that if these statements are referred back to the committee some plan can be devised that will meet the views of both sides.

Bishop McDowell: I am sure we are all very grateful to Bishop Cannon for this clear, consistent, and illuminating statement. We have reached the point where we need clearly to say what we think, so that there can be no possible misapprehension, or misunderstanding of the one by the other. May I, then, with this statement of Bishop Cannon's fresh in your minds, make another, even at the risk of a bit of repetition, because I want the two statements to be got before us as nearly simultaneously as possible, this immediately succeeding that? May I say, then, from the Methodist Episcopal Commission, that the proposal to erect the negro membership into a Regional Conference and constitute it a Regional Conference was intended to be perfectly understood? I desire now to make it perfectly understood. We proposed to have a proportionate representation for them in the General Conference, "proportionate" referring entirely to numbers. The limitations that are inevitable at present are the limitations due to the fact that there would be forty of them instead of a hundred representing a Regional Conference. The adjustments of their powers in their own Regional Conference and elsewhere, and the definition of those powers, will have to be based upon the fact that there would be

a smaller number of them; but upon no other facts. It is not part of our thought that they come in with limitations of a "missionary sort," limitations due to their being an immature race, limitations due to their being a child race (I am using the word Bishop Cannon has used, solely because I want to be perfectly understood), but the limitations due to a smaller number and to a smaller number alone. The readjustments that would be made necessary, it was all the time in our thought that we should make. But not a readjustment that would constitute the negro Regional Conference subordinate or in a Class B or in a Class C or in a "missionary" class or in an "immature" class; but only to constitute the negro Regional Conference in a class by itself with the limitations due to its size—and to nothing else. I am not assuming to speak the mind of my own Commission, but I felt that for myself I ought to make that statement as representing my mind.

C. B. Spencer: Well, Mr. Chairman, Bishop Cannon takes me off my guard. I will say to him, in answering what he has just directed at me as if I were a critic of the Church, South, that for many years I have been a student, and a sympathetic student, of the relations of the Church, South, to the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. I had the acquaintance of Dr. George Williams Walker, and with him walked about Paine College at Augusta, where the portraits of Haygood and Galloway hang beside the portraits of colored men. I will go so far as to say that I have had the pleasure to address on two different occasions the General Conferences of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and in each instance have expressed my own heart as well as the heart, as I believe, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in wishing that body, in which the Church, South, has so keen an interest, success. On the other hand, in the presence of bishops of all the colored denominations, at the last General Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, it happened that I made my address when they were there in the interest of the unification of all the colored Methodisms of America. After I had said what should be said, and from my heart, as to the experiment they were trying, the experiment of Paine College, that wonderfully interesting and successful institution, I was in duty bound to explain our own philosophy. I did it and never was more applauded. I say this to correct Bishop Cannon's intimation as to ignorance or prejudice on my part. I can say that I have had, from scores of leaders of that and other colored Churches, at least from a score of them, the highest wish, apparently the most candid wish, that the idea for which the Methodist Episcopal Church stands should have the highest possible success. The point I made in that editorial to which Bishop Cannon has referred was in reference to the negro in the Gen-

eral Conference. I will read just about an inch here from the proceedings at Savannah to lay before the Joint Commission, whether I was justified in the point I was making—namely, the point that the negro when he reaches a certain number of members should be excluded from the General Conference of the reorganized Church because of his color—that my editorial approved. Here is a speech delivered by the John Marshall of the Joint Commission, Rev. Dr. A. J. Lamar, on this subject at Savannah. He says: "We may as well face this question before us squarely and understand just what is involved. Underneath all your verbiage and different methods of expression there remains this difference, the difference between 'may' and 'must.' You may say it is a little question of a word. I believe it was Mirabeau in the general assembly of France who said that words are things. But Carlisle said they are tremendous things in the mouth of a Mirabeau. Here we are—'may' or 'must.' 'Must' looks to definite association of the negro in the reorganized Church and affiliation only during a definite period, while 'may' leaves the whole question open." That is to say, when the negro members reach a certain number, not they "may" go out because of their color, but they "shall" or "must" go out because of their color. If that is not drawing the color line, cover it with whatever verbiage and velvet allusion you wish, what is and what can be the drawing of a color line? But I will not press the matter further, except to say that Bishop Cannon's speech is, to say the least, in the history of this Joint Commission a novelty. I hope what he has said will prove prophetic, even if it is not historical, and that never again will any Methodist put up any barrier against any human being because of color—because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. In that light I accept his remarkable speech with pleasure.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The question is on recommitting the report with instructions, recommitting both reports. If you will recommit these reports with instructions, you will say "Aye"; if you are opposed, you will say "No." The reports are recommitted.

Bishop Cranston took the chair.

Bishop Mouzon: I now move that four additional members, two from each Commission, be added to this Committee of Conference. I would have it understood that in each case it will be one minister and one layman.

The motion was seconded and, being put to a vote, was carried.

Bishop Mouzon resumed the chair.

C. M. Bishop: I move that the Commission now adjourn, in order that this Joint Committee may have time to meet, and that we meet to-morrow morning at the usual hour.

This motion was seconded.

A. W. Harris: As a matter of privilege, I ask instructions in regard to a request. A representative of the press asked whether they may have that statement presented by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church which outlined its position upon Regional Conferences.

Bishop Cannon: Do I understand that they wish the majority report?

A. W. Harris: No. Simply the paper from which Bishop McDowell read.

D. G. Downey: I should think it would hardly be proper to give a representative from one section that, without something else. Furthermore, it is recommitted. I should think the only thing we could give would be a statement from the Secretary. I move that it be the judgment of this Commission that the only thing to be given out is a statement by the Secretary.

I. E. Robinson: The whole matter is covered by the rule which says that no action may be given out except a final determination, and therefore the motion of Dr. Downey is not necessary.

D. G. Downey: I understood that the request was for the general press, not the Church press.

A. W. Harris: It is a request from one representative of the Church press.

A. J. Lamar: I cannot see why, on that representation, we invited the editors to our meeting, if we intended that they should be here for naught. If I remember aright, when this question first came up (I believe at Baltimore, certainly at Savannah, I think every time we have met), the reason given for it was that we should have no star chamber proceedings, but that the widest publicity was due our people. Those were the reasons for the motion. I opposed the motion. I do not think it was wise. I do not think it was in the interest of exactness in our work and in the reports of that work. But you have voted to invite our Church editors here. Why Church editors more than anybody else, if it were not for the fact that they may give publicity to our proceedings? I am thoroughly opposed to inviting our editors here and then telling them, "Gentlemen, you are providentially located here to see and listen, but you are under oath not to divulge anything you have heard." What is the good of that? We might as well have invited any other class as editors, unless they were to have this privilege.

D. G. Downey: I thought the reference was to the general press. My opinion is the same as Dr. Lamar's. I withdraw my motion.

R. E. Backwell: We invited the Church editors here so that they might see how we get at our results, and understand better than by simply reading the record. I do not think it was intended that they should publish everything. I think it is per-

fectly legitimate for this editor to ask whether this particular thing ought to be published.

Edgar Blake: If our editors who are with us have to come here to ask permission for anything and everything they wish to publish concerning our proceedings, it will take up a good deal of their time. These men have been selected by their constituent bodies because they are supposed to be men of sound judgment. It would seem to me, therefore, entirely proper for us to say to our editors that they are at liberty to use any material presented in this meeting that may appear in their judgment to be wise to use. I so move, that they be accorded that privilege.

Bishop Cannon: I second that motion. This body may know that from the beginning of the sessions of this Commission I thought the proceedings should be published, certainly to a limited number. I wish very much that every presiding elder and district superintendent of the Churches could be somehow present to hear these discussions. Our people need to know not only the difficulties we have, but the agreements that we have, the spirit in which we meet. And I do not see how you can possibly invite men here and not say to them, "Gentlemen, you are to do as your best judgment may determine." I do not see any other way.

On request, Edgar Blake stated his motion again; whereupon the motion was put and prevailed.

J. J. Wallace, Ira E. Robinson, W. J. Young, and R. S. Hyer were added to the Committee of Conference.

C. M. Bishop: I move that we adjourn.

This motion prevailed.

Announcements were made, and the session closed at 3:37 P.M., the benediction being pronounced by Dr. Wallace.

FOURTH DAY, THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1919.

At 9:11 A.M. Dr. A. J. Lamar said: "Give me your attention a minute. Neither of our presidents is here. I understand they are detained by business of the Commission. It is past the hour of meeting. I move that Bishop Hamilton take the chair."

This motion was carried, and Bishop Hamilton occupied the chair.

The twenty-third Psalm was repeated in unison.

Prayer was offered by Dr. Lamar.

Bishop Cranston came in and, at Bishop Mouzon's request, took the chair.

The reading of the minutes was called for, and in the absence of the Secretary, Dr. Downey read the minutes of the preceding session, which were approved.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops

J. M. Moore, W. N. Ainsworth, E. D. Mouzon, Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: T. N. Ivey, C. M. Bishop, A. J. Lamar, A. F. Watkins, P. H. Linn, J. E. Dickey, D. G. Downey, R. E. Jones, Frank Neff, E. M. Randall, C. B. Spencer. Laymen: M. L. Walton, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, J. H. Reynolds, J. R. Pepper, J. G. McGowan, I. G. Penn, J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock, E. L. Kidney.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): What is the pleasure of the Commission? Is there any word from the committee? Has anybody any message from the committee?

D. G. Downey: I have no message from the committee. But I was with Bishop Cannon a few minutes ago, and he said they would meet at nine o'clock and be here in a few minutes.

Bishop Moore: I have just had word, and I think they have not finished their work; but it will not be more than a few minutes before they report.

Bishop Cranston: It will do us good to spend some time in song and prayer. Let us sing "Faith of our fathers! living still."

This hymn was sung, and prayer was offered by R. E. Jones.

The hymn, "Pass me not, O gentle Saviour," was sung.

Bishop Mouzon: I am requested by the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to ask that you give us leave of absence for a little time, while we have a meeting of our Southern Commissioners.

This request was granted, and an immediate meeting of the Southern Commissioners was called.

At 11:28 A.M. the Southern Commissioners came in.

Bishop Cranston: The Commission will be in order, please.

Ira E. Robinson: Bishop, it seems necessary that the Joint Committee of Conference confer again, just for a moment.

The permission to do this was given. The Joint Committee retired and returned after a brief interval.

Bishop Cranston: Is the committee ready to report?

Bishop Cannon: Just one moment, Mr. Chairman.

At 11:42 Bishop Cranston said: The Commission will be in order. Brethren, before we hear this report, while our minds are in some stress of action I feel that we can find no better place than the heart of God. I am going to ask Bishop Leete and Bishop Mouzon to lead us in prayer.

Prayer was offered by Bishop Leete.

Bishop Mouzon led while all present united in repeating the Lord's Prayer.

Bishop Cranston: Shall we have the report?

Bishop Cannon: Mr. Chairman, your committee to which was referred the question of the status of the negro in the unified and reorganized Church, to which was referred on yesterday the two papers which were presented to this body by the committee,

also the collateral questions that arose therefrom, the interpretation of the paper and the consequences which seemed to us to follow from the adoption of the papers, had two or three sessions and went over the matter very thoroughly; and we present to the Joint Commission two statements, each signed by seven members; one of which will be read by Dr. Blake, and the other, as a part of it is in my handwriting, I suppose I had better read.

Edgar Blake presented one report from the Committee of Conference, as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE.

We propose to the Joint Commission that the colored membership of the Church shall be constituted and recognized as a Quadrennial or Regional Conference, with proportionate representation and the same rights and privileges in the General Conference as belong to other Regional Conferences, recognizing fully the limitations at present due to the smaller number of members who would constitute the colored Regional Conference.

1. In harmony therewith, we recommend the amendment of Article IX., Section 4, Subsection 4 (page 12 of the Savannah folder), by the substitution, in line 3, of the words "two-thirds" for the words "a majority of," so that the section shall read:

"Whenever a majority of each of two Regional delegations shall so request, a vote shall be taken on any pending motion or resolution, except amendments to the Constitution, by Regional delegations, and it shall require the concurrence of two-thirds of the Regional delegations—the members thereof voting as one body—to adopt said motion or resolution; *provided, however,* that no motion or resolution shall be adopted that does not receive a majority vote of the members of the General Conference present and voting."

2. We recommend that Article IX., Section 3, Subsection 3 (page 12 of the Savannah folder), be amended to read as follows (fifth line):

"The general superintendents, before the General Conference convenes, shall elect from their own number, by a two-thirds vote, one bishop or more to preside during the session."

3. We recommend that Article IX., Section 2, Subsection 7 (page 10 of the Savannah folder), be amended by adding after the word "supervision," in the tenth line, the words "if a majority of the resident bishops of the jurisdiction to which he is assigned shall concur in said assignment."

4. We recommend that to Article VI. (pages 1 and 2 of the Savannah folder) there be added a section to be numbered (7), reading as follows: "The Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions embracing the work among colored people in the United States."

5. We recommend that Article VI., Section 2 (page 4 of the Savannah folder), be referred to the Committee on Conferences for a restatement in harmony with the principles of this report.

6. We recommend that Article VII., Section 1 (page 3 of the Savannah folder), be amended by the omission of Subsection 1, and that the subsections be renumbered accordingly, also that the words "not otherwise provided for" be omitted from Subsection 2.

This report was signed by the seven members of the Commitmittee on Conference who represented the Methodist Episcopal Church. The following statement was appended:

In the foregoing report every suggested matter, wherever it was thought by any one that the minority might be at a disadvantage, and every precaution suggested as possibly necessary to prevent the minority from being intruded upon or voted down by the negro membership, was considered, and a remedy found, which every member of the Joint Committee declared to be adequate. If there are other matters not suggested to us, but needing action, we will gladly consider them, with the desire to throw about the minority such additional safeguards as may be necessary.

Bishop McDowell: This supplementary statement, by the consent of the other members of the Committee on Conference, was added without having been submitted to the body. I think perhaps there may be a numerical inaccuracy in it, which we did not intend. It states that every member of the committee expressed the opinion that these were adequate protections. I think we asked last night if any additional statements were desired. As I now remember, Dr. Thomas was not present, and I feel that I ought to make the exception to that statement that was due to Dr. Thomas's absence. He did not hear the questions that were asked.

F. M. Thomas: I was present for a while and heard several of them. To my thinking, those only cover a phase of the problem. In fact, there were some very profound principles underlying, that could not possibly be touched on. It would in no wise represent all the facts, to say that they were adequate, because I do not think they can be adequately guarded by any form of legislation. You cannot contravene principles by legislation or get around them by legislation, because sooner or later they will face you from some standpoint.

Bishop McDowell: I made the statement in Dr. Thomas's behalf that we do not intend to hold him at this point. Mr. Chairman, I think we ought to hear the second statement. I wish to move the adoption of the statement just made by Dr. Blake, so as to keep the matter in proper form.

Bishop Cannon: That is not exactly in order until the whole report is made, this part of the report of the committee:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE CONCERNING THE STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNIFIED AND REORGANIZED CHURCH.

We suggest:

1. That there be the following additional Regional Conferences:
(1) The Regional Conference for Colored People in America.
(2) The Regional Conference for Latin America.
(3) The Regional Conference for Europe and Africa.
(4) The Regional Conference for Eastern Asia.
(5) The Regional Conference for Southern Asia.

2. These Regional Conferences shall each have representation in the General Conference in proportion to their membership in full standing; *provided,* that each of such Regional Conferences shall be entitled to at least five clerical and five lay delegates; *provided, further,* that the number of delegates from any one of these Conferences shall not exceed five per cent of the entire membership of the General Conference.

3. These Regional Conferences shall have the powers proposed for the Central Conferences as contained in the report of the Committee of Conference as amended at the Savannah session of the Joint Commission on Unification.

4. Whenever the membership in full standing of any of these Regional Conferences shall exceed four hundred thousand, upon request of said Conference the General Conference shall organize the membership of said Conference into an Associate General Conference with the powers proposed for such Associate General Conference in the report of the Committee of Conference at the Savannah meeting of the Joint Commission. Such Associate General Conference shall have representation in the General Conference of ten clerical and ten lay delegates, with the right to speak and to vote in the General Conference on all matters which affect their relation to the Church.

5. The relation of these Regional Conferences to the General Conference may be changed by the vote of two successive General Conferences.

6. That we reaffirm the action of the Commission taken at Savannah in reference to the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

Respectfully submitted.

James Cannon, Jr.,
F. M. Thomas,
W. D. Bradfield,
W. J. Young,
H. H. White,
P. D. Maddin,
R. S. Hyer.

Bishop Cannon: I think, Mr. Chairman, that in presenting this report I should say that Bishop McDowell is correct, and the question was asked whether there was any suggestion as to the protection of minorities. And the reply was made that we could not at that time think of any suggestion upon that subject, but that it was very evident that the adoption of that statement would raise certain questions which would have to be considered later on, some very important questions; but that it was not necessary for that committee to take up those questions and consider them for the purpose of clearness. And that it was simply a question of whether the results that came from that would be adjusted later.

Bishop Mouzon: I have a statement which I think should be made at this point. I am instructed by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to say to you that we are unanimous in preferring the report presented by our representatives on this Joint Committee of Conference. I am also instructed to say to you that the majority of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, presents this report which has just been read by Bishop Cannon to you of the Methodist Episcopal Church as a definite proposal. I am also instructed to say to you that if you cannot see your way clear to accept this definite proposal made by us, we desire that a Joint Committee of Reference, an *ad interim* committee, be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take under consideration the whole matter of the unification of American Methodism and report at

a time to be agreed upon by our Joint Commission on Unification.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Does the Chair understand that the two documents come before the house as reports from the committee, or that the committee, by agreement, tacit or otherwise, intended that they should appear simply as statements? I have never been confronted by just such a parliamentary proposition before. Neither seems to be presented as a report, but both as statements. It might of course be competent for the Commission to adopt a statement, but what would it signify? That opens a question which is beyond parliamentary usage, so far as I understand it.

Bishop McDowell: Mr. Chairman, it will be remembered that yesterday a report was presented which was characterized as a majority report—if yesterday was the day; and that afterwards a report was presented which was characterized as the minority report. A motion was made for the adoption of the majority report, and the motion was then made to substitute the minority for the majority report. The Joint Committee on Conference—I will ask Bishop Cannon to observe this statement—the Joint Committee on Conference last night agreed that, presenting a statement in behalf of that Joint Committee upon which the committee had divided evenly, and therefore created a rather extraordinary parliamentary situation, as you have just stated—it was agreed that the parliamentary status of these two documents should be the same as the parliamentary status of the so-called majority and so-called minority report as presented previously. In other words, the statement just read by Dr. Blake would be regarded as the first of the papers, and a motion made to adopt it. The statement presented by Bishop Cannon would be regarded as the second, and a motion made to substitute it for the other. I make that statement only for the purpose of making the record perfectly clear. It may be that the Joint Commission now desires and will desire, rather than to have these two motions presented—namely, the motion for the adoption of the paper read by Dr. Blake and a motion made to substitute the paper presented by Bishop Cannon—it may be that the Joint Commission would prefer that the two motions be held in abeyance. I am only stating the case for the purpose of having it technically in the record in accord with our agreement, in order that the Joint Commission may consider the statement presented by Bishop Mouzon in behalf of the Southern Commission.

Bishop Cannon: The committee recommended that the designations "majority" and "minority" be not used; that the committee would present two papers, which would have equal standing before the Commission, one signed by seven, the other signed

by seven. But there was no zeal on one side or the other to determine which, in a parliamentary way, should be placed before the body to be adopted and the other to be substituted, provided it is understood that the papers have equal weight, coming from the committee signed each by seven members. It is a very immaterial matter as to whether the adoption of one is moved first or the adoption of the other. So I stated very frankly to Bishop McDowell last night that the papers should take that order; that the motion should be made, when it was made, that the paper signed by the representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church should be moved for adoption and the other offered as a substitute.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: I move as a substitute for all the motions before the house that this Commission adopt the suggestion made by Bishop Mouzon on behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and that an adequate committee be appointed to consider the whole subject, pending an adjournment to such time as we shall be called together by the Joint Commission.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The Chair finds the following record of the motion of reference: The motion was that both reports be referred back to a committee in order that all these related matters may be worked out and the reports perfected and that we instruct the committee to interpret the report and to report provisions either already tentatively adopted or which they may recommend for adoption, covering the protection of minorities in the reorganized Church. That shows a continuity, parliamentary continuity at least, between the reports that were before the Commission yesterday and the statements that are made now. They are in effect an interpretation of the report, reënforced by such recommendations as seem to be necessary added to them. The motion made by Judge Simpson just now recognizes this situation, being a substitute for all other motions before the house—that is, as a substitute for the motion to adopt the minority report and for the original motion to adopt the majority report.

Bishop McDowell: We are not using those words any more.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): I say, those are the motions before the house; and they were just as I have stated them.

Bishop Moore: Are those motions before the house in view of the fact that the whole matter was referred to a committee who now bring back these papers?

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): You were instructed to perfect the report and add such provisions as were necessary.

Bishop McDowell: Mr. Chairman, I think we are not much disposed, any of us, to stand for parliamentary refinements, however accurate, at this moment.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Yes, but it is the business

of the Chair to keep his head straight; otherwise the record may become confusing to even ourselves.

Bishop McDowell: This Chair, as a rule, does not have to exert himself to keep his head straight! But, Mr. Chairman, I think we are all of one mind, that Judge Simpson's motion may properly be before us in exactly the form in which he has made it. At least, by common consent, I think, we could put it in that form. But I would like to hear Bishop Mouzon's declaration again before we take this vote.

Bishop Mouzon: Mr. Chairman, we desire to say to you, first, that the Commission representing the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is unanimous in preferring the report read by Bishop Cannon. Secondly, that a majority of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, presents this report to you as a definite proposal coming from the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Third, that in case you do not see your way clear to accept this definite proposal coming from us, we would request that a Joint Committee of Reference be appointed to whom shall be referred the whole matter of unification; this committee to report back at a time to be agreed upon.

Bishop McDowell: Mr. Chairman, I think we are endeavoring at this particular minute to do a very wise and proper thing. We have allowed the two statements to come in from the two sections of the Joint Committee of Conference, exactly on a parity, not counting either a "majority" or a "minority," but putting them exactly on a parity. Now the statement made on behalf of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which is made by Bishop Mouzon, might with exactness (I think in exactly those terms, with very slight change) represent our own attitude concerning the report presented by us. It would read like this: We desire to state to you that the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church unanimously states its preference for the statement signed by the representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We state, secondly, that the majority of the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church present the aforesaid report as a definite proposal to the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. We state to you, in the third place, that in the event that the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, cannot accept this proposition, then we request the appointment of an *ad interim* committee to consider the entire subject of unification and to report back to a joint session of the Commission, at a time to be agreed upon. Now, the nub of the matter is, Mr. Chairman, that upon two statements presented here with exact equality, as from the Joint Committee of this body, we make a common motion upon the basis of two statements exactly similar. I

think you all see why I am doing that. It is that it shall not appear, here or anywhere, that one Commission submitted a proposition which the other did not accept, but that it shall appear that each Commission submitted a proposition and that we then united in the creation of a Joint Committee to consider the subject further. And my object in making this motion, or really my object in supporting Judge Simpson's motion, with this parliamentary statement, is this: that I believe that it will minister in the long run toward what in our hearts we earnestly desire—namely, an agreement. And I would not like to have this Joint Commission adjourn with our brethren from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, going out to say, "We submitted a proposition which they did not accept." I would not like to have the Commission adjourn with us going out saying, "We submitted a proposition that the Southern Commission did not accept," and that the fault, therefore, of the failure lies upon one side or the other. I am wanting that the statement, as far as the presentation is concerned, shall be exactly the same statement concerning each of us, and that we shall then unite in the adoption of the motion which Bishop Mouzon has presented in the form of a statement and which Judge Simpson moves shall be adopted. Now, if there is any way by which we can get more nearly on a parity of good will and of parliamentary level, I would like to know just how it could be done.

Bishop Cannon: I would like to know whether Judge Simpson's motion is exactly the same as Bishop McDowell read.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: It is the same thing that appeared in the last clause of Bishop Mouzon's statement.

Bishop Cannon: That we consider the whole subject of unification and report to a meeting to be held here?

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: The practice has always been that the chairmen of the two separate Commissions determine the place, each consulting with other members.

Bishop Cannon: I simply wish it understood that it is the desire of our Commission, at least I so understand, and it certainly is my desire, that this committee to be appointed shall get to work and shall endeavor to bring back to the Joint Commission a report at as early a date as it is possible for it to do so; certainly, that there should be some report before the meeting of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Bishop Leete: These two reports have been read, but they were read for information of the Commission, and I am not conscious that they were formally accepted. I suppose Judge Simpson's motion implies that they are formally received and are part of our records. But it seems to me we ought to have no doubt about that.

Bishop Mouzon: The suggestion comes from the Commission

representing the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, that this Joint Committee of Reference consist of fourteen, seven from the one Church and seven from the other. I move that as an amendment.

The amendment was accepted by the maker of the motion.

A. J. Lamar: It just occurred to me that the instructions, if you may call them such, of that committee are rather broad and indefinite—"The whole question of unification." I think we ought—I am not sure it is necessary; but would it not be well to recommend to that committee, and to instruct them, especially to consider the three questions which are vital? A great many things are not vital. But three things are vital. One is the relation of the colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the reorganized Church. A second is the organization, the powers and rights, of the Regional Conferences. The third is your Judicial Council. Those are the three big things we have got to consider. I think it would be well for us to let the committee know, anyway, that those things are interlaced. You cannot deal with the question of the position of the colored membership in the reorganized Church without running into the organization, powers, and privileges of the Regional Conferences; and also, you cannot deal with either of those questions without getting at last to your Judicial Council. And I think that the committee, if necessary, should be instructed to bring in as full a report as possible on those three points.

Bishop Hamilton: I so often agree with my good brother, Dr. Lamar, that I would almost hesitate to differ from him now. But I do not feel for myself as though, after all we have done in two years, we ought now to instruct a competent committee concerning this subject in any possible direction. I would think it a very unfortunate matter if these brethren should come back with precisely the same statements that they have brought to us to-day, seven and seven. I can conceive of an entirely different plan, by which I think we could come nearer together than that which is expressed in either or both of these reports. I have no desire to present it. But I do feel that the hands and minds and hearts of that committee ought not to be tied in any direction. And that for several reasons. I will just indicate one of them. In referring to what my good Brother Thomas told us yesterday about irreconcilable concepts, I want to say that concepts change, but truth and righteousness never. We are living in a period of transition. We are being influenced by the atmosphere in which we live; and that atmosphere is being created by conditions and not theories. I do not know how long this committee will be at work; I do not know when they will first meet, I do not know how long they may find it necessary to be together. But I do say that it is possible for conditions and not theories

to exist in the future which may determine the kind of reports they will bring back here. I therefore feel that while I sympathize with Dr. Lamar as to those matters that he has presented, which must be considered, I would not want to instruct the committee to consider only the three things that he has mentioned; for the reason that I believe, finite as we are, there are possible changes or possible applications of the report not yet in mind, that could be presented here and bring us more nearly together than seven and seven.

A. J. Lamar: Mr. Chairman, I had no intention of offering a resolution. I just wanted to impress upon the committee to be appointed these three things, that they are to come back to us with a report on the colored question, with a report on the other questions. And I think that the last statement which has been listened to here and emphasized by Bishop Hamilton's speech has accomplished everything necessary.

J. F. Goucher moved an extension of the time of the morning session, and the motion prevailed.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The question is on the motion offered by Judge Simpson.

Bishop Mouzon: It was in the minds of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, that we might desire to appoint an entirely different committee from the one we have here, or you might so desire.

A vote being taken, the motion offered by Judge Simpson was adopted.

Bishop Cannon: I move that the Secretary be requested to have fifty copies made of each of these two statements, so that each member may have two copies; or that he make as many as may be necessary to meet the needs of the Commission and the newspapers.

C. A. Pollock: Does that include also the report of the committee that will be presented to us at the next meeting?

J. R. Pepper: I second the suggestion of Judge Pollock. I think it is important that we have the report of the Committee of Conference, in advance, as soon as they have completed their report.

Bishop Cannon: I think it would be better to keep these two motions separate.

Bishop Cannon's motion as set forth above was adopted.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): We can leave the number of copies to the discretion of the Secretary.

C. A. Pollock: I move that the Secretaries also send to the members of this Commission copies of the report of the committee to be appointed.

This motion also prevailed.

J. H. Reynolds: I wish to move that the Committee of Con-

ference be instructed to meet as early as possible, complete its work, and prepare all papers necessary to its report, and that they include all the work we have done up to date, in a form that can be sent to all of us in advance of the meeting, for our information and instruction, so that when we do come together we will have before us the tentative action on all subjects that we have acted on in all our meetings in the past.

Bishop McDowell: I think we are in danger of overloading the committee. I think every member of this Commission has a record of everything we have ever done, and we would better be careful about overloading the committee with details.

D. G. Downey: I wish that Brother Reynolds would modify his motion somewhat. I think it is very important that we have before us at our next meeting a complete statement of what has been accomplished. We will not be able to fit in any new matter unless we also have before us in plain form the old matter. It is quite possible that the committee itself may feel like doing that entire work; but if not, it would seem to me that the Secretaries ought to be instructed to give us a complete statement of the things that have been even tentatively agreed to, so that we would have before us when we come together all the action tentatively agreed to, and thus the whole plan could be seen in its entirety. I would like to have it voted to request the Secretaries to prepare a paper showing what has been tentatively completed up to the present time.

E. M. Randall: I would like Dr. Reynolds to agree to this, that if there are any reports of committees on matters of organization not acted on, those be included in the report.

D. G. Downey: Let us keep to the real action of the Joint Commission. If the Secretaries wish to send us anything additional, well and good.

E. M. Randall: Is there any matter—I am not sure—relating to organization of Regional Conferences or Judicial Conferences or any of those things, that we have not acted upon tentatively?

D. G. Downey: It does not matter whether there is or not.

E. M. Randall: If there is, and we do not have it before us, that will have to be done over again by a committee.

Edgar Blake: The motion as made assumes that the Secretaries of the Joint Commission will be members of this Committee of Conference. As I understand it, the thing that you are striving for is this, you want to know what the Joint Committee has proposed.

Alex. Simpson, Jr.: That resolution has been passed. We are now considering what will be done in the future.

The motion was adopted.

D. G. Downey: I would like to make an innocent inquiry of the Secretary. What has become of the stenographic notes of

the St. Louis meeting, which we were to have and which we need to complete our reports? I have heard various rumors, but I would like an official communication from the Secretary as to the status of the St. Louis minutes.

F. M. Thomas: The stenographer for the St. Louis meeting is considered as perhaps the best stenographer in the South, and has a very large office. At the beginning of the war his men were drafted for service, and he himself was requisitioned by the government for certain service on draft boards, so that he was greatly delayed in preparing the report. I much regret the matter, and have been unceasingly laboring to get the matter completed. The proceedings are now in the press, and will be in hand shortly.

D. G. Downey: I move now that the two Secretaries be authorized to prepare and have printed the minutes and stenographic report of this session, and include in them, of course, these papers.

Bishop Cannon: May I call Dr. Thomas's attention to the fact that our General Conference ordered, in the adoption of its report, that these stenographic reports should be published and should be on sale for our membership; and if they did not pay expenses of publication the cost should be defrayed by the Publishing House, that our people might be thoroughly informed and have all the stenographic reports from Baltimore on down?

A. J. Lamar: That action by the General Conference was an instruction that the volume should be brought out by the Publishing House. I took up the matter with the publishers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and they very cordially agreed that we make it a joint proposition, with the imprint of both Houses on it, and divide the volumes, and then divide the loss. Now, we found that the proceedings of the four meetings, including that at St. Louis, would make two considerable volumes. It was not deemed advisable to bring it out until we could make those two complete volumes, bringing them out so that everybody would have complete information. The Secretary has stated the conditions which affected the stenographer. He was a competent and faithful man. I did not understand it. I began writing to him shortly after the St. Louis meeting, asking him for the report of the proceedings, telling him that I was holding back the publication of the whole proceedings until we got those notes from him. Sometimes I got a reply; sometimes I did not get a reply. I packed my grip and made a trip to Louisville and had a heart-to-heart talk with him about it. Each time that I have heard from him by mail, and when I saw him personally in his office, I received the promise, "I will begin sending you the matter by next Monday, or Monday week at least." Dr. Thomas was conducting the same bombardment from another

angle, to try to get these minutes. Finally, we got a loyal member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who lives in Louisville, an eminent lawyer, to go around and see if he could not influence the stenographer.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): In the meantime there was a back-fire from the banks of the Ohio in the same direction.

A. J. Lamar: We succeeded in getting the report from the stenographer about three or four weeks ago. We went immediately to work upon it. It is a difficult matter for us to get out the proof sheets. I never saw (except my own speeches!) such disjointed utterances.

Bishop Denny: I never saw even the disjointed utterances of my speeches. I am glad to hear that somebody has had the privilege of looking at the proof.

A. J. Lamar: The man who is trying to edit the stenographer's matter so that it will stand a chance of getting through the printing department correctly comes down to my office every day with one or two or three of those speeches and says, "Doctor, I will have to ask you about this. Can you make any sense of this?"

A Voice: Could you?

J. R. Pepper: Just a matter of personal privilege. I desire to lodge with the Commission now this request, that they consider meeting at Lake Junaluska, N. C., if they meet before October.

Bishop Denny: A question of order. What has become of my motion that the Secretaries have the stenographic report of this meeting printed?

I. E. Robinson: I offer an amendment, "And that there be furnished to each member who has spoken a copy before publication, so that he may get the joints out of the disjointed material."

F. M. Thomas: I would like to ask a question. It is a matter of conscience with me. There was one speech at one session sent out to the speaker, and the speech returned bore so little resemblance to the one sent out that it was a serious question of conscience whether it should be introduced or not.

Bishop McDowell: I understand that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, took certain action with reference to the expense of publishing these reports. I am sure that whatever cost there is over and above any returns due to the widespread sale of the document should be borne by the two Book Concerns and not by one. I hope that is the arrangement.

A. J. Lamar: The thing we were instructed to do was to bring out in bound form the proceedings of all the meetings. You have two things confused.

A. W. Harris: Your instructions at the earlier meetings were that the proofs be sent out to the speakers, and that the speakers

have thirty days in which to bring their speeches into shape. As a practical matter, thirty days is too long. If you leave it thirty days, you will find that some men never see their speeches. I think that ten days is ample time. I think you ought to shorten the time. If a man has a long time, he is apt to neglect the matter. The average man, if he has thirty days, will wait until twenty are gone before he begins. Some good friends took sixty days.

Bishop Denny: Mr. Chairman, the only proof that has been sent me, or typewritten matter of any kind, was sent by Dr. Thomas, consisting of two or three little remarks that I made in connection with presiding over the Commission. I have never had in my hands, from the beginning of our meeting at Chattanooga on, prior to publication, anything like any statements that I have made. I have called attention to that once or twice. Dr. Harris thinks that if a man cannot get out his material in thirty days he will not be likely to get it out at all. Some of us are not privileged to get home once in thirty days. We are away from home twice thirty days continuously. Our mail is not always sent to us. Of course, I cannot ask that a rule be made that is applicable only to a few members of the Commission; but I call attention to this, that the duties of some of us keep us away from home for a long time.

Bishop Hamilton: I understand that in the preparation of these two volumes, which I suppose will include all the speeches of all the meetings, they will be submitted to the speakers.

A. J. Lamar: I think it would be utterly impracticable to go back again. You would delay your work another year. It has already been delayed too long.

C. M. Bishop: I would like to know what is before the house.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): No motion is before the house.

Bishop Denny: The motion that the Secretaries be instructed to have prepared and printed the stenographic notes of this meeting and furnish a copy to each speaker before publication.

Ira E. Robinson: If all is to be printed, it would be well that all the so-called junk be eliminated, before the volume is issued with the imprint of the Book Concern.

A. J. Lamar: It will be impossible, with that arrangement, to get the book out on time. The trouble is common to human nature. We make a speech, whether it be in General Conference or in a Commission on Unification or at a banquet, and when we see that speech in cold print we say, "I could have done a great deal better than that. I cannot have said that." And the consequence is we rewrite. We write for the printer not the speech we did make, but the speech we wish we had made.

We will never get through if you rewrite all that was said, and it will not be a record of what was said.

F. M. Thomas: The Secretaries are not wholly to blame. The record shows that when the proceedings at one meeting were to be published I said, "Please correct your speeches so that they may appear in the revised reprint"; and only two men furnished me with those corrections.

Edgar Blake: In view of the very grave importance of this subject, I suggest whether it would be well to hold a special session on this matter!

D. G. Downey's motion was carried.

Edgar Blake: I now raise the question as to the time of our next meeting of the Joint Commission. I think that motion offered by Judge Simpson contemplated that the Joint Commission should fix the time of its next meeting. Let us look at the records. There was a substitute for all the motions before the house, that this committee adopt the suggestion made by Bishop Mouzon on behalf of the Commission from the Church, South, and that an *ad interim* committee be appointed to consider the whole subject until such time as we may be called together by the Joint Commission. That is the suggestion of Bishop Mouzon. In view of the fact that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has provided for the calling of a special session of that General Conference, if it shall be deemed necessary, it would appear as though we ought to set a time at which this Commission shall meet, in order that its report may be perfected, if such a report is perfected, at a time that will permit the General Conference of the Church, South, if it is deemed wise to do so, to be called in special session. The tendency thus far in all our meetings has been to delay and delay and delay until it was too late to accomplish the thing we desired to accomplish. It seems to me that if this Commission at this time will fix a date for the reconvening of this Joint Commission, then your Committee of Conference will work with that date in view. Otherwise, it will work at its convenience, and the result will be that its report will come in too late for this Commission to meet in time to make possible the convening of the General Conference of the Church, South, in special session, should it be deemed desirable to do so. What I suggest is that the Joint Commission fix a time for its next meeting. There is another reason. If we fix the time now, all of us will know what time in the future is preëmpted by this meeting. Otherwise we go out to make our engagements, and the result is that the business committee go along and fix the date for the meeting of the Joint Commission, and it interferes with arrangements already made and we are embarrassed thereby. Therefore, and for other reasons, I think we ought to fix the date of the next

meeting now. And I move that we now proceed to fix the date of our next meeting.

This motion prevailed.

Bishop Cannon: I suggest the latter part of January.

Edgar Blake: I wonder if we could not get a little earlier time than that.

Bishop Cannon: Bishop Moore has charge of our work in South America, and I doubt whether he could return before Christmas. We could not meet during the Christmas holidays. And right at the first of January there are different meetings held by business men. And it occurred to me that the 15th of January was perhaps as early as we could get together.

Edgar Blake: I move that the Joint Commission convene on Thursday, January 15.

This date, January 15, was fixed as the time of the next meeting of the Joint Commission.

C. M. Bishop: I call attention to the fact that the Committee of Conference to be appointed, the Joint Committee, should be appointed by the separate Commissions and report to this body before we adjourn. I therefore move that we meet at once in separate Commissions for the appointment of the Committee of Conference.

Bishop McDowell: I think it very evident that the Committee of Conference should be appointed, of course, by the respective Commissions. But I do not quite see the necessity of reporting back to the Joint Commission the names of this committee. I think if they are reported to the Secretary they can be made a part of the Secretary's record by common consent here.

Bishop Cannon: Ought they not to be able to meet to determine their own procedure?

Bishop McDowell: I will move that for the purpose of enabling the committee ordered this morning to get together, the first named persons on each of the sections of it shall be authorized to call the committee together.

Edgar Blake: I move an amendment to that, that the committee created be instructed to meet in this place at three o'clock this afternoon.

Bishop Hamilton: You did not include in that that it should be a separate committee from the one we had, did you?

C. M. Bishop: We made no reference to that.

The motion offered by Edgar Blake prevailed.

Edgar Blake: I now move that we refer the place of meeting for the Joint Commission to the Business and Executive Committees of the two Commissions.

This motion prevailed.

Certain announcements were made, and it was voted to adjourn, subject to the call already provided for.

Dr. J. F. Goucher offered the closing prayer, Bishop Mouzon pronounced the benediction, and the Cleveland session of the Joint Commission came to end at 1:17 P.M., Thursday, July 10, 1919.

PROCEEDINGS AT LOUISVILLE, KY.
JANUARY 15-20, 1920

For a List of the Names and Addresses of the Members of the Two Commissions See Pages 258-260

FIRST DAY, THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1920.

THE Joint Commission on Unification met in the Fourth Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Louisville, Ky., for its sixth meeting, and was called to order by Bishop E. D. Mouzon shortly after 11 A.M.

The hymn, "I love thy Church, O God," was sung, after which Bishop Cranston offered prayer.

All joined in repeating the Lord's Prayer, and Bishop Mouzon read the latter part of Matthew xv., beginning with verse 13.

Another hymn, "The Church's one foundation," was sung and prayer was offered by Mr. R. E. Blackwell.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): We will have the calling of the roll.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Earl Cranston, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr. Ministers: Edgar Blake, R. E. Jones, Albert J. Nast, Frank Neff, Claudius B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, A. J. Lamar, Paul H. Linn, J. E. Dickey, A. W. Harris. Laymen: C. W. Kinne, Rolla V. Watt, J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock, E. L. Kidney, C. M. Stuart, P. D. Maddin, J. R. Pepper, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, H. H. White, J. G. McGowan. Bishop Ainsworth was present as alternate for Bishop Candler. E. W. Hines, of Louisville, was seated as a substitute. It was announced that letters had been received stating that Rev. C. C. Selecman and Mr. H. N. Snyder would arrive by night. A letter from Judge Simpson stated that he would be unable to attend the meeting because court was sitting on reargued cases of so great importance that they must be argued before the full bench.

Bishop Cranston: Mr. Chairman and brethren, I would not think of calling to your attention at this moment any subject as to which I had reason to believe there would be the slightest difference of opinion. We must all have been greatly concerned as to the attitude of our nation toward those with whom we were so recently associated in war as indicated by the situation in Washington. My own feeling is, and I believe it to be the feeling of the very large majority of the Christian Church, that the objects of the war as conceived by the American people are really in jeopardy. To-day is a very significant day in Washington. Two days ago the representatives of quite a number of

associations in the country, including the Federal Council of Churches, and headed by Bishop McDowell, made representations that should have had very wholesome effect upon the minds of some leaders. We are representing here an object—the bringing together of our own communions for more effective work for God—which should make our appeal of some value at this juncture. I wish, with your permission, to read a brief paper which expresses what I believe to be the thought of every one of us. And it is the more relevant and timely because of the fact that our Churches have planned such large investments of money in the moral and spiritual reconstruction of the disturbed world —a work which will be much hindered, unless our country shall agree with other nations for the adjustment of international troubles by arbitration.

(Inasmuch as this paper was later adopted with only trifling change, it is not inserted here; but the form in which it was finally adopted is found in the afternoon proceedings.)

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): What will you do with that paper?

It was moved and seconded that the paper be adopted without reference.

P. D. Maddin: I move that the paper be telegraphed to the proper parties at Washington.

Bishop Denny: I have long ago gone on record as a citizen in favor of a League of Nations. I have done what seemed to be possible for me in connection with the League of Nations. With the thought of the paper I am personally heartily in sympathy; and yet I am not sure that it is a wise thing for us, met here for one single purpose, to go outside of that, to pass a paper on a point so vital even as this point which is brought to our attention. While it is true that we are representatives of two Churches, we are representatives of those two Churches for a specific purpose, and not general representatives for any purpose. There are the number of millions of members to which Bishop Cranston has referred; but we are not authorized to speak on this question in the name of those millions. I should very much like, in the first place, to see the paper referred to a committee; and indeed I should very much like that, preferably to the paper's being adopted by us in our capacity as commissioners met to effect a union between two branches of Methodism, we should sign that paper as individuals. I am perfectly willing to sign any reasonable paper as an individual and send it on. But I cannot accept the authority of this Commission, in its capacity as representatives of the Church for a designated purpose, to speak for the Church on a matter even so vital as this. And I believe we lessen our influence, brethren, by steps of this kind. It is entirely aside from the purpose for which we are met. I am very well aware that

I have touched upon a very delicate matter, and that I am quite likely, almost certainly, to be misunderstood. But I cannot remain silent, with the convictions that I have as to the propriety of action such as this. I must speak, if I speak alone.

Bishop Cranston: I do not suppose it is necessary for me to say anything in reply to Bishop Denny. But this is the only occasion within the time which may be reasonably expected to be given for decision, and this is the only live body that can speak for either of our Churches, which is in session or likely to be in session. And what our Churches have in other ways expressed, unanimously expressed as far as I know, we ought not to be disturbed in reiterating. I do not know that the reference to our representing so many millions is a vital matter. That simply tells who we are.

Bishop Cannon: We prefer whatever is adopted to be unanimous action. I was wondering whether the paper could be modified in various points so as to meet the suggestions of Bishop Denny, saying, "We, ministers and laymen of the Churches," not as calling ourselves representatives, but saying, "ministers and laymen met together at Louisville to consider the question of unification of the Churches"; so that the representative character would not appear, but that we sign it simply as ministers and laymen of our Churches.

Bishop Cranston: Time is a good deal of an object. I do not suppose there will be a vote to-day, but there may be. I am perfectly willing to have the paper referred to a committee; and if we can get the matter on the wire by one o'clock I shall be satisfied.

Bishop Cannon: I do not think there is the slightest possibility of their voting to-day, because the Democratic caucus is to be held to-day to decide the leadership of the minority.

J. E. Dickey: Bishop Denny has perfectly expressed my view. This paper takes a stand with the mild reservationists on this question. It is a political question, and people are widely separate in their views. I do not think that as commissioners of these Churches we ought to telegraph a message which looks like backing any political view. The spirit of what Bishop Cranston has said is beautiful. But I think it would be a grave error for us to telegraph anything of this sort.

Edgar Blake: I move that the paper be referred to a special committee of five, with instructions to report at the beginning of the afternoon.

This motion was seconded and prevailed.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): What business will you take up now?

F. M. Thomas: Dr. Thompson, the presiding elder of the Louisville District of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South,

is here to speak briefly to us, and Dr. Robinson, the pastor of this Church.

Dr. S. J. Thompson: We do not want you to be in a hurry. We want you to stay here as long as you can. We want you to be with us over Sunday. We can hardly express to you how happy we are to have you here. I speak for all our Methodist Churches, for we have both the denominations in our city. So far as I know, we have always gotten along well. I do not know that we will do any more for Methodism if you unite us than we are trying to do now; though we are happy if it may be done. But we have worked together and had our meetings together and our Churches are harmonious. You all look alike to us to-day—all Methodists. We are delighted to have you here. This is the historic city where the Southern Methodist Church was organized in 1845. The Commissioners met in the Fourth Street Church and organized the Church. That was seventy-five years ago. If we may be reunited at this meeting, it will be a great historic event. We are the second largest Protestant denomination. Baptists are ahead of us. They have in Louisville the largest theological seminary in the world. The Presbyterians also have a seminary here. Not only are the Methodists glad to have you here, but all the denominations are glad. The dean of Christ Church said to me: "I would like so much to come out and hear the discussion if they will allow me to come. I am very much interested in the great question before the Methodist Church." We have arranged to have you preach in our churches on Sunday. We want you not to get in a hurry. Dr. Robinson has something to tell you about our meeting here. We want to have a banquet here at the church. We will give you an old-fashioned Kentucky welcome. Our Methodism is not as large in Kentucky as in some other States. There are some reasons for that. The first is that our forefathers, like Bishop Asbury, taught us a theory of holiness that made us opposed to whisky—the making, drinking, and selling of whisky. You know Kentucky was famous for that. Some of the other denominations said it was not wrong to make whisky; that God put it in the corn and it was not wrong to bring it out of there. So they got a great many people; for our fathers and grandfathers had distilleries and did not think it wrong to make whisky. The Methodist view of holiness keeps us out of it, therefore many of our well-to-do people went to the Baptist Church. I heard one of our good Southern Baptist men say that the Southern Baptists were immoral, but they were all right. I am glad to tell you that we are second to the Baptists in this city of Louisville. We are on the border here. We think we have one of the most beautiful cities in the world, with beautiful parks

and driveways. We want you to see Louisville and to be at home.

Dr. Leonidas Robinson: We have arranged for a six-o'clock dinner in our social hall to-morrow evening in your honor, for the primary purpose of having our people meet you. I am at your service to make you very comfortable and to do anything for you within the bounds of reason or morality.

H. H. White: I believe our meetings are to be open to the Church press. Therefore, inasmuch as the meetings are not purely executive, and inasmuch as Dr. Robinson is our entertainer, I suggest that the privilege of attendance here be granted him.

Bishop Moore: I am favorable to this; but we have some churches of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this city, and it may be that their representatives would like to be here. If we make an invitation large enough to include the presiding elder, and the pastor of this Church, it seems to me we ought to make it broad enough to include the representatives of the other Church also.

A. J. Lamar: Brethren, I do not see why we should keep anybody out. I think it would be better for us to invite all the ministers of the two denominations in this city to attend.

This action was taken.

The committee to whom Bishop Cranston's paper was referred was announced: Bishop Cranston, Bishop Denny, Edgar Blake, Mr. Hyer, Mr. Joy.

Following remarks by Bishop Moore and Dr. Thomas, the hours of meeting and adjournment were fixed as follows: For the morning, 9 to 12:30; for the afternoon, 2:30 to 5. (After a day or two, the hour for meeting in the morning was changed to 9:30.)

Edgar Blake: I move that we express our appreciation to Dr. Robinson and to the people of the Church for arranging for the proposed dinner to-morrow evening, and that we accept the invitation thus given to us.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Are you ready to hear from your *ad interim* committee?

E. B. Chappell: Many of us have not before us the copies of that report.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Secretary has a supply on the table.

Bishop McDowell: I suggest that the Chairman of the *ad interim* committee which met at Richmond now present the results of the meeting held there, and at the conclusion of that presentation I think I shall move that, if it is the desire of the Commissions, they convene this afternoon, first in separate sessions, for the consideration of this particular matter, which has

not been before them at all. I move now, however, simply that we hear the report from the *ad interim* committee.

This motion prevailed.

Bishop Ainsworth: As the report of the committee is about to be presented, we would be glad to know from the Chairman of the committee the exact status of the report as it comes from the hands of the committee.

Bishop McDowell: I supposed he would make that clear.

Bishop Ainsworth: Does it come as the adoption of the committee, or is it simply the result of their deliberations passed up for our consideration? I would like to know whether that report comes as an adoption of the committee. Does it come with their recommendation that it be adopted here?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I am quite sure that the Chairman of the committee will give us that information.

Bishop Denny: In making a study of this report I have not understood whether it is a substitute for all that has been before us hitherto, or is intended to be simply supplementary. It will help me if the Chairman will make that point clear.

Bishop Cannon: Mr. Chairman, your *ad interim* committee met in the city of Richmond on November 4, and continued in session about three and one-half days. We had an exceedingly frank and brotherly discussion of the matters before us; and after several sessions a subcommittee of four was appointed to draft for the full committee a paper on the various questions. That committee drafted this paper, presented it to the full committee on Monday morning, and the committee then adopted a motion which I will ask the Secretary of the committee, Dr. Blake, to read presently. That motion was sent to every member of this Commission along with the paper, the letter which Dr. Blake sent, which contained the motion adopted by the *ad interim* committee. I do not know that I feel authorized, as one member of the committee, or as the Chairman, to go any word beyond that motion; for that motion does not state whether the members of this committee unanimously recommended the adoption of this paper by the full committee. It states that "this is submitted to the full Commission as the best solution that your subcommittee was able to reach on the various questions before us." It was distinctly agreed that any member of the *ad interim* committee would be perfectly free to suggest any amendment or alteration in the report as it is sent down. In the debate here the fact that it was transmitted unanimously would not bind any member of the *ad interim* committee in his action in the full Commission. I really do not think I am authorized to go beyond that. I will ask Dr. Blake to present the report and that motion. So far as Bishop Denny's question is concerned, I should say for myself that we present this—or let

me say this: it was moved by Judge Simpson as a substitute for all motions before the house that the Joint Commission adopt the amendment made by Bishop Mouzon on behalf of the Southern Commission. Our understanding was that we had for our consideration not only the two papers presented at Cleveland, but all the previous action of the Commission, the reports and the statements made; and that this was to be our report as to the best solution; not as a substitute, but as a paper presented for the action of this committee. This is how I understand it, that it covers the whole matter.

Bishop Denny: The question in my mind had no reference to the *ad interim* committee, but solely whether we were now dealing only with this. Is this the complete statement and report, calling for no reference to anything that has been done heretofore?

Bishop Cannon: So far as this committee is concerned, yes. I will ask Dr. Blake to make a more detailed report.

Edgar Blake: I have a summarized report of the meeting, which I will read. And then, if you desire, I will present the more detailed minutes, that you may see everything that was before us.

The Joint Committee of Reference met upon adjournment of the Joint Commission in Cleveland on July 10 and organized by the election of Bishop Cannon as Chairman and Dr. Blake as Secretary. It was voted to meet in Richmond November 3. For the convenience of members the date was postponed, later, to November 4. The Joint Committee of Reference met November 4. After numerous sessions it adjourned on Friday morning, November 7. After discussion of matters referred to the joint committee, the appointment of a subcommittee of four was authorized, to which were committed for restatement all matters. The subcommittee brought in a report in which the following action was taken: Voted that we transmit the paper to the Joint Commission with the statement that represents our best judgment at this time as the best solution of the matters referred to us that we have been able to arrive at. And that a copy be furnished to each member of the Joint Commission with the statement that in view of the character of the document the committee do not feel at liberty to give the paper to the Church press, and is of the opinion that the paper ought not to be published without action by the Joint Commission.

In accord with the vote, copies were mailed to the Commission. This is a summarization of the doings of the committee. If you desire a more detailed statement of the processes by which we arrived at that conclusion, I can read from the minutes of the meeting.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair is of the opinion that the Commission does not desire that.

Edgar Blake: Then we present as our report this document which you have received through the mails, and which is a substitute for what was previously before us.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Do you desire to have this paper read?

E. B. Chappell: I think it had better be read, that we may have opportunity to ask questions.

Bishop Moore: I trust that it will be read and become a part of our proceedings.

Bishop McDowell: I think Bishop Moore had in mind one thing and Dr. Chappell another thing. I think the latter had in mind the reading of this document. I think Bishop Moore had in mind the reading of the matter to which Dr. Blake referred, as describing the preliminary steps by which this document was arrived at.

Bishop Moore: I have no desire to hear these articles of agreement read. I have read them two or three times and then reread them. What I desire is this, the full knowledge of what took place in Richmond, if we have it not already. If there is anything in the minutes that we have not received through this summary that has been presented, I would desire much that these minutes be read, so that we may know altogether what took place and what the results reached are.

C. M. Bishop: I think the minutes of the subcommittee are not in any wise an important part of the report of the committee to the original body, and the summary is exactly what we want for the saving of time, and indeed for clearness. This summary seems to be agreed to by the subcommittee itself. It states the facts before us. And to go into the minute details of this meeting at Richmond would lose the time which we hoped to save by committing the matter to a subcommittee. I hope we will not call for the reading of the minutes.

P. H. Linn: As one of the members of the subcommittee, I have been here for about thirty-six hours to go over this paper before its final presentation. I think that there are several slight omissions here, probably occurring through oversight in copying by the stenographer or some one else. I think the Commission would save much time by allowing us to meet for the next twenty minutes by ourselves. They are slight omissions—just the leaving out of a word or two—but it materially changes, to my mind and according to my memory, the sense of the document. I move to adjourn, to give the subcommittee a few minutes in which to perfect the minutes concerning the verbiage of this report.

Bishop McDowell: I am assured by Bishop Cannon that there is a very considerable desire on the part of the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for a separate session, to consider this report before considering it in the Joint Commission. I have not conferred with Bishop Cranston to-day, but I think that same desire exists in our own Commission. I

will move that the Commissions meet separately in the afternoon session. I suppose they can both meet in this church.

Bishop Moore: Why not meet here, and then separate after religious exercises?

A Commissioner: I would like to meet here long enough to hear the report of the committee on the subject of the communication to Washington.

Bishop McDowell: I move that when we adjourn it shall be to meet at 2:30 o'clock with the expectation of separating after such matters as we shall first consider together, in order that each Commission may consider the report for itself.

Edgar Blake: I have no doubt the Commission will take the action proposed by the motion of Bishop McDowell. But before that I would like to put myself on record as opposed to it, for various reasons. My reason is based largely upon the experiences which we have had in the past in these separate sessions. They have been consumers of time without helping us to reach any very definite conclusions or get anywhere. One of the difficulties of these separate Commissions is that you brethren of the Church, South, meet and discuss these propositions solely from the point of view of your people and your interests, and you do not have the point of view or the approach of our people and our interests. In other words, you are bound to take a one-sided view of the case. That never helps to a satisfactory conclusion. That is exactly the case with reference to our Commission. We meet and discuss the proposition from our point of view. If we could meet and discuss these several propositions with you, we having the benefit of such light as you can throw on the subject, very often it would change our views. I do not believe we ought to meet in separate sessions and reach hard and fast conclusions from the point of view of our own particular Church, and then, having reached those conclusions, come together again to try somehow to find a compromise. There is nothing new here to speak of. I feel that we would better simply settle down here as brethren, forgetting that we represent the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and feeling rather that we represent the larger interests of the people of God, and that we want to find the solution that will advance the kingdom of God. I believe that we shall make for progress and speed if we just keep out of these separate sessions at the present time, and work on the thing together. I am very sure we would not have gotten together as a committee at Richmond if we had followed the policy of separate sessions and reaching conclusions in advance. I hope that when we come together this afternoon, it will not be to separate immediately, but to settle down here together and see if we can find an adjustment of these questions before us.

Bishop Cannon: Did we not at Richmond have two or three separate sessions of our committees?

Edgar Blake: Yes. And we never made a particle of progress in them, I think.

Bishop Cannon: I think we did.

Edgar Blake: When this subcommittee of four to which this whole matter was finally committed went out, they did not meet as separate sessions of the committee. The four members of the committee sat down together, put their feet under the same table, and wrestled with the thing as brethren, and we got together.

Bishop Cranston: Doubtless, from the standpoint of correct psychology, Dr. Blake is absolutely right. There is no objection whatever to our meeting in separate Commissions, in the thing itself. And yet, there is somehow an American tendency to make a party caucus out of a separate meeting called under such circumstances. While we are all together and under the influence of the Spirit of God, as we humbly trust, and interchanging our views in the spirit of good fellowship and representing both sides, we are gaining headway. That is the way I have become persuaded of the reasonableness of some demands of my brethren from the South. I would like them to have the same chance to be persuaded of the reasonableness of our views. After such a discussion as that, in which we share all together with entire freedom, we are better served by the work of a committee. After an important report, it is entirely within reason that somebody in one Commission or the other may desire to go apart for consideration. Ultimately there is the vote of the two Commissions as units, and any report adopted will require anyway the concurrent vote of the two. We will get on better if we sit as one good Methodist family in just as near a love feast relation as possible. To see a picture from as nearly as possible the same angle as the friend who is with us is to enjoy the picture better. I do not want all the side lights on any subject to come into my mind from one side only.

Bishop Moore: I move that the matter that we are now discussing be committed to the Committee on Procedure. We have a committee that is supposed to direct us in the procedure we take. I think that by referring this to this committee we can determine the course of action we should take. So I move it be referred to this Committee on Procedure.

Mr. Blackwell: It would have to come back to us, so we might as well take it up now. I never liked love feasts. I always resented it when they were called. I always went to them with the greatest reluctance. But I never came away from one without feeling that I had been benefited. So I believe we had better have our love feast before we go further.

Bishop Cannon: I cannot agree with Dr. Blake about the Rich-

mond meeting. I believe we would not have gotten anywhere if we had not had separate meetings. We had very unusual separate meetings. I would not have felt able to approve certain things if I had not thoroughly understood the minds of the other brethren of my committee. I agree now that we ought to have these meetings at some time. I feel that we would have saved time if we had had them at first and the members of each Commission very frankly and quickly asked the reasons that influenced the seven members from our Commission to carry certain things. I simply doubt whether we would have got as frank discussions here as in our separate meetings; but it does not particularly matter to me which way we do.

A. J. Lamar: Our committee want forty minutes on such a matter. I move that we do now adjourn to 2:30 o'clock.

The motion was seconded, and it was voted to adjourn.

Dr. Neff was substituted for Dr. Blake, and Dr. Wallace for Dr. Joy, on the committee to which Bishop Cranston's paper was referred. The session closed at 12:21 P.M., the benediction being pronounced by Dr. Linn.

Afternoon Session.

At 2:38 P.M., Bishop Mouzon not having come in, Bishop Cranston called on Bishop Denny to conduct the devotional exercises.

The hymn, "Lord, I am thine, entirely thine," was sung, after which Bishop Denny read a part of the seventh chapter of Luke and offered prayer.

Secretary A. W. Harris called the roll and the following were present: Bishops E. D. Mouzon, Collins Denny, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr., W. N. Ainsworth, Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. J. Lamar, A. F. Watkins, Paul H. Linn, F. M. Thomas, J. E. Dickey, Edgar Blake, R. E. Jones, Albert J. Nast, Frank Neff, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, C. M. Stuart. Laymen: H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, J. R. Pepper, H. H. White, J. G. McGowan, E. W. Hines, A. W. Harris, J. R. Joy, C. W. Kinne, Rolla V. Watt, E. L. Kidney, C. A. Pollock.

Secretary F. M. Thomas read the minutes of the morning session, which were approved without change.

Bishop Cranston took the chair.

Bishop Denny: Bishop Cranston has asked me to present the paper referred to the Committee of Five, which I understand comes back to you as the unanimous action of the committee:

We hold it to be the imperative duty of any assembly of Christians at this critical juncture in the affairs of mankind both to think and to speak for the peace of the world and the welfare of humanity.

It is for this reason that the fifty commissioners representing the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which two Churches aggregate 6,000,000 members and at least 12,000,000 adherents, and now in negotiation at Louisville, Ky., for the reunion of these two great bodies, deem it timely as Christian citizens to remind the President and Senate of the United States of certain important considerations that are apparently being overlooked in the current influences bearing on the ratification of the treaty of Versailles, especially that aspect of it involving the League of Nations.

It must not be forgotten that when the United States entered the war there was a distinct understanding of the objects sought to be achieved, chief among which were the protection and spread of democratic government and humane civilization, not only as against autocratic aggression, but also against the barbarities of war in the future, through a League of Nations binding its signatories to arbitration of international difficulties.

With loyal respect for the constitutional powers charged with the negotiation of treaties, we declare our conviction that this widely-proclaimed understanding, then and during the peace conference at Paris, heralded to the honor of the one country that entertained no expectation of profit or even indemnity, was, as between our government and people, of the nature of a sacred contract; that the war ideals thus expressed were sanctioned and enthusiastically supported by the Christian Churches as consonant with the Christian conception of the unity and brotherhood relationship of all races and people; that under any other inspiration the Churches of Jesus Christ could not have sent forth their young men as to a holy crusade; that without this religious factor so large an army could not have been peaceably mobilized by conscription, nor could our soldiers have fought with such utter abandonment of self for any less object than that lofty declaration which was echoed over the world as America's assurance and prophecy of liberty and just government for all men.

It is under the urgency of such convictions that we now protest that no consideration of national finance or politics, and no conflict between home authorities, no matter of what origin or purpose, should be allowed to thwart the original humanitarian intent and just expectation of the American Churches and people. To their unstinted consecration of money and life and what they hold higher than either, their faith in God and in their country, was due the victory that is now gravely imperiled by their representatives in government.

Assured that the constitutional powers of the Congress with regard to the making of war contain sufficient guarantee for our national safety and sovereignty in every serious contingency involved, we urge the entire treaty-making power to respect the honor of our government toward its own people, and to redeem the pledge to the allied nations implied by our participation in the war and our presence at the peace conference. We also owe consideration to the weak republics born through our sacrifice and theirs to an independent national existence which, without us, it will be impossible for them to maintain.

Surely the Christian Churches now gathering hundreds of millions of dollars for world reconstruction after the model of American ideals have the right to an unhampered access to all the needy peoples of the earth. When the soul of a free people makes war, the fruit of their victory is as sacred as the memory of their dead who died for their cause.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): What will you do with the paper?

It was moved and seconded that the paper be adopted. Also, that it be signed by the two Presidents and the two Secretaries of the Commissions, for the Joint Commission. These motions prevailed.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Now we are ready to take up the report which was before us this morning. Will the Secretary give us the state of the question? There was a motion pending; I think, a motion by Bishop McDowell.

The Secretary: That is correct.

Bishop McDowell: I made that motion under what I supposed to be the desire of the Commission. I have no desire at all to press the matter. I certainly have no desire to debate it. If the Commission now wishes to sit together as a Joint Commission, I am equally willing. I am in the most amiable mood in the world!

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Do you withdraw the motion?

Bishop McDowell: It is in the hands of the house.

Bishop Moore: I want to offer a motion relating to the report itself. We have studied this matter for three years. We have been in session at Baltimore, Traverse City, Savannah, St. Louis, Cleveland—five places before coming here. I think that we have come to the place where we should take up this paper and act on it as quickly as we can. I think there are two ways in which we could do it. One is to take up the paper, consider it *seriatim* as we have done hitherto, and see what corrections we should make in the document itself. There are corrections and alterations that I personally would want to make. But if we are not going to adopt this report as our plan of unification, it is a matter of very small concern to me as to whether or not those alterations are made; and I would greatly prefer that this Commission take up seriously the question as to whether it will adopt this report—that is, the substance—the whole plan of unification that is involved there. And I think we ought to come to that question, and come to it immediately, either in this full session or in the separate sessions of the two Commissions. Therefore I offer this as a motion—I move that, subject to such alterations and additions in minor details as may be made in the *seriatim* consideration of this document, this report in its provisions for the General Conference, Regional Conferences, and Judicial Council be adopted as the plan of unification, to be recommended by this Commission to the General Conferences of the two Churches for their final determination.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): That would be a substitute for the motion pending.

Bishop McDowell: Would it relieve the situation if I withdrew that motion? With the permission of the house, I will withdraw it.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The motion is withdrawn, and the motion of Bishop Moore is before you.

Bishop Moore: Then the question is whether or not you will vote on this matter here or whether we shall go apart and vote on it separately, or whether we shall discuss the matter. As far as I am concerned, I am ready to vote this minute. I am ready to vote here in this general session; I am willing to go apart with my own Commission and vote there. I have stated the matter carefully. I am thoroughly convinced that if this Commission is ever to give to the General Conferences a plan of unification it must take this report. I believe that if we do not adopt this report we must take the other horn of the dilemma and announce to the General Conferences that they should create a new basis for negotiation and perhaps create new Commissions to work out a plan on a new basis. I believe that this committee has brought to us about the last word that we can say as far as the suggestions contained in the Chattanooga declarations are concerned. They have worked out these basic principles, then wrought them into this paper. If we are not ready to adopt the plan of unification in this paper, then, it seems to me, there is very little more we can do along the line of the principles that have engaged us hitherto. I offer this motion. If it is seconded, it is before you and you can act separately or together.

P. H. Linn: I should like to ask the speaker, did you purposely leave out of your statement the title, "Associate General Conferences"?

Bishop Moore: No.

P. H. Linn: Why not include that? Then there would be no discrimination against any part of the report.

Bishop Moore: I meant no discrimination of that kind.

Bishop McDowell: I think I did not quite correctly speak, for the minute, on Bishop Moore's motion. I think I would like, with the permission of the Joint Commission, to say a word touching our experience at Richmond which led to the production of the document that is sent to the Joint Commission by the *ad interim* committee. When we came together at Richmond, we faced these two or three questions: Under the motion that created the Joint Commission were we simply to do our very best to untangle the differences between the two papers that were before us at Cleveland? Or were we authorized to go further afield and consider the whole large matter that has been before us in all our sessions from the time we first met at Baltimore? Failing to reach a conclusion on the basis of the plan that we had been working on, were we authorized to proceed upon a new

line of suggestion and advise the General Conferences that we had sincerely endeavored to accomplish unification by the process of reorganization, that we had not reached a successful outcome, and that we now advise that the endeavor be made on a different basis? The different basis would have involved the endeavor to reach unification by a process of coöperation, a process of working together. For a moment, perhaps for longer than a moment, this latter suggestion seemed to have immediate and large favor, but it was finally felt, I think by the entire fourteen men present at Richmond, that we must make a sincere and conscientious, and as intelligent an effort as we could make, to reach a plan upon the basis upon which we had been working through the entire period since we first met at Baltimore. It will be remembered that at Cleveland, in the paper presented in behalf of the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it was stated that we regarded ourselves as under instruction to secure unification—not to show reasons why it could not be accomplished; that we were under instructions to accomplish unification by reorganization. We therefore felt, I think all of us, at Richmond, that we were officially bound to make an honest and conscientious endeavor to get a plan that we could submit to the Joint Commission, looking toward the accomplishment of our great purpose by the process with which we had become familiar. And the paper that is before you now is the outcome of that endeavor. Four men worked upon it—how many hours I do not know, because I was not one of the four. But they worked upon it many, many hours. And it is sent here as the best result that could be reached, in the judgment of the fourteen persons present, on the basis upon which we have been working. Now I think, Mr. Chairman, that I ought to go thus far at this moment. I think we are bound to make our last effort together to reach an agreement upon the plan of unification by reorganization. In spite of our differences, our personal differences of opinion, as to many details and as to some principles involved in this method, we are under a measure of instruction at that point from both General Conferences. And if, after these years of work, the result that we can send back to them is not acceptable to the General Conferences and then to the Churches themselves, it will be for the General Conferences, and then the Churches, to say that the result is not satisfactory. It may be that we cannot reach an agreement among ourselves. It may be that this best we could do is not good enough. But I believe I speak for the entire fourteen men at Richmond in saying that we felt ourselves under a moral and ecclesiastical obligation to do the best we could to reach a result, in the hope that the Joint Commission might find it acceptable, and sufficiently acceptable to recommend it to the General Conferences. Do I state fairly

the judgment of the fourteen men who were at Richmond? It is very true, of course, as has been stated here, that the fourteen persons there present did not discuss the merits of this plan. Any person therefore of that body who finds himself unable to agree with the provisions, with the principles, or with the details of the document before us now, will be free to differ from it without acting in bad faith at all, in view of the fact that we did not have opportunity, after it was prepared, to consider it among ourselves. I have tried to state, Mr. Chairman, exactly the principle that we had before us at Richmond as interpreting what is now before us and what is the subject of Bishop Moore's motion.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): That duty is exceedingly well discharged.

Bishop Ainsworth: Mr. Chairman, I move that, pending the joint discussion of the motion of Bishop Moore that is before us, we do now dissolve into separate Commissions, that we may give our consideration to the paper before us. I am not here in a personal capacity, but I am here, along with my other brethren, as the representative of a Church, and I cannot very intelligently go into this discussion until I know the considerations that led the representatives from our Church on the Joint Committee to the conclusions that are formulated in this paper. I would like to know their minds, and the considerations that induced them to these conclusions, before we consider it here in the Joint Commission. I therefore move that we dissolve ourselves into meetings of the separate Commissions at this time.

J. W. Van Cleve: Before that question is voted on, there is a question not a part of the debate that I would like to raise at this time. Attention was called this morning by one of the *ad interim* committee to the fact that there were some verbal changes to be made in that report that might affect its meaning. I presume those changes have been made or agreed upon. It seems to me, before anything else is done, we ought to know what those changes are, and every one be able to enter the change of phraseology in his own copy.

P. H. Linn: The only entry that needs to be made is this: On page 7 of your folder, line 25, after the word "jurisdiction" add the words "for residential supervision"; not "presidential," but "residential." The other matters were mere matters of editing.

Bishop Cannon: While, as I suppose, it could be gathered from what I said this morning that I rather think we will expedite matters by adopting Bishop Ainsworth's motion, it has occurred to me that if any menber of the Commission has any question to ask concerning the meaning of any part of this paper, or desires any sort of explanation, that might be helpful. If there is no one who desires to ask any question, I think we had better adopt

Bishop Ainsworth's motion; but if there is any question concerning any part of the paper that any brother has in mind, it might help us if we had it at this stage.

Bishop Denny: There is a matter that was under discussion at one of our previous meetings, and, after discussion for a longer or shorter time, it was adopted by the Commission; but I noticed that it is omitted in two places in this report. Possibly it was an oversight. I ask, not to take it up now, but simply to know whether it was omitted purposely. The first one is on page 3, line 27: "Each Regional Conference shall have power to elect from time to time the number of bishops allotted to it by the General Conference, 'according to a uniform principle.'" That latter part was adopted after discussion, and it does not appear here. Was that purposely omitted or not?

Bishop Cannon: It was purposely omitted.

Bishop Denny: That answers my question.

P. H. Linn: I was in error in the matter of one word. If you will, turn to page 3, line 22. This is a matter of detail to make the paper uniform. Insert the word "publishing" after the word "control" and before the word "educational."

T. N. Ivey: I would like to ask this question. On page 10, at the bottom of the page, we have these words: "The Judicial Council shall be composed of fifteen ministerial and lay members, to be nominated by the general superintendents by a two-thirds vote and elected by the General Conference." I do not exactly understand how we are going to divide that body of fifteen ministerial and lay members.

Bishop Cannon: It simply means that the Council shall be composed of fifteen ministerial and lay members. It does not say how many of each.

T. N. Ivey: You do not intend, then, to have a certain number of each?

Bishop Cannon: There cannot be the same number, because it is fifteen.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): A motion was made by Bishop Ainsworth.

Bishop Ainsworth: It is simply a motion to retire into separate meetings.

E. B. Chappell: The rest of us would like to know what we are to do when these two bodies retire into separate Commissions.

Edgar Blake: The words "according to a uniform principle" were dropped out; but in the making up of the report we had to cut up the old report and paste in certain parts and typewrite in certain other parts. In that paragraph in which this phrase occurs, that was pasted in, and the words "according to a uni-

form principle" were stricken out. My recollection is that the words should be stricken out.

Bishop Denny: Then we are in doubt whether they are in or out. If they be in, on page 7, line 13, after the word "Conferences" we should also have the same phrase, "according to a uniform principle." It ought to be in both places or out of both.

Secretary A. W. Harris: The document as printed is your guide until you change it. Those phrases are out unless there is a motion to put them in.

Bishop Moore: My motion contemplated a *seriatim* consideration of the report after the adoption of the motion that I made. We are first to adopt those general principles there involved, and then we should come back for the *seriatim* consideration of the report for the correcting and perfecting of the instrument.

J. J. Wallace: The proposition was to insert the words "according to a uniform principle" in line 13 after the word "Conferences." I think it should be put in line 12 after the word "fix."

Bishop Mouzon: With all due respect to the brethren who do not agree with me, I am of opinion that we are losing time now; and I insist on your putting the motion that we now dissolve.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): It was understood that brethren should ask questions; but not all the afternoon, I suppose. The motion is to adjourn in order that the Commission may have separate meetings. I presume the calling together will be left to the Chairmen.

The motion to go into separate sessions was put and prevailed.

Edgar Blake: For information, may we hear the motion read again?

Bishop Moore: I moved that, subject to such alterations and additions in minor details as may be made in a *seriatim* consideration of this document, this report, in its provisions for the General Conferences, Associate General Conferences, Regional Conferences, and Judicial Council, be adopted as the plan of unification to be recommended by this Joint Commission to the General Conferences of the two Churches for their final determination.

The session closed with the benediction pronounced by Dr. J. J. Wallace.

SECOND DAY, FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1920.

The Joint Commission was called to order at 9:25 A.M. by the Chairman, Bishop Cranston.

The hymn, "O thou in whose presence my soul takes delight," was sung, after which Dr. C. C. Selecman led in prayer.

Bishop Cranston read Psalms xc. and xci., after which he offered prayer.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): We are somewhat late in coming together this morning. Shall we have the journal of yesterday?

Secretary Harris read the minutes of yesterday afternoon's session, which were approved without correction.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops E. D. Mouzon, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr., W. N. Ainsworth, Earl Cranston, R. J. Cooke, W. F. McDowell. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, A. J. Lamar, A. F. Watkins, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, R. E. Jones, Frank Neff, C. B. Spencer, J. J. Wallace, C. M. Stuart. Laymen: H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, J. R. Pepper, H. H. White, J. G. McGowan, E. W. Hines, A. W. Harris, J. R. Joy, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, Rolla V. Watt, E. L. Kidney, C. A. Pollock, G. W. Brown.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): What is the pleasure of the meeting?

Bishop Mouzon: Mr. Chairman, a motion was pending at the time of our adjournment.

Bishop Mouzon took the chair.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair understands that the motion made by Bishop Moore was pending at the time of adjournment. What is the pleasure of the body?

The Secretary read the pending motion.

Bishop Cooke: Inasmuch as we adjourned yesterday evening in order that we might consider the several propositions in the motion by Bishop Moore, I move that we do now adjourn to continue the work which we then began.

This motion was seconded.

Dr. Blake moved as a substitute that adjournment be to 2 o'clock.

Bishop Cooke accepted that amendment. The amendment was accepted by the body, and the meeting adjourned until 2 o'clock.

The Joint Commission did not meet on the afternoon of January 16, the time being given to separate meetings of the two Commissions.

THIRD DAY, SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1920.

Morning Session.

The Joint Commission was called to order at 9:36 A.M. by Bishop Mouzon.

Two stanzas of the hymn, "I love to tell the story," were sung.

Dr. Frank Neff conducted the devotional exercises and read the latter part of the third chapter of Ephesians.

Prayer was offered by Dr. W. J. Young.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Secretary will read the minutes of yesterday's session.

The minutes were read by Secretary Thomas, and approved without correction.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, E. D. Mouzon, Collins Denny, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr., W. N. Ainsworth. Ministers: Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, C. B. Spencer, C. M. Stuart, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. F. Watkins, A. J. Lamar, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey, F. M. Thomas. Laymen: G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, J. R. Joy, I. G. Penn, C. A. Pollock, Rolla V. Watt, E. L. Kidney, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. R. Pepper, J. H. Reynolds, H. H. White, E. W. Hines, R. E. Blackwell, J. G. McGowan.

Bishop Cranston took the chair.

Bishop Mouzon: I am instructed and authorized by the Commissioners representing the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to make to you the statement contained in the paper which I have in my hand. It is as follows:

Resolved, That we, the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, hereby authorize our Chairman to say to the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church that we accept the report of the *ad interim* committee as offering the best and perhaps the only solution of the problem of unification of the two Churches now obtainable. But we consider the changes indicated below to be desirable, if not essential. And we are ready to join you in considering any changes that may be proposed with a view to perfecting the paper.

First, on page 13, line 11, amend by striking out the word "two-thirds" and inserting the word "three-fourths." And amend line 17, page 13, by striking out the word "two-thirds" and inserting the word "three-fourths." I suppose every one gets the idea of the Commission. It was thought by the members of the Commission representing the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, that it ought not to be so very easy to amend the Constitution. And we are asking that it require a three-fourths vote of the Conferences after a measure has been sent down from the General Conference, rather than a two-thirds vote.

Second, on page 10, line 9, amend by striking out the word "except" and inserting the word "including"; so that the paragraph shall read: "Whenever a majority of each of two Regional delegations in the United States shall so request, a vote shall be taken on any pending motion or resolution, including amendments to the Constitution by Regional delegations," etc. And that suggestion is made for the reason indicated a moment ago, that it was thought by us that your committee had made it a little too easy to amend the Constitution.

The third suggestion is, just by way of clarifying page 7, line 4, "To

divide, consolidate, and change the Regional Conferences." A question arose among us as to what was meant by "change the Regional Conferences." We felt quite sure that those who wrote it had no other thought than changing the area of the Regional Conferences; and we suggest that those words be inserted so as to make it read, "To divide, consolidate, and change the area of the Regional Conferences."

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): That means the same as "the boundaries."

Bishop Mouzon: Yes, it means the same. This paper is presented to you by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): There was no action taken in our Commission. I think it perfectly proper for Bishop McDowell, if he will, to state what transpired, what the attitude of the Commission is.

Bishop McDowell: I did not keep a record of it.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Brother Blake, could you do it?

Edgar Blake: As I recall now, we had not completed the consideration of the document. We did not make the rapid progress that our brethren in the Southern Commission appear to have made, and my understanding is that when we adjourn there are one or two other matters yet to be considered by us.

Bishop McDowell: I think, Mr. Chairman, this additional statement might be made, that we did not at all take up the question of changes that would possibly be made in the *seriatim* consideration of this document. Practically we acted upon the first part of Bishop Moore's motion. And in general we passed two or three motions perhaps subject to such modifications as might be made in the *seriatim* consideration of these various items. We did not take up the *seriatim* consideration, because we felt that was a matter for the Joint Commission and that we would be wiser to wait until we had considered the full subject before we took up these items. We took no formal votes. Our votes were all informal, and were not made a matter of record. If I could be permitted to confer with Dr. Blake and Dr. Joy, I think we could get an exact statement as to what we did informally approve.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): I am very sure that the Commission would save time by allowing the few minutes. We cannot very well go forward until we know what are our points of agreement and of disagreement.

Bishop Mouzon: May I inquire if it would be the pleasure of the Commission to withdraw into separate sections?

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Oh, no. Matters to be considered *seriatim* can be considered here as well as in separate sessions. We should have the light you have, and you should

have what light we have. We can now go forward better together than by continuing our separate sessions. While these brethren are conferring, I am going to take the liberty of using this time a little better, I think, than we can use it in recess. We ought to remind ourselves that the most significant event of the centuries is now transpiring in connection with the assembling of the First Council of the League of Nations. Is it not fitting that we should have a prayer, invoking God's blessing upon those men for the spread of the spirit of conciliation and arbitration? I am sure you will feel that this is appropriate, and I think I will call upon Bishop Leete to lead us in such a prayer.

Bishop Leete offered prayer.

Bishop Cooke: I would like to add one amendment to those that have been offered. On page 8, with reference to the Restrictive Rule, it reads, "The General Conference shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away with episcopacy, or to destroy our itinerant general superintendency." You will notice, brethren, that the words "the plan of," which have been in the Constitutions of both Churches from the beginning, are omitted. I suppose, to those who would read this, that would be a very unimportant matter. They would think the "plan" is a word the meaning of which could easily be derived from the lexicons and the dictionary. But you Methodists know that one might ransack all the dictionaries in the world and not get the meaning of the word "plan" as it has been used in Methodism from the beginning. In this paper which we have before us, and which I suppose will be adopted, we have apparently (I say "apparently" advisedly) a circumscribed episcopacy. The truth of it is, there is no provision in this plan at all, yet, for the episcopacy anywhere but in the Regional Conferences. The bishop is not a member of the General Conference. It is supposed that only one of the bishops should preside. According to this plan there is no reason why he should be at any General Conference. He has no duty there. Only one has a duty, and he may be elected to that by his brethren. And so the episcopacy seems to stand out, as it is here, merely, as Hamline once termed it, and as he tried to foist upon the rest of us, the idea that it is an abstraction which the General Conference could mold and shape according to its desires in any way possible. Now, why this word "plan" at all, and why should we retain it? I have spoken of the apparent meaning that our episcopacy is now circumscribed. What is back of this word "plan"?

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Brother Cooke, will you pardon me? You do not seem to have the same understanding that the Chair has of the position of things just now. When we came together, Brother Mouzon made a report of doings

which he read. And then by agreement Bishop McDowell and Dr. Blake were to present to the Commission what we had agreed upon. And it seems to me that there is no discussion proper, and no motion, just at this juncture. I recognized you because I thought perhaps you wanted to make a motion. If you do, make the motion, and perhaps we will be in order. But it will keep, will it not?

Bishop Cooke: No. Not now, after I have gone as far as I have. I will make the motion, if I can get a second to it, that the words "the plan of" be inserted.

This motion was seconded.

D. G. Downey: Bishop Mouzon presented the changes suggested by the Southern Commission. He did not make any motion. He simply suggested that those changes be considered. I presume Bishop Cooke is putting his matter in on the same basis, as a matter to be considered hereafter. Therefore, I presume, no discussion is necessary. It simply goes in as one of the things to be considered.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Bishop Cooke's motion is before you.

Bishop Cooke: What I am saying is not for the purpose of discussion, but in order to make up our minds whether it is worthy or not to be put into the report. I am not discussing, but simply wish to make a statement. What is back of this? What is the meaning of that word in our Methodist history? Why is it put in there at all? What does it mean? Does it mean the mere matter of appointments? It goes to the very root and essence of Methodist episcopacy, the character of it. In 1805 Bishop Coke was in England. He wrote back to this country that he was willing to return and give his services in the office, provided that they divided the Conferences between him and Asbury. Well, the preachers rose up against that. And in 1806 William McKendree, representing the Western Conferences, wrote back to him a very sharp letter and declared that if that was what he insisted upon, and that was the condition of his return to episcopal functions in the United States, they did not want him to return—that they did not want a divided episcopacy. So, in order that that should be in the economy of Methodism, when the General Conference met two years after, they deliberately, with the proposition of Coke before them to divide the episcopacy, inserted the word "plan"—that is, meaning the scheme or character, not simply the matter of appointment. Therefore it got in a "plan," a unified episcopacy, not circumscribed, but unified, each part having the powers of the whole, and the whole in the part. Now, then, we have taken that out in reality. For nowhere are the powers of our episcopacy described, but simply left up in the air to be interpreted

as may happen. That does not seem to me to be wise. We lose nothing by putting in the words "the plan of."

Edgar Blake: I move that we defer further consideration of that matter until we come to it in the natural order when considering the paper *seriatim*.

This motion of Dr. Blake's prevailed.

Bishop McDowell: Mr. Chairman, as we came to look over the record that Miss Deakyne had kept, we found that we had not taken a formal action directing the presentation of the informal votes that had been taken in our Commission. And it was the judgment of Dr. Blake, Dr. Joy, and myself that we ought to ask for a very few minutes of session by ourselves in order to get the kind of action that enabled Bishop Mouzon to present the action of the Commission of the Church, South, to the Joint Commission.

Bishop Mouzon: I move that this request be granted, and that the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church be permitted to retire.

This motion was carried, and the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church withdrew for a separate session.

Afternoon Session.

The Joint Commission was called to order at 1:30 P.M. by the Chairman, Bishop Cranston.

A hymn was sung and Bishop Ainsworth offered prayer.

Bishop Cranston read the Scripture, and three stanzas of "All hail the power of Jesus' name" were sung.

The minutes of the morning session were read and approved.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops E. D. Mouzon, Collins Denny, J. M. Moore, W. N. Ainsworth, James Cannon, Jr., Earl Cranston, J. W. Hamilton, W. F. McDowell, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: F. M. Thomas, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. J. Lamar, A. F. Watkins, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey, Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, R. E. Jones, Albert J. Nast, Frank Neff, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, C. M. Stuart. Laymen: H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, T. D. Samford, J. R. Pepper, H. H. White, J. G. McGowan, E. W. Hines, G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, J. R. Joy, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, C. A. Pollock, Rolla V. Watt, E. L. Kidney.

Bishop Mouzon took the chair.

Bishop McDowell: You were kind enough to adjourn this morning in order to enable the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church to withdraw for the final preparation of a statement to the Joint Commission. I am directed to present the following statement, to say that we have agreed upon the fol-

lowing motion, which I present in the form of a resolution and recommendation adopted by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church at its session this forenoon:

Resolved, That, subject to additions and alterations which may be made in the *seriatim* consideration of the report of the Committee of Fourteen, the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church accept said report as a plan of unification to be presented by the Joint Commission to our respective General Conferences for their final determination.

We especially recommend

1. The further consideration of the number and geographical distribution of the white Regional Conferences in the United States, as outlined in Article III., Section 1, Subsection A.

2. That the word "administrative" be substituted for the word "legislative" in line 16, page 3.

3. That on page 6, lines 4 to 9 be so phrased as to assure to the present colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church full proportionate representation in the General Conference.

In behalf of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I present this document.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): What is the will of the body?

Bishop Moore: I move you, sir, that the paper now be taken up for *seriatim* consideration. As I understand it, we have actions by these two Commissions. While the wording is a little different, the two, as I understand it, have practically accepted this general report. They have asked for a *seriatim* consideration. So it seems to me that the thing to do is now to pass to that consideration. I make that motion.

Bishop McDowell: I do not wish to speak upon that motion, but would like to have you put it, if it is your pleasure now. I will ask upon a question of personal privilege the opportunity to say a word before being obliged to leave in a half hour. I will do it after the passage of the motion or before, just as you please.

Bishop Cranston: A point of order. Have we not a motion before us?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The point of order is well taken: The motion made by Bishop Moore two days ago. Will the Secretary read that motion?

Bishop Moore: If you will allow me, I will withdraw that motion, in view of the action taken by the two Commissions.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): There seems to be no objection to withdrawing it.

C. M. Bishop: I do not think you can withdraw the motion in any parliamentary way. I have no objection, however.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Is there objection to withdrawing the motion made two days ago by Bishop Moore?

No objection was made.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The motion is now withdrawn, and your motion is in order, Bishop Moore.

A. J. Lamar: I say it with extreme regret, and with honest sadness in my heart. I do not see that we shall do anything but consume time by entering now into a *seriatim* discussion of this report. The report made by Bishop McDowell shows that our brethren of the Northern Commission stand on their original ground, held when we began these negotiations. It apparently eviscerates the Regional Conferences, and adopts the standard of the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the color question. There is absolutely no possible agreement on that basis. I therefore think that it would be unnecessary for us to consume two or three more days in a useless *seriatim* discussion, when at last, at the end of our discussion, we will come to the point at which we now rest, absolute variance, irreconcilable variance on the two main propositions involved in unification. I hope Bishop Moore's motion will not prevail.

Bishop Hamilton: I know the motion that I am about to make, or rather the request, will not be objected to by my good brother, Dr. Lamar. Bishop McDowell must leave at 3:50 this afternoon. We may not have the opportunity of having him with us again. I think that, without discussing this matter any further, to allow Bishop McDowell to give the reasons, and to make such other statements as he desires before he retires, concerning the presentation of this report, will not be questioned by the Joint Commission.

Bishop Denny: If you will allow me, I make that motion.

A. J. Lamar: I second it.

Bishop Cannon: I recognize in a certain way the embarrassment that Bishop McDowell might be under in making a statement with the possibility that after he makes his statement a motion might be adopted which would render that statement useless or out of order. Speaking for myself alone, I do not agree with Dr. Lamar. The paper presented by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church states squarely that they favor the transmission of this paper to the General Conferences, but they suggest certain modifications. I am not informed that these brethren intend to insist upon that.

T. N. Ivey: I was under the impression that this was to be transmitted to the General Conferences on condition that the changes mentioned by Bishop McDowell should be adopted.

Bishop Cannon: It does not say that at all. Their suggestion is made just as we made suggestions in our statement this morning. I do not understand that it is useless to proceed unless we agree here and now that those suggestions will be incorporated. I certainly favor taking up this report *seriatim*. I am willing to debate this question fairly again.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): May the Chair make a remark here? I confess, brethren, that the report presented by our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church comes to me as a distinct surprise and a serious disappointment. If I understand this report at all, it says absolutely nothing. It is as colorless as it is possible to write a paper. It simply means: "With the understanding that we favor the elimination of the Regional Conferences, turning the Regional Conference into an episcopal area, or something similar to that, or what is known as a Central Conference in the mission field; and, with the elimination from the report of that compromise which had been agreed to covering the status of colored men in the reorganized Church—that is, with the understanding that we favor the evisceration of the report, we are willing to take it up and discuss it subject to conditions—any sort of conditions—and alterations, any sort of alterations—no limiting word being used in either case." I say that this is as ambiguous a report as it is possible for one to conceive, and it gets us nowhere. And I think, with Dr. Lamar, that, having marched up the hill, and now having marched down it again, it is not worth while for us to march up a second time.

Bishop Ainsworth: I should be very glad to hear from Bishop McDowell as to the reasons that controlled the presentation of the report in this form. I believe he is under the necessity of going away in a little while; and I should feel that I had been deprived of something if I had not had from his own lips a statement of the reasons that controlled the formulation of a report of this character. But while I am speaking I would say that I would like particularly to know, if it be possible to have an answer to that question, how strongly the Commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church would feel itself bound to insist upon the substitution of the word "administrative" for the word "legislative" in defining the powers of the Regional Conferences. If they must strongly insist on the insertion of that word, it means the turning of the switch that divides the parallel movement of the two Commissions. We would not be able to come together on that basis.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I recognize Bishop McDowell.

Bishop McDowell: Mr. Chairman, my desire to say a word before being obliged to leave was not quite synonymous with my desire to discuss the motion now pending, which is to proceed to the *seriatim* consideration of the Richmond report. It was understood that the motion of Bishop Moore as made two days ago was, generally speaking, before both of us, though it was made before the Joint Commission. And it was understood by us, I think, that if in the main we did accept the Richmond document as stating a basis to be presented to the General Conferences,

we were then in position to proceed to suggest, in the *seriatim* consideration, various amendments. It would seem to us that we were justified in that position by the fact that this morning a series of vital amendments came from the Commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which could only be taken up in a *seriatim* consideration of the document. And if it be true that the substitution of the word "administrative," which is not a new word, for the word "legislative," which is one of the words that we have put before you for consideration in the *seriatim* debate—if that constitutes a complete and utter destruction of the whole plan, or the throwing of the switch, we might, though we will not, say in reply that the proposition to substitute the word "including" for the word "except," with reference to the powers of Regional Conferences on the subject of constitutional amendment, is in our judgment just about as radical a change as any we have here proposed. And furthermore, that the proposition to establish "three-fourths" as the ratio instead of "two-thirds" as the ratio for constitutional amendments, does introduce not only the provision for making constitutional changes difficult, for preventing a change from being made easy, but under the circumstances, and taken in connection with the other proposal giving the Regional Conferences the power as organized to act upon constitutional amendments, virtually makes constitutional changes impossible. Therefore it would seem to me, in response to Bishop Mouzon's suggestion, that the things we have proposed for debate in the *seriatim* consideration are not more severe or drastic or extreme, not more significant, than the suggestions that were this morning presented in behalf of our brethren of the Commission from the Southern Church. Now, Mr. Chairman, that much is simply by way of comment upon what has been said. May I say this word concerning what I have presented? The first part of this statement, or resolution—namely, "Subject to additions and alterations which may be made in the *seriatim* consideration of the report of the Committee of Fourteen, the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church accept said report as a plan of unification"—is pretty nearly the exact form of the motion as submitted by Bishop Moore. His motion did have in it "in minor details," I think. But who shall say what is or is not a minor detail? And we have confidence that Bishop Moore in the use of the words "in minor details" did not mean to eliminate the possibility of discussing any matters, large or small, in the document. Did we misinterpret you, Bishop Moore? We felt that under the *seriatim* discussion any modification that might be agreed to in the discussion in this Joint Commission would come under the terms of your motion. Now, touching the second point, "the further consideration of the number and geographical

distribution of the white Regional Conferences in the United States," what we meant to do in that part of the document was simply this, to open that subject again (it never having been formally or finally closed) for the purpose of adopting, if we could, such a plan for the distribution of Regional Conferences in the States as might make it more certain that we would carry this plan through the two Churches. We must give you our view when that question comes up. You must give us your view when the question comes for final settlement. And we thought our suggestion would bring the subject before us for the full presentation of both views. I have the distinct feeling (and will only speak for myself in this matter, though I do not doubt I do speak for others) that one of the things that we must at least faithfully and fully present is a plan of geographical distribution which on the border line, where the North and the South meet, shall secure a certain equality of power, so that no considerable portion of the members of either Church shall be simply transferred to a Regional Conference that is predominantly a Regional Conference of what was the other Church. That is all that we have in our mind at that point. There are other considerations. Take the Northwest section as it is proposed. Members of our Commission feel the geographical vastness of it, and are wishing that it might be fairly talked over here, to see whether it is possible to secure a readjustment that will secure, first, the practical homogeneity which we all seek, and, secondly, the proper proportion and balance which we must carefully preserve if we are to carry this plan through the two Churches. The protection of the minority is most necessary, not in a General Conference which meets once in four years, but in the life of those Churches day in and day out through every day of the four years. Now, touching the third item—namely, the provision that the paragraph relating to the status of the colored membership shall be so written as to show a certain thing—it was agreed, I think, in the report of the Richmond Committee, the *ad interim* committee, that that was the intention and effect of the paragraph that was presented. And that while the figures 30 to 40 are named in the report, those figures are named because they were thought to meet just exactly that proportion. In other words, in a Church with 6,000,000 members, with 300,000 or 350,000 negro members, it was thought that five per cent of the body, or the exact proportion, whether it is five or five and one-half per cent, whatever is essential, should be the percentage allotted to the negro members organizing into a Regional Conference of their own. Now, when we came together yesterday, faced the form of that statement, and remembered the intention of the statement, it seemed to us that in order to make perfectly clear what was intended, we should write it in clearly at the start in-

stead of leaving it open for anybody to raise the question, "Well, now, this minimum of 30 and maximum of 40, how does that work out?" Instead of everybody's thus inquiring as to the meaning, have the words "proportionate representation for the full membership." If they are in, nobody needs to inquire. And we understood that it was the intention to put the essence of proportionate representation into the Richmond report. And all that we are asking now is that it be put definitely into this final report.

Bishop Cannon: You have not touched upon the substitution of the word "administrative" for the word "legislative."

Bishop McDowell: Thank you, I will in just a moment. At Cleveland, you will remember, Bishop Cannon presented the following statement, under paragraph 2: "These Regional Conferences shall each have representation in the General Conference in proportion to their membership in full standing." It is provided that each of them shall have at least five of each kind, and provided further that the delegates shall not exceed five per cent of the entire membership of the General Conference. And this was the effort at that point. Now, Mr. Chairman, touching the other item to which my attention was called, there has been from the beginning a very grave question as to the powers that ought to be granted to the Regional Conferences. Many of the most ardent friends of the Regional Conference idea have felt that those Conferences were chiefly for administrative purposes, and that the use of the word "legislative" concerning their powers would surely and swiftly lead to a conflict of authority between these and the General Conference on the one hand and between these and the Annual Conferences on the other hand. They will unquestionably take certain action, just as Annual Conferences now take certain action, which will be within their own borders, within their own regions, more or less legislative. But it did not seem to us, and it does not seem to us now, that they ought to have powers distinctly named as legislative powers, but that the limitation should be put at this point, so that such legislation as they should indulge in, such as Annual Conferences now indulge in, would be incidental and would not lead to certain conflict between these and other bodies. We have the feeling that the Regional Conference is a perfectly new thing in our system and in our plan, and that we would vastly better begin with the minimum of power granted to this new body and let its powers grow as experience goes forward, than begin with the maximum of power and endeavor to take away power as time goes on. And therefore we put the word "administrative" in place of the word "legislative," as one of the subjects for consideration and debate before this body. It seemed proper for us to do that. I shall be obliged to be excused in two or three min-

utes. May I say in a personal way before going these very personal words? I never quite coveted the quality that the Pope is supposed to possess—namely, the quality of infallibility—in any other matter as I have coveted that quality in this particular matter. If I were as sure of my wisdom, or of yours, in this business, as I am sure of the heart of us all, my own burdens these days would be a good deal lighter than they are. I share with you—repeating a word I said last night—I share with you that uncertainty which is due not at all to our desire, but is due to the interrogation point that is in every mind here as to whether this is the way to get to our goal. I am not at all particular about how I shall look when I get to the goal. No football player cares a penny whether he loses an ear or has his nose put out of joint and comes to the goal with his face smeared and dirty and a tooth lost. He is anxious for the goal. If I were sure that this is the process of getting ourselves across, as I am sure of the desire that we shall get across, I should be a very happy man. More than for any other thing relating to these two Churches, I pray that they may be one in their spirit as well as one in their form, and one in their form as well as one in their spirit. Now, it may be possible that the introduction of any plan we have proposed, any plan upon which we can agree for presentation, is going to introduce into both Churches divisive activities, arguments, controversies, that will be serious both as concerns the collection of the great Centenary subscriptions that have been made and the promotion of that revival of religious life for which we are all praying. And no one of us wants to introduce that kind of thing into the life of our Churches at this time. And it may be also (and here I speak only for myself, without any authority to say it in behalf of the Commission to which I belong), it may be that, after all, we ought to present to the two General Conferences our faithful effort to arrive at a conclusion upon the basis of what we conceive to be their instructions to us, and let them determine, as they finally must, whether these efforts are in harmony with their purposes; and then, in addition to the presentation of that sort of document, present one or more alternative plans looking toward the same end—namely, the unification of the Churches. The last word I can expect to say to you, Mr. Chairman and brethren beloved, is just this: It may be just now we can come together in a document which we can agree to send to the General Conferences. It may be as far as we can go is, to come to an agreement upon a document just to present without recommendation, as representing the best we can do upon the lines on which we have been working. I do not pretend to know just how far we can get just now. But, brethren, we must not break, we must not separate. And we must not lose sight of that goal to which the senti-

ment of our Churches and the Spirit of God together, I believe, have been urging us and to which the state of the world is calling us. And if we can accomplish unification upon the basis of any plan that we can work out by *seriatim* consideration of these various matters, if we can accomplish unification by that, well and good, for unification is the thing we seek. If we can accomplish it by sending this up, together with alternative plans, still unification is the thing we must seek. And if new plans have to be made and new commissions created, still unification is the thing that we must seek. The life of an individual is short; the life of a Church is long. And what we cannot accomplish in one day or two days, these Churches of Jesus Christ will accomplish under the Spirit of God. And there be some of us standing here, I do believe, who shall not taste death until they see it. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for letting me say these things.

H. H. White: Mr. Chairman, in the light of what Bishop McDowell said in his closing words, I wish to offer an alternative plan. If necessary, I move that an alternative plan be considered along with any plan before us. Now, gentlemen, when the *ad interim* committee, or the Committee of Fourteen, met at Richmond, I prepared this document, submitted it to several gentlemen of the respective organizations, and it met with some approval. I remember when I read it Bishop Cannon made this rather cryptic remark, "Well, there may be some fish up that stream." Dr. Blake said that he was not interested in it. I proposed to offer it as a substitute for the report which was finally adopted there. While I had some idea that perhaps Bishop McDowell favored the principle that underlay it, still he requested me not to present it as a substitute, and therefore I did not do it. I kept it in abeyance, with the statement that, if an emergency arose here, I would offer it here. Now I did vote that the report of the Committee of Fourteen be presented here without recommendation, reserving to myself, as others did there, the right to oppose it here or to offer something else if I chose. Personally I have come to the conclusion, since hearing the report of the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that there is no use whatever of further attempting to get together on the plan of reorganization. I had, as one member said this morning, drifted a good deal from the position which I originally took. I am prepared to go back to that position and stand firm upon it, allowing of course every other man to exercise his own judgment as to what he wants to do. I shall vote, or, if I have to leave before voting, I shall request my proxy to vote, against any plan of unification that permits any legislative or any executive conference with any negro in it (either governmental, ecclesiastical, or state) in which white men are concerned. In other words, I will stand on the princi-

ples that I enunciated in the speech which I made in Savannah. I do not think there is any use whatever in talking about a limited negro representation and then saying that it shall be proportionate. It is repugnant to my own feeling as a man, to my own record in the past, to the feelings that my people entertain at home. I am not going to vote for it. And, as I have to leave to-night, I shall ask that my proxy vote against it. However, I will offer this as a substitute for all matters before the body. I believe it is in line with the remarks Bishop McDowell made. I think it is a fair implication to believe that he favors such a plan; not all the details, because they can be worked out at a different time and place; but the principle of close association rather than organic union. I move that this paper be made a substitute for the whole matter now pending:

PROPOSED PLAN OF UNIFICATION BY COÖPERATION.

1. We suggest, as a plan of reorganization, the merging of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, into one Church to be known as the Methodist Episcopal Church in America.

2. We suggest that this Church shall have throughout common Articles of Faith, common conditions of membership, a common hymnal, a common catechism, and a common ritual.

3. We suggest that the governing power of the reorganized Church shall be vested in the several General Conferences of which it may be composed. We suggest that there be an Ecumenical Council to be composed of delegates from all the bodies of which the reorganized Church may be composed, which shall have no legislative power, but whose action shall be deemed in the highest degree advisory.

4. We suggest that the Mission Boards and other general Boards of the several General Conferences work in close harmony, and be jointly administered in so far as possible.

5. We suggest that overlapping and conflicting work in the limits of the respective General Conferences be eliminated as rapidly and as completely as may be.

6. The Ecumenical Council shall be composed *pro rata* of delegates from the several constituent General Conferences, as such General Conferences may determine.

Edgar Blake: I hope, Mr Chairman, that if Judge White feels he must go he will leave his proxy with me!

H. H. White: I have no doubt Dr. Blake would thoroughly carry out any mandate I might give him.

Edgar Blake: Mr. Chairman, I am not quite sure that Judge White quoted me correctly. And I am not certain that he did not quote me accurately. I think I meant to say that I was not enthusiastically interested in his document; for I am always interested in anything that Judge White has to say or to present to this body, as all of us are. Now, I find myself very much in sympathy with the motion made by Bishop Moore—namely, that we proceed to a *seriatim* consideration of this document. I am concerned that we shall not get to "seeing things" so early in

this game. I may say this, that in all the three and one-half years in which I have been associated with the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I have never found so strong a sentiment in that group of men as there is to-day for the consummation of this unification which we have been set to accomplish, if that shall be possible. I think there is a more earnest and a deeper desire on the part of all my brethren that we shall arrive at some satisfactory solution, at this time, of the problem which we now have in hand. I think I may go just a step farther in saying that I believe it is the judgment of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church Commission that the report of the Committee of Fourteen is the most satisfactory document this Joint Commission has had before it in the years in which we have been meeting together; that it comes nearer reaching the satisfactory and complete solution of the matters we have in hand than any other proposition we have thus far considered. But there are many members of our Commission who, I think, feel that the document is not a perfect instrument by any means, as yet; and that there are many items in the document that could be improved upon, upon a *seriatim* consideration of the matter. When your Commission, Mr. Chairman, brought in its report this morning saying that you were willing to accept this document as the best plan which was in sight (in substance), and that you were willing to consider further changes in it, with us, and you made certain recommendations as to certain changes in the document, we did not understand that those recommendations as to changes were ultimatums on your part. We thought, rather, that in your judgment, after mature consideration together, it was desirable that certain changes should be introduced into the document to perfect the same, and you wanted to talk those matters over with us. We may have misunderstood you. I think not. I do not believe the spirit of that document, or the letter of that document, contemplated that you were bringing an ultimatum to our Commission. Now that, as I understand it, is precisely the spirit and the attitude and the action of our Commission. We framed our resolution almost precisely in the language of the motion made by Bishop Moore, under which we were acting. We made certain recommendations. We did not bring them here as ultimatums. We did not come in here to say, "You brethren must accept or reject these"; we simply bring them here as recommendations, to talk out with you. You may be able to show us the error of our judgment in these matters. Some of us have understood that in your own Commission there are those who desire to see certain changes in the distribution of these Regional Conferences. There are those of us who understood that there were those of your Commission who would suggest certain changes, certain transfers from one re-

gion to another, as they are now constituted. There are those in our Commission who think that an improvement could be made in the present geographical distribution of our Regional Conferences. All we ask is that we shall sit down here together as brethren, not as Commissioners of the Church, South, not as Commissioners of our Church, but as Commissioners of the Lord God seeking to find the will of the Lord God and to know our duty in these matters; that we shall sit down here together and try to perfect this document together. That is all. I think that if we failed at any point, perhaps we did not interject color enough into our document. Our Chairman characterizes it correctly as a rather colorless document. The only thing that surprised me was that a colorless document should so completely blind him. I judge that what our Chairman most desires is light.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Turn it on.

Edgar Blake: That is exactly what I want to do.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): You have often done it.

Edgar Blake: That is to say, that is what I desire to have done. And I believe that if we will now sit down together as brethren and take up this document item by item and perfect it to the best of our ability by mutual agreement and understanding, we can get the light that all of us are anxious for. For that reason, I think that instead of spending our time upon general discussion, of which we have had no limit in our own Commission, and of which I have been a part—I think if we will devote ourselves now to the consideration of the matters immediately in hand, we will make progress. I speak now the conviction that is deeper in my own mind and heart than ever before, that if we will do this thing, sit down with these concrete matters, before this session in Louisville shall close we shall find ourselves seeing eye to eye upon these matters, and we shall perfect a document which we can transmit to our respective General Conferences for final determination.

F. M. Thomas: I rise to move a substitute to the motion that has been made.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): There is a substitute before the house.

F. M. Thomas: I understand the motion of Bishop Moore is to take it up *seriatim.*

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Judge White presented a paper as a substitute, and his motion was seconded.

Bishop Moore: I rise to a point of order. Judge White's motion is not in order. It is not a substitute for my motion. It brings in a new plan for unification. We are charged with the responsibility of perfecting this that we have, and reaching some sort of a consummation that we can submit to our General Con-

ferences. Judge White offers his paper with the feeling in his heart, if not the understanding, that we have failed to reach an agreement on this paper. We have not failed to reach an agreement on this paper. His motion is out of order.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair rules that Judge White's paper is in order and is a substitute.

H. H. White: I do not know much about parliamentary procedure. What I want is to get that paper before the house, and have it considered along with the other.

Bishop Cannon: Might I not ask Judge White if, in order that we might have an orderly consideration, his paper having been read to the body, he would not withdraw it so that we can consider the other paper? We cannot consider both together very well. If we do not find ourselves able to come to an agreement, then we have his paper as an alternative we can consider.

H. H. White: That is what was done at Richmond, and I fell outside the breastwork entirely.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Dr. Thomas has the floor.

F. M. Thomas: Can I move to amend Bishop Moore's motion? I move that we postpone the consideration of Judge White's paper, or rather to lay it on the table.

Bishop Ainsworth: If Judge White would not regard it as a discourtesy to lay his paper on the table, that is the thing to do; but not laying it on the table, as is often done, in order to kill it. It could be laid on the table until such time as we see fit to take it up for further consideration.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I understand a motion to lay on the table has been made and is seconded. Is that correct?

H. H. White: If that motion does not kill the paper, I am willing.

Judge White's paper was laid on the table.

F. M. Thomas: I have the more delicacy in making the motion I am going to make, because Kentucky is my home, and I do not want any of you gentlemen to get the idea that we want to hurry you away from the good old Blue Grass State. I have been on the Commission on Federation and the Commission on Unification about thirteen years now, and I have observed many things. I have observed that we find ourselves just where we are now. We have indulged in the useless expedient of taking up a matter *seriatim;* and I am going here to move that instead of taking this up *seriatim,* we take up the vital points of difference contained in these two reports and discuss them and vote upon them.

Bishop Moore: That is really what I had in mind. It was not a *seriatim* consideration of this report, except to open the way for the consideration of such points. That will be perfectly satisfactory to me.

F. M. Thomas: I move that we take up for immediate consideration the points of difference brought out in the two papers.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Do I understand that Bishop Moore is withdrawing his motion?

Bishop Moore: Dr. Thomas states what I had in mind.

A Voice: I offer an amendment, that we first take up the suggestions made by the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

J. W. Van Cleve: I do not understand the purport of the amendment.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair understands that the purport is that the suggestions in the paper presented by Bishop McDowell be first taken up; after that, those contained in the other paper.

D. G. Downey: May I inquire the reasons for that order?

A Commissioner: Because if we cannot agree on the matters presented by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, there is no use in going any further.

D. G. Downey: The answer to that is that the same applies to the other order.

Bishop Cannon: Why not adopt my suggestion, that these suggestions be taken up in the order in which they occur in the paper?

P. H. Linn: The only objection to that is this, that we will consume much of our time under that sort of thing on the matter of Regional distribution, about which I do not think, and it seems to me none of us could think, that it is the vital thing at all. We may just as well face the two or three issues that are vital—whether or not the Regional Conference is to be emasculated, whether or not the negro equal representation must be put there in such fashion as to offend the whole feeling of the South, and, third, whether or not you will protect us by a sufficient provision concerning constitutional matters. These are the three things that seem to me to be absolutely cardinal. It seems to me that the quicker and more frankly we face those three issues, the more rapidly can we make progress. To open the matter of geographical distribution means that we will spend our time now upon a matter that is not the cardinal, vital thing. I think I know the feeling of my own Commission. We will not stand for the emasculated Regional Conference. We cannot stand for the statement of the colored membership proposal in language that will offend the great white population of the South. And the question is whether you men can do what I hate to do—viz., make the process more difficult in the matter of amendment, in order to give to us that guarantee which we ask concerning the matter of change. I am willing to take those questions up in any order in which they occur. But it seems to

me we will waste our time if we go now to discussing the territorial matters. Why not face these vital matters fairly and frankly? I move that this be the substitute, that we consider first the proposed changes in method for constitutional amendment; secondly, the change relating to the powers of the Regional Conferences; thirdly, the proposed change in regard to the statement concerning the colored membership.

This motion was seconded.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): This is before you as a substitute for the whole.

Edgar Blake: Now, surely all we desire to do is to get at this thing in the quickest and most effective way possible. The thing which I fear is this, that if you go to take up these matters under the general heading—for instance, the general subject of the numbers and the geographical distribution of the Regional Conferences—this will happen: You will spend your time on general discussions, as we have always done, that will get us nowhere. If you will proceed *seriatim* in the consideration of these matters, you will come to every one of them in regular order. I do not believe we ought to jump about in this document; I believe we ought to start at the beginning and go through to the end. I think it is practically certain that there is much of this document that will not cause any debate, which we will be glad to accept as Commissioners representing both Churches. If you will adopt a rule of procedure that will put a three-minute limitation upon the speeches, and then instruct the Chair to hold those of us who speak strictly to the subject or motion in hand, I think we can make large progress with this paper. But if you go on the hop-skip-and-jump method, taking a subject here and another there and another yonder and discussing them as general propositions, we are not going to get very far. What I want to see in reference to these Regional Conferences, this matter of the number and geographical distribution, is that we take it up paragraph by paragraph. And if any man thinks that any Regional Conference is not properly cared for, let him state his objection and make out his case. If he cannot make out his case, let him accept the document as it stands. Speaking out of the experience of the last three and a half years in considering these matters, I feel reasonably sure that a strictly *seriatim* consideration will get us along much faster and more surely than a procedure which admits general discussions with only vague propositions before us.

Bishop Leete: Personally I am as willing to take Dr. Linn's motion as anything that has been proposed. It seems to me it will be a very lengthy and drawn-out affair to take this whole big paper and go through it. We have got to reach these points in some way or other. I think Dr. Linn's motion is as good as

any. But this is the vital question: On what are we to vote? If it is on the best plan to send to our General Conferences, I personally do not care how we vote on any one of these three points. But if we are trying to adopt something to send them with our approval, or with the practical or actual statement that we are for these things and will defend them, then it is a matter of vital concern what we act upon. My personal conviction is that the wisest thing we can do is to avoid all kinds of trouble by unfortunate publications and ungrounded fears through our constituencies. We are faced with that kind of trouble. In both Churches there is, I think, danger of defection if unwise publications or reports go forth. The best thing we can do is to reach an agreement that here we will go as far as we can in reference to these various differences of opinion and then pass up the paper to the General Conferences with the statement of our differences of opinion. If we can get to an agreement, send it with the complete agreement. If we cannot get to a complete agreement, send it with that lack of agreement stated. Take this matter of "legislative" or "administrative." Knowing that the General Conference will have to pass upon that, and that it will be its act—if it does act upon it favorably either way—I am not so much concerned which way it acts, because it rests upon the General Conference and not upon a body which, however intellectually and spiritually competent, is rather small. If we are trying to pass up to the General Conferences the very best thing we can get, I feel very much disposed to be very liberal, and to stand for almost anything that goes into it which represents the consensus of opinion of the men here. But if we stick to the idea that we are trying to adopt anything, I suppose many here will feel that we must hold fast to the construction which our consciences dictate to us as being essential, and to which we must finally hold.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Will you permit the Chair to make a statement which I think may help a little? The Chair is of the opinion that the members of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have no authority to discuss at all the question of substituting the word "administrative" for "legislative." That is not a question that we have any authority, under the action of our General Conference, to take up with you. When our Commission first met in the city of Baltimore, a committee was appointed by the Southern Commissioners carefully to study the limits of authority under which we acted. And a paper was adopted by the Southern Commissioners, and was presented in the Joint Commission; and in that paper this was said: "We feel bound as to Jurisdictional Conferences that they shall have their autonomy, legislating upon matters involved in their own jurisdiction." And when the Methodist Episcopal

Church, South, acting upon the Chattanooga paper, invited the Methodist Episcopal Church to appoint Commissioners to consider the reorganization of American Methodism, it was upon that basis, as the paper before me indicates; so that the members of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, cannot consider the discussion of that question, as we have no authority to discuss unification on that basis.

Bishop Hamilton: I made no speech whatever in our own Commission during the discussion of this plan or proposition that has been submitted. I have never been accustomed to spend much time in speaking on subsidiary motions. I have not much sympathy with that form of debate. I always want to grapple with the main questions involved. Now, on this matter that is before you, if that is your construction of the absolute limit in your discussion of that question, the dictionary is a very big book, and it is possible that we might find a word there, especially when you remember the specifications that are given in this document that are very largely administrative, by the use of which we will not have as much difficulty on that point as you may think. Let me say this, though perhaps not germane to this one motion: I am much in sympathy with Brother Linn's motion that we get right to the gist of the matter as soon as possible. Nothing could happen worse to both Churches than for us to separate wihout having something to submit to the approaching General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We must submit something. I am not sure but that I would favor submitting to both our General Conferences a statement that we cannot agree, and then leave them to determine what kind of new proposition the General Conferences would agree to. We must submit something in our report. The next thing I would like to say is, that not a single one of these itemized statements was voted upon in our Commission as to its merit. So we have no question of majorities and minorities. And it is therefore possible, with the many differences that existed among us, for us to come into conference with you and possibly find an agreement in which the differences in our own Commission can be harmonized by simply taking something that you are willing to offer to us. I will say in addition that I once offered a plan that I believe is the most equitable one. But it could not be considered because our General Conference obligated us to the plan of Quadrennial Conferences. We must start with that as a basis. The question of their territorial distribution and the question of their powers are matters within the province of our Commission and your Commission. And on these questions we can go into the differences that are between us. That is what we are here for. All this parliamentary difference does not amount to anything as to what we are ultimately intending to

reach. I do not care anything about the order of it. If we cannot agree upon this matter that the Chairman has introduced, upon the distribution of the Regional Conferences, upon the powers of the same, it is a very easy thing for us to acknowledge that fact here and report it to our General Conferences. Now, in conclusion, I repeat that we have not voted in any way on either of these plans. But I hold myself ready, for I feel competent, to vote individually, irrespective of the action of either of these Commissions. We only present this matter, as the Richmond Committee presented the other report to us—namely, we present it for conference with you, not having adopted by a majority vote a single one of the items there. I fear some of us may think we will never get together. You cannot stop this business; it is in the air. If every man of us here were to keep at it until we die, and die disagreeing, it will go on until there *is* an organic union of the two Churches. It may be that it will go first to a convention, that will be a more democratic gathering, to secure agreement there, anticipating the consideration by a General Conference. Or if we can agree, as I would like to have us agree, first that we should have an equal number of delegates from each Church in the Convention or General Conference, as the case may be, well and good. It may be then that so far we will get something that is in Judge White's paper. When he presented it to me, I did not turn it away with a slight. I have always respected every man that comes to me with an intelligent opinion. There are some things in that paper that I can readily accept, and all of us accept. But not the paper as a whole. Why cannot we, without so much parliamentary discussion, get down to the real differences between these two papers and learn whether we can agree on some things so as to harmonize them, and if not, whether we can agree on a paper that we can present to the General Conferences, if we do not adopt it? Excuse me if I seem to reflect upon brethren who are trying to measure swords in parliamentary debate. Let us get down to business, and try to get at something that is in accord not only with the purpose for which we are sent here, but with the trend of affairs in the air and with the good spirit of a godly fellowship, fitting us for a course that will make us great leaders in the world.

The vote was taken, and Dr. Linn's substitute prevailed.

P. H. Linn: I move that under the method for constitutional changes we turn to page 10 and amend in line 9 by striking out the word "except" and inserting the word "including." The case is simply this, that we come into the united General Conference as the minority party, with a distinct minority. And we feel that for the protection of minorities you should do for us the same thing in constitutional change that you agree in the paper

to do in regard to the passing of an ordinary matter of procedure. In the other matter you agree that, on the call of one-fifth, the vote shall be taken by Regions. We feel that for constitutional protection you ought to give to us exactly the same provision. That is all. I do not believe it is a practice that would be resorted to once in a hundred years, because I think that when we get together we will find each other so brotherly that we shall have no need. But if that measure is necessary in ordinary legislation, it ought to be necessary in constitutional matters.

Bishop Cannon: I feel inclined to say that while I voted for that and favor it, I favor it as a matter of expediency. I do not favor it because I really think that in actual practice it is likely to be necessary; and perhaps it might not always be desirable. But I favor it because there are a number of men in our Church who are very hesitant as to this matter, and I am very anxious that they shall be shown that the proposition which is presented goes to the very limit in safeguarding the rights of minorities. And I am anxious that the paper shall be such that opposition to it shall be reduced to a minimum. I think perhaps I may say that were it not for the matter of securing the approval of the large majority, the necessary majority—I do not mean by that a small majority, but the great majority—of our people, I would not especially favor this. But the desire and the necessity to secure that seem to me to justify this action. I do not see how our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church can be damaged in any way by voting for this. No great vital principle is likely to arise that will damage the activities of the Church, that will be blocked by any two Regional Conferences. No two Regional Conferences will rise up and say, "This shall not be done," if it is a great vital principle, or if the advancement of the kingdom of God is involved. And if that is not in danger, why not agree to this in order that the fears of timid brethren, the doubts and hesitation of men who are honest in their position, may be met? Why not put this in this paper so that we can go to these men and say, "Here, look at the Constitution. The minority is protected certainly as safely as any minority ever was protected, or more so." Now, in order that we may get support for this paper by the men in our Church, in other words, in order to secure unification, as a matter of expediency I stand here and plead for the adoption of this, although I myself personally do not see the need of it. Yet there are men who will want it, and I want the support of those men to this paper. And I do hope that the brethren will agree to its adoption.

T. D. Samford: I cannot add anything to what Dr. Linn and Bishop Cannon have so clearly and forcibly said in reference to the reasons for this change, except that possibly it would be in-

teresting for us in this connection to consider the principles that govern in our Federal Constitution. While we are not trying to adopt a Constitution in all respects analagous to our Federal Constitution, it is an instructive guide. In order to obtain an amendment of our Federal Constitution it is necessary that a resolution to that effect be adopted not only by a two-thirds vote of the House of Representatives, who are the representatives of the people directly, but also by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, which represents the respective States, and then the proposed amendment must be ratified by three-fourths of the States. Now, then, if it is our purpose here to erect Regional Conferences which are to be autonomous, and which are to have legislative power and authority, it seems to me that the principle is analagous and that we ought not to initiate matters in reference to amendment of the Constitution of our Church unless it should be voted upon, or at least have the right to be voted upon, by this two-thirds, as suggested here in this sub-paragraph 4 of page 10, as referred to by Dr. Linn. It occurred to me that this suggestion might be helpful to us in adopting this principle in this proposed constitution.

D. G. Downey: The matter of expediency is a two-edged sword. That is, what is expedient for one body may not be expedient for another. We have to consider getting this paper, or some such paper, not only through one body, but through two bodies. And very much the same questions will be asked in each of the Churches, possibly from a little different angle. In your Church you will be asked, "Is the minority protected?" In our Church the inquiry will be, "Are we tying ourselves hand and foot so that there is no possibility of ever getting away from certain restrictions?" Now, what we are both desirous of, if we adopt any paper, is to adopt a paper that will commend itself to the judgment of both Churches. I am not clear that I would vote against this if it is deemed necessary. I think that we ought not to put in anything that we do not feel to be obligatory, anything in the way of restrictions. I would like to ask some of the legal brethren here whether in putting in "including" here and making the Regional Conferences a part of the amending body, we are not giving them a double vote. Every Annual Conference votes, and the Regional Conference is composed of Annual Conferences. And therefore you are giving to Annual Conferences the right to vote, and then you are giving to those same Annual Conference representatives in the Regional Conference the right to vote. Are you not? That vote will be taken by Regional Conferences. Would they not vote in your Annual Conferences when it went down? Would they not vote in the General Conference, and in the Regional Conferences, and in the Annual Conferences?

P. H. Linn: This is a method of voting in the General Conference. It is voting in the General Conference in a specific matter.

D. G. Downey: That is what I inquired about. That answers my inquiry. Then the only question is whether, if you change "two-thirds" to "three-fourths" of the Annual Conference, you are not tying the thing up pretty tight.

Edgar Blake: I confess, when the recommendation came in this morning, my first judgment was unfavorable to it. But I have been asking myself, How will the thing work? and after a consideration of the way the thing would work, it seems to me that if this is the thing desired, we are not tying our hands unduly by making this provision. That is to say, this provides that upon a constitutional question, as upon any other question, the vote, instead of being taken by delegates as such, will be taken by regional groups, and unless two-thirds of the regional groups voting as such vote in favor, the proposition is lost. It also means that on any such proposition it will require the vote of three regional groups out of seven to defeat it. It means to me that this is not an unreasonable request to be made. Therefore I do not see any very serious objection to this proposition.

Bishop Cranston: We live in a time when Constitutions are really of more value than they have ever been in the history of democratic countries. There is a lawless spirit among the people of the world. While they are crying and praying for order, they are practicing disorder. And the revolt against constitutional control is second only, perhaps, to that against autocratic or monarchical control. In the times in which we are living, I would prefer that the matter should be as is proposed. It cannot do any hurt. You may be sure of it, that any proposition which commands popular approval, which will meet the judgment and preferences of the ministry of the Church, the pastorate of the Church, will go with such power that the difference between these two propositions will amount to very little.

C. A. Pollock: I am in favor of this motion. I have my reasons therefor. I come from the State of North Dakota. Maybe you have read of it! We supposed that we had a Constitution there, once. But when a body of Socialists can come within a State peopled as that great State has been peopled, with the best people on earth, and can with one stroke sweep your Constitution out of existence and turn the whole State over to the power of Socialism, I say to you, sir, the time has come when we want to frame Constitutions so that they cannot be changed just by every whiff of the wind. I do not want to begin to talk about the Non-Partisan League here. But if you will come out on the street I will give you my opinion about it!

J. W. Van Cleve: We are preparing here to put into operation

a very considerable body of legislation that is entirely new. And it may speedily be brought to its actual application. I think that instead of protecting our Constitutions by a superabundance of safeguards we sometimes increase our dangers. I may not be advised as to the situation. But as pretty generally agreed upon by men who take different views, the present situation in the State of North Dakota was caused by the inability of the people to get that done which they wanted to have done. The danger that we face here is likely to be the danger of making it practically impossible to amend this Constitution. I think we are not so likely to incur the danger of speedy rebellion against the Constitution as we are to create the rebellion before the Constitution is ever adopted. Men are going to look at this process and say, "If we have got to go to all this trouble to change any one of these provisions, some of which seem to us so doubtful, we won't adopt the plan at all." A moment ago the question was as to the analogy between our State and national governments. To amend the national Constitution there must be a concurrent resolution of the House and Senate, then the resolution must go down to the legislatures of the States. We have not only required a process equivalent to that, but it is possible, in this new Church, supposing it to be constituted according to this instrument that we have here, for fifty-one men to block indefinitely the desire of all the rest in the Annual Conference and in the General Conference. Supposing there is one region that has its exact one hundred members in the General Conference; fifty-one members control that region. And that one region can block all the rest of it.

A Voice: O, no, it takes three regions.

Bishop Ainsworth: It would take five regions to carry a proposition; but three regions could block or defeat the carrying of a proposition.

Bishop Cranston: Two-thirds of the number of the Regional Conferences voting as one body.

Bishop Ainsworth: That is not the pending proposition.

J. W. Van Cleve: Our danger is just what I spoke of a little while ago, whatever may be the number required to block action. There has been a fear that we are erecting what one man characterized in the discussion of this as more of a separation than a real union. That spirit will be increased by everything that makes it more difficult to change the Constitution, which we ordain. I think we ought to make it not more than ordinarily difficult to change the Constitution. It ought to be ordinarily difficult, because I do not believe that a Constitution ought to be changed with every wind of sentiment that passes over a body. This secures deliberate action, and suspends any action for four

years. Therefore I believe we ought to adhere to the original language at this point.

Bishop Cranston: A question is made as to the meaning of this language. As the delegation is constituted, in the thought that I believe has prevailed up to this time, the Regional Conference delegation would be composed of the delegates to the General Conference. Then you have that delegation as applying to these individuals. They are the delegation—A, B, C, D, E, F, delegates from the Virginia Conference, for instance. Now you come here and say, "These Regional delegates voting as one body." The language is not clear.

A. W. Harris: I am well persuaded that it is unwise to erect voting requirements that depart very much from the majority rule in ordinary cases. If this proposal is necessary to make this Constitution acceptable to the South, I am ready to vote for it. That reason alone would be reason enough for me. But I have another consideration in mind. The public always has one great defense against unusual provision—public opinion. In our General Conference there is a provision for voting by orders, but he who proposes a call for this vote, does so at his risk, unless there is a great majority in favor of it.

Bishop Leete: Are we to adopt this as a finished act?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair understands that this is only a tentative adoption, and that before anything is finally adopted it is to be adopted by each Commission, voting separately and as a whole. You are perfecting the paper.

Rolla V. Watt: I want to ask for an interpretation of this Item 4, with reference to that vote that it says must be taken in one body and must be by two-thirds of the Regional Conferences. Suppose that one Regional Conference votes for it almost unanimously, and the next one has a minority, and the next one has fifty per cent. Does it seem a bare majority of all the votes of three or four Regional Conferences, a bare majority, is meant? When we take the vote of the Conferences throughout our Church, in our Church it is the aggregate vote of all the people who vote.

Bishop Cannon: I was Chairman of the *ad interim* committee and Dr. Blake was the Secretary. I am taking it for granted that this is the thing that we adopted and that we understood we were adopting. Certainly the thought in my mind was that it required a concurrence of two-thirds of the Regional delegations as delegations.

P. H. Linn: If "thereof" were stricken out and these words inserted, "The members of each delegation voting as one body," would that make it clear?

Bishop Cannon: Dr. Blake, do you understand that this is the language that we adopted?

Edgar Blake: Yes; but I think Dr. Linn's suggestion will improve it.

The vote was taken, and the amendment prevailed.

P. H. Linn: I would ask if by consent we can substitute the words "of each delegation," so that it will read, "The members of each Regional delegation voting as one body."

A motion to this effect was made and prevailed.

Bishop Cannon: Now, Mr. Chairman, we come to the insertion of "three-fourths" on page 13, lines 11 and 17, in place of "two-thirds." I will say in reply to Mr. Watt that this is a little different from the other, in that it refers to the rights of Annual Conferences. As Dr. Van Cleve said a while ago, it is much more difficult to carry any constitutional amendment through the Annual Conferences than it is through the General Conference. And this would appeal to our preachers as securing to them their rights. Moreover, we do not think it is an unusual request, because we have never had anything else in our Church. It has always been three-fourths. It was so in yours, I think, until recently. We appeal for this change on the same basis that we did for the other. We think it is desirable. We do not think it will strangle any infant that ought to be born. We will be very glad if you will agree to this change.

Edgar Blake: Do you think it is absolutely necessary, Bishop Cannon?

Bishop Cannon: I think it would enable us to secure the support of members of the Annual Conferences much more easily if that is the paper. I myself do not personally care anything about it, except as a matter of expediency.

F. M. Thomas: I think this is the situation we have to face. When these two Churches come together, their voting strength, if I estimate it correctly, would be something like two-thirds and one-third. And men would say, "Really the Constitution does not protect you at all"; and it would be very difficult to answer it. I have no doubt that if you put it on the basis of Christian love and brotherhood, there would be no difficulty. But when men go into a contract they scrutinize the stipulations very closely. And another thing: The part of the Church from which I come is one that has a very delicate social situation, one that is misunderstood. And it would feel that it ought to be guarded in a way; because it is true, brethren, that we are introducing into this Constitution some conceptions that are new to large sections of the South. And the men who would be willing to advocate those changed concepts would want a guarantee that that change would be protected for some time, especially in an atmosphere where it was not clearly and thoroughly understood. Therefore it is not a mere matter of expediency. It really, if I may say so, seems to be in a sense a matter of right.

Edgar Blake: Mr. Chairman, I move its adoption.

This motion was carried.

On motion of Bishop Moore, the time was extended until 5:30 o'clock.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): What is the next point?

Bishop Cannon: The next point is the matter of the Regional Conferences.

The proposition to substitute the word "administrative" for the word "legislative" was taken up.

Bishop Moore: If I have understood the Chattanooga suggestions correctly, and the declarations of two General Conferences—one at Oklahoma City, and one at Saratoga Springs—this matter is one of the basic principles upon which our first action was taken. I think it is firmly written, decidedly written, specifically written, in the Chattanooga suggestions, that these Regional Conferences shall have the right to legislate upon all local matters. I think it is hardly proper for us at all, I doubt very much whether we are competent, to consider at all a change of that word "legislative" to "administrative." I think both Commissions are bound by their General Conferences to let that word remain as it is. Our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Commission have been exceedingly generous in their dealing with us at all times. But it seems to me we are not at liberty to make this change, in view of the instructions, if not orders, that we have received from our General Conference.

D. G. Downey: Would the brethren of the Church, South, feel that it is absolutely necessary to have the world "legislative" in? Would it suffice if it read, "subject to the limitations and restrictions of this Constitution, each Regional Conference shall have full power over all distinctively regional affairs within its area"?

C. M. Bishop: In the Chattanooga Conference it is provided that the General Conference shall have power over all distinctively connectional matters and the Quadrennial Conferences full power over all distinctively local matters.

D. G. Downey: I will move that in Section 3, line 16, on page 3, the word "legislative" be stricken out. So that it shall read, "subject to the limitations and restrictions of this Constitution, each Regional Conference shall have full power over all distinctively regional affairs within its area."

Edgar Blake: Many of our brethren think it would greatly aid us in getting this through our Church if you will adopt Dr. Downey's suggestion.

Bishop Denny: On all matters of courtesy I never intend that anybody shall pass beyond the position that I myself shall occupy. If this were solely a matter of courtesy, I should say nothing. If this question had come before the suggestion that

"legislative" be substituted by "administrative," it would present a different question to you. But in view of the fact that "legislative" was substituted by "administrative," with that in the record, to strike out both terms is to put a shadow on the interpretation of the word "powers" that we cannot rub out by any action we may take after striking out that word "legislative," and the fact that such a significant word was stricken out becomes a vital point in the interpretation of this Constitution. On page 8 of the report of the Commission on Unification to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and as set forth when we met in Baltimore and when each Commission stated what it understood to be basic principles, you will find in our statement these words, by Bishop Candler, who spoke for our entire Commission (and there was no lack of unanimity. It was unanimous on the point that we were bound within these limitations): "In the second place, we feel bound as to Jurisdictional Conferences, that they shall have their autonomy, legislating upon matters involved in their own jurisdiction." Now, if in any way, without putting the word "legislative" into the Constitution, you can involve the fact so that legislative powers cannot be taken out, I have no objection.

D. G. Downey: Suppose we amend our original report and simply recommend the omission of the word "legislative," it would still leave "full power." It would seem to me that that implies everything essential.

Bishop Denny: If you can say that you understand that you are in no way minimizing the power, but rather broadening it, I am willing to accept it.

D. G. Downey: I think you are perfectly safe to leave some things to interpretation.

Bishop Denny: Not where there has been a question raised. I am not trying to quibble. I am trying to protect. You want to make this more pleasing to your constituency. In order to do that, suppose the question is raised among your delegates, or members of Annual Conferences, when it comes before the Annual Conferences for a vote, "Does 'power' include legislation?"

D. G. Downey: I would say to them that what is not given to the General Conference is not prohibited. You will find that the Regional Conference is only prohibited from legislating on, or interfering with, things that are provided for in the General Conference. Then you have the Judicial Council. We are pleading here for something that will help us.

Bishop Moore: May I ask Dr. Downey a question?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair is in complete doubt as to who has the floor or what is before the house.

Bishop Moore: Does Dr. Downey regard the striking out of

this word "legislative" as diminishing in any sense the power that is now in the Regional Conference?

D. G. Downey: I do not.

Bishop Cranston: It has been said here that the use of the word "legislative" is likely to contribute to what the world is sufficiently supplied with now—confusion. There is a possibility of that word being abused by brethren who do not mean to be officious and yet are such in spite of themselves. But they are in almost every Conference. The Annual Conferences have gotten along very well with such authority as they have had. The word "legislative" does not attach to their powers, and yet they are really constitutional units of ecclesiastical organization. There is a possibility of these Conferences, tempted by the word "legislative," enacting contradictory legislation. There is almost an invitation in the word to take up things that do not appertain to the purpose of Regional Conferences as institutions in the Church. If we were to go before our Church to advocate the legislative function of the Regional Conference, we should be advertising an opportunity that would only be too readily welcomed by every man who had the seed of agitation in his soul. I have gone over this summary of powers which it is proposed to confer upon the Regional Conferences, and my judgment as to their expected service led me to suggest the word "administrative" instead of "legislative." I spoke to Dr. Lamar at one of our previous meetings, and he agreed with me as to the possible confusion in legislation that might grow out of the word "legislative." I felt confirmed somehow! You see that all the confirmation I need in some of my convictions I can get from my brethren of the South! The authority that you are conferring upon the Regional Conference is in the very nature of the case subject to existing charters and contracts. No power we could confer would change these. The educational charters and those by which other institutions are founded and are being conducted, all are beyond the power of this Commission or the General Conference to change. Then what have Regional Conferences more than Annual Conferences to legislate about? I can think of nothing that requires legislation in the definite sense, to which I was alluding when I spoke of the danger in it as a standing challenge to the busy minds of the most prolific people in legislation on the face of the earth. Not the Methodist preacher altogether. The Annual Conference looks after everything within its ecclesiastical interest, though it has no authority to legislate distinctively. The Regional Conference should in the same sense and way look after everything that comes naturally under its control. The object of this whole Regional business is not that all of us believe it to be an essential to our Methodist ecclesiastical machinery. It is a concession to a situation, to a public

opinion growing out of the condition of things with which we have to deal. We could get along without it, just as we have got along without other things that many of our good men have thought to be absolutely necessary to complete our Church machinery. Now I want to assure you that there is nothing in the thought that led to the introduction of this proposition that is in the least degree, so far as I know, intended to restrict the control of the Regional Conference over Regional affairs. Nothing at all. We should be better off without the word "legislative." If you will be satisfied there with the word "control" or the words "full power," we shall understand it. And I think the record of what is said here this afternoon will be a sufficient interpretation of our meaning.

J. J. Wallace: Let me call your attention to subsection 5, page 4: "No Regional Conference shall, in the exercise of the powers provided herein, make rules or regulations contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church." The Regional Conference is inhibited as to certain rules and regulations, and it is implied that it may make rules and regulations. The Constitution of the General Conferences of both Churches declares that the General Conference shall have full power to make rules and regulations. Nobody questions that power. By this document, power is conferred upon the Regional Conference to make rules and regulations except as provided in this restriction.

D. G. Downey's amendment was adopted.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The next matter is this, that lines 4 to 9 on page 6 be so phrased as to secure to the present colored membership full proportionate representation in the General Conference.

Bishop Cannon: I think perhaps I ought to make a statement, as my name was called in Bishop McDowell's speech with reference to this matter. At the Cleveland meeting, in discussing the report which was brought in by the Committee of Reference there, I think I made substantially this statement. I said that I realized the situation, or the condition in which the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church found themselves. They had a certain number of negro members in their Church. They cannot ask those members to retire from the Church. They can hardly ask the present membership to agree to a curtailment of their rights in the Church and their representation in the General Conference. And moreover they might be confronted by a protest, which might even take legal form, if there was an attempt made to curtail the rights and privileges of those members. And I have said I recognized the embarrassment under which we place our Northern brethren. And for myself, I said

that I was not a stickler as to the percentage, provided the percentage was declared, whether five or five and a half or six per cent. I said that I thought we should come to an agreement as to what percentage should be given the present colored membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and should so shape our action as to prevent any embarrassment. At the meeting of our Commission yesterday I raised that same point, and said that I did not see how there could be any question in the courts, any appeal by the colored membership, provided the rights of representation of the present membership in the General Conference were not curtailed. Now, I do think it would be a mistake to write into this paper language which would say "proportionate representation." We have carefully avoided that in this *ad interim* report. We have shaped up this report so that there are three kinds of Regional Conferences. And we have endeavored to use similar language in reference to representation in the General Conference. We have said that every Regional Conference of white membership should have not less than 100, provided that no Regional Conference should have more than twenty per cent. We have said that the Regional Conference for colored members should have not less than 30 or more than 42, provided that at no time should the representation exceed five per cent; and the foreign representation to be the same. We have carried out the general thought. Now, I have no objection personally to any shaping of this which will relieve the embarrassment of the Methodist Episcopal Church and will provide for all the colored membership in that Church to-day, in order just to meet that situation; with the distinct limitation, percentage limitation, as to representation in the General Conference, and also with the limitation beyond which it cannot go in numbers. If it turned out to be 42 or 43 or 44, I am willing to meet the situation, the status to-day; but not in any way changing the position which, as you all know, I held at Cleveland and Richmond, that we had considered that the arrangement, which has been made, which was made by this *ad interim* committee, is in principle the only arrangement, perhaps, which the Southern Commission can report to its General Conference.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Will you permit the Chair to make a suggestion which would be of interest to him? Let your provision read as follows, beginning at line 7, page 6: "Provided, that the present colored membership shall have full proportionate representation in the General Conference, and provided also that the number of delegates from such Regional Jurisdiction shall not exceed five per cent of the total membership of the General Conference."

P. H. Linn: It seems to me it would be far preferable to keep our report in the form that we have here. If I understand

the attitude of the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church Commission, they simply want to change the figures so as to take care of the present colored membership.

Edgar Blake: I understand that there is no difference of opinion among us at this point—namely, that the present colored membership of our Church shall have representation in the General Conference proportionate to their present membership, which is about five per cent, speaking approximately. I have a little doubt in my mind as to the wisdom of writing this term "proportionate representation" into a Constitution. Personally, I think we need to go back to the provision which we had once, the provision which takes the minimum and maximum membership of the General Conference. We had a provision that the General Conference shall consist of not less than 650 nor more than 850 delegates. I think we have got to go back to some provision of that kind. Mark you, not for the sake of our colored delegates, but for the sake of avoiding an undue increase of the membership of the General Conference. Now, if you will introduce into that provision that the General Conference shall consist of not less than 650 nor more than 850 ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers, as the General Conference may determine—if you will insert that, and then over here provide, "of not less than 32 and not more than 42" (five per cent respectively of 650 and 850 members), that deals with the thing in clear and specific fashion. If you write into the Constitution "proportionate representation," that will involve us in trouble.

At this point the time was extended indefinitely.

I. G. Penn: In every speech I have heard made this afternoon concerning these changes, the appeal has been made by one side or the other that these changes be made that you may be able to carry with the people of the two Churches. Now, brethren, I have been profoundly gratified for what to me and to my people is a great concession on the part of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as written in this statement and, as I understand, agreed to, compared with the position which we had at Baltimore. At Baltimore you proposed that we should occupy only an independent relationship. And, as I remember, very little was said concerning our remaining in the united Church at all; and any proposition that might be considered liberal was only this, that we should keep some kind of intimate relation between the colored people and the white people—a nexus. You moved out from that until you considered the negro in the relation of a missionary jurisdiction. We objected to the term "missionary." I think that was wise, because the colored people in the Methodist Episcopal Church overnight have come to self-support in this Centenary matter, so that we have put into the coffers of the Church within six months three times

as much money as we raised for the eight Boards in one year prior to that time. Then in that memorable debate as Savannah you proposed—I was not surprised to hear Dr. Lamar say that that debate will cover 600 pages of the volume. And I think if the negro people should be given to understand that they can procure that volume they will be glad to read 600 pages, coming from the North and the South, dealing with the negro. You proposed at Savannah that we have ten delegates in the General Conference. Then you proposed that there should be a mandatory provision that when we reached 400,000 members we must (or "you shall") organize an Associate General Conference. We left there and came on to St. Louis. At St. Louis the question of proportionate representation in the General Conference for the present membership of the Church was before us. Now, you have moved out from that position until you come here today, giving us what I understand to be proportionate representation; and Bishop Cannon is entirely right—I want to thank him for his statement of the position—he is entirely right in saying that you have done nothing but what is safe and just to the colored membership now in the Methodist Episcopal Church when you give them proportionate representation. I count these three big concessions, that I never thought you would make. I am mighty glad that you are big enough to make them. But let me say that the five per cent is on there, and is really giving us some trouble in dealing with this matter with our people. You must face the fact that in putting the five per cent on you have put an estop to the growth of the negro membership of the reorganized Church. And it is not going to be an easy thing to go to the colored people and have them accept this proposition with this kind of a rider. And yet I want to say that I am perfectly willing to vote in this body that this shall go down to the Conferences; for I am anxious that not only my people shall have a chance to face it, but that your people shall have a chance to face the matter of equal negro representation in the highest legislative body of the largest Church on earth. But you will make it easier for us as we take this matter down to our people if you will state it in such a way that the people will not have to work arithmetic in order to know that they have got proportional representation. If we can phrase it some way like this, that "you shall have so many delegates for so many members"—say one for 14,000, if you should use the same figures under (b) as under (a)—so that they shall see that it is the same thing that is used for our white people, it will be all right. Anything to make it clear that the representation is really proportionate. I am inclined to think that Bishop Mouzon's suggestion will help our people to see that this is proportionate representation. But before this matter

is over, before the final vote is taken, I shall want to enter into the record an explanation of my vote, in the light of the five per cent proposition. With this I hope you will clear this thing in some such way as suggested by Bishop Mouzon, so that the people may see, without having to work a whole arithmetic, that this thing is proportionate representation.

F. M. Thomas: I regret that Bishop McDowell is not here, because I wish to speak concerning the action of the Committee of Fourteen at Richmond. I think all the gentlemen present will bear me out that when we were discussing this very delicate matter, and for a time it seemed that it would be impossible to reach any conclusion, he said this (I hope I quote him correctly): "Brethren, it seems we will simply have to arrive at a solution the best we can and let people interpret it as they will." Brethren, I am satisfied, after hearing all the discussion concerning this very delicate problem, that if you solve this problem in any way, you have got to solve it somewhat in the way the Committee of Fourteen solves it. If you begin to write one way or the other, you write the whole thing out. I am willing, as I have always been, to have more light. But I am not going to vote in any way to change that unless it is so very carefully drawn that it does not disturb that idea. I want to say very frankly, and I say it in all kindness (it is a deep conviction of my life), that I do not believe in proportionate representation; though I am willing and was willing, in writing in that addition there, to allow the present colored membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church to have a representation that was practically equal to proportionate representation. But I think you have got to draw that thing carefully so that it will not prove a boomerang. As I remarked at Richmond, the matter was as delicately balanced as an egg on its point. I appreciate to the full the position of Dr. Penn and Dr. Jones. May God bless them and bless us all! As I have said time and time again, I am in favor of every race coming to its full, and want to do everything to bring it to its full—and some men have come to the full, thank God. But we are dealing with the most delicate matter that ever confronted a people in the history of the world. Personally I do not believe—I am willing to be shown, but I do not believe—you can get very far beyond that statement.

P. H. Linn: It seems to me our embarrassment all along has been through a failure to understand the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and through the fact that in this particular matter we are proceeding in a different form from what we did in the others when we proceeded under a definite motion. I am sure these brethren are prepared to make a motion. And I believe the motion they intended to propose will be quite ac-

ceptable to us if we can just get them to state it. This is the only thing upon which we have not had a definite motion.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Your point of order is well taken.

Edgar Blake: I do not now speak for our Commission, but on my own responsibility. I move that line 25, bottom of page 5, be amended by inserting after the words "the General Conference" the words, "shall consist of not less than 650 nor more than 850," etc. If that is adopted, I would move to amend line 4 of page 6 by substituting "32" for "30" and "42" for "40," so that it will read: "(b) Of not less than 32 nor more than 42 ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers, chosen, in such number and in such manner as the General Conference may determine, from the Colored Regional Jurisdiction in the United States; provided, that the number of delegates from said Regional Jurisdiction shall not exceed five per cent of the total membership of the General Conference." Having thus stated the case, I desire to move that we amend by inserting in line 25, page 5, after the words "General Conference," the words "shall consist of not less than 650 nor more than 850 ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers as the General Conference may determine, and shall be composed as follows."

This motion prevailed.

Edgar Blake: I now desire to move that we amend line 4, page 6, by substituting "32" for "30," and "42" for "40," so that it will read as stated above.

R. E. Jones: I have much preferred a statement that would cover what Bishop Cannon said, or take the amendment offered by Bishop Mouzon. I think both those statements get at what we want, without involving us in an uncertainty. The proposition that Dr. Blake offers leaves it entirely so that the representation of the colored membership may be 32 arbitrarily, may be 42 arbitrarily. I do not know that five per cent is the proportionate representation in the General Conference. There is no way to find that out until we have officially before us the membership of the Church, South, the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the official report of our own colored membership. In our own colored membership we have Conferences and we have Churches in white Conferences; so that we would want an official tabulation of the colored membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church to know exactly what the proportional representation we are entitled to is. I can see that it is entirely possible, with what Dr. Blake proposed, that the General Conference may fix a representation less than our due representation at this time. What I understand you intend to do is that we shall have representation that is due to us at this time; that the five per cent shall be put in to prohibit any in-

crease to that representation. If it is four per cent, that is the thing to do; if it takes five and one-half per cent to do that, that is the thing we want. I think there is no difference of opinion as to what we are trying to do if you want to give representation to the membership as it is. We intend to agree to a figure that shall fix that representation so that it shall not be beyond that at any time in the history of the Church. My point is that I do not know that five per cent meets it. I rather think it does not. I much prefer Bishop Mouzon's or Bishop Cannon's proposition to Dr. Blake's.

A. W. Harris: It is important to be quite clear on what we intend to grant, and in the statement I suppose that we have an understanding that the negro membership, as it now is, shall have full proportionate representation. Does that representation require five or six per cent? We ought not to write in a percentage until it has been carefully determined. In the next place, there is the possibility of misunderstanding in regard to the phrasing of the proposal made by Dr. Blake. I refer to line 4, on page 6, "of not less than 30 (changed to 32) nor more than 40 (changed to 42) ministerial and lay delegates in such number as the General Conference may determine." That phrase might be interpreted to allow the General Conference to fix the negro representation at any number within these limits—32 and 42—without regard to proportionate representation. The language ought to be so clear that it will say exactly what we mean to say. I move that this matter be referred to a small committee to study the statement and report to us. It seems to me that we know what we want.

This motion was seconded.

Bishop Denny: I have no objection to the amendment, but I have objection to what underlies it. I do not believe at all in what is covered by the suggestion of the *ad interim* committee, what is proposed by the amendment of Dr. Blake. I shall not attempt to make a speech or an argument. I simply want to make some suggestions, which could be elaborated. I am opposed to it in the interests of the negro, first. What negro are you caring for, brethren? The handful in your own Church. Is there any interest in any other negro that lies outside? Are we under obligations solely to 303,000, or whatever may be the number of negroes in your own Church or in the two Methodist Episcopal Churches? Can we go before the world and say we have no interest in any other negroes? I am not willing to do it. I will not elaborate that. I simply want to indicate the position that I have taken all along, and taken after very careful thought. And I perhaps represent, also, the view of some members of our own Commission. In the next place, our Commission, when we met in Baltimore, called attention to the state-

ment that was unanimously adopted by our Commissioners, that we should make full recognition of a race consciousness. And what you are doing in this is actually to rub out race consciousness. Brethren, the white race attained its present position by learning by its mistakes. There is no question about the history there. We were put on our own feet. The whole difficulty in connection with the Church's relation to the negro is, you are keeping him on a crutch. You are not throwing him on his own resources. You are making him a dependent, and proposing to keep him a dependent perpetually. No race can advance to its full development on such a basis as that. I am opposed to that whole system, in the interest of the negro. I do not believe we shall be doing the best we can do for the white people on this basis. We have had to face this in the South. I am very well aware that many of you think we have been actuated by prejudice. We have been lectured by men who do not seem to be able to understand the position that we have taken. John Wesley says, "If you wish people to understand that you are sincere, proclaim it and show it." We have been sincere. We have had an extremely difficult situation to face, such a situation as no other people on earth has ever faced, so far as I know. Would it have been for the benefit of the people among whom I was born and reared that we should turn over the management of all that concerns political and social and religious life to a people who were not qualified to take leadership in it? That never has been the case, and is not the case to-day. That was attempted in Church and State during the bitterness that not unnaturally grew up out of the war. All the intelligence in the South was disfranchised, all the ignorance was enfranchised. And the attempt was made to conduct the government on that basis. It could not be done. It never will be done, not while you and I belong to the people in whose race we have been born and reared and developed. You say this is unjust! No, brethren! Time and time again recently I have had to go before my negro brethren in Richmond—you will forgive this personal reference; I like to keep my personality as far back as I can. The responsibility of membership on the State Council of Defense was laid on me. And because the negroes of the community in which I live had expressed their confidence in me, I was always made the spokesman, and sometimes the only spokesman, in our relation to the negro. I had to go to them again and again and say, "We cannot do what ought to be done without your coöperation. We need it and we ask it." On one of those occasions one of the brethren said, "You cannot settle this. We do not feel we are treated justly." I said, "How?" He said, "We are not represented on that Council of Defense." My reply was, "Are you certain that you understand the words

you use?" He said, "I think I do." "Then," I said, "justice is the concession of rights. Has any of us a right to office? If I have a right to office, this State has been unjust to me. I have not been sent to Congress; I have classmates there. I have never been sent to the Senate; I have classmates there. I have never been given a political office. Have I the right to say to the people among whom I live, 'You have not been just to me because you have not put me in official position'?" A little careful thought would settle some of these things. I do not believe you are meeting the need of the negro himself. I do not believe you are meeting the need of the white people. I do not believe it is best for either race. I do not like the narrowness in which you are viewing the negro. I do not believe this ought to be done. I think it ought not to carry. And I put myself primarily on the basis of the unanimous statement made in Baltimore that we could go no further than to provide for race consciousness. And we have not done it. We are trying to wipe it out.

J. R. Pepper: It seems to me if we would leave out "40" in the fourth line, it would meet the situation. Leave out the words "in such number."

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Elsewhere the same phrase occurs applying to the white Regional Conferences.

J. R. Pepper: It seems to me the number is easily arrived at when we say "five per cent of 650 or 850."

Rolla V. Watt: I call for the question.

A. W. Harris suggested, with reference to his recent motion, that a committee of four be appointed by the Chair.

Edgar Blake: I desire to make two motions and ask that the motions be referred to a subcommittee. I think we are getting to that point now where we need certain committees at work. And they ought to be appointed now, that they may meet tomorrow, if desirable. I move that a committee be appointed to consider and harmonize the Articles of Faith and General Rules of the two Churches, and report concerning the same at the present session of the Joint Commission. This committee shall also consider and report upon a name for the reunited Church. It shall also prepare and present a suitable preamble for the proposed Constitution. These are matters that ought to be receiving consideration. I move that a committee be appointed at this time to consider these items; I would say, a committee of six—three from each Commission.

This motion was seconded.

Bishop Moore: I wish much that Dr. Blake would separate the work assigned there. I think if he would put one committee at the work of writing the preamble—that is, of framing up that

which will be the introduction to what we might call the Articles of Agreement—that would be ample work for that committee.

Edgar Blake: I will withhold the last item, then, and make a separate motion for that.

Dr. Blake renewed the first item of his twofold motion just stated, and it was adopted.

Then, on Dr. Blake's motion, a committee of six was appointed to prepare and present a suitable preamble for the proposed Constitution.

Edgar Blake: I desire to offer the following, and to move its reference to a subcommittee for consideration. These, I think, are very vital matters that must have our consideration and must be matters of agreement. We have not given any consideration to them at all. I am going to make the following motion and move its reference, in order that these matters come before us:

The Commissioners representing the Methodist Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in submitting the proposed Constitution for a reunited Church, make the following recommendations to our respective General Conferences, which recommendations shall constitute a part of the agreement for the reunion of the two Churches:

1. That a Joint Commission composed of twenty-five members from each of the two Churches be created which shall be authorized and instructed to fix the time and place for the first session of the General Conference of the reunited Church, and to make any other arrangements necessary to the meeting of that body.

The first session of the General Conference shall be held within twelve months after the final approval and adoption of the proposed Constitution of the reunited Church.

When the date has been fixed by the proposed Joint Commission, the bishops shall be notified of the same and shall issue the official call for the first session of the General Conference in harmony therewith.

2. The first session of the General Conference shall be composed of one ministerial and one lay delegate from each Annual Conference of the reunited Church for each —— thousand Church members in full connection, or fraction of two-thirds thereof, provided that each Annual Conference shall be entitled to one ministerial and one lay delegate.

3. Pending the meeting of the first General Conference each Church shall be governed by the rules and regulations of its own Discipline, except as herein otherwise agreed upon.

4. Annual Conferences having membership in two or more Regional Jurisdictions shall be considered as being a part of and belonging to that jurisdiction in which the largest number of its members reside; provided that this shall apply only to the meeting of the first General Conference.

5. The General Conference at its first session shall appoint a Commission made up of an equal number of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who shall consider and report to the next ensuing General Conference for its action a plan for the coördination and correlation of the publishing interests of the two Churches.

Pending the report of said Commission, and action thereon by the General Conference, the publishing interests shall be continued as at present constituted or as they may be constituted by their respective Gen-

eral Conferences. But those in authority over said publishing interests shall be instructed to make every reasonable effort to correlate and unify their several activities in so far as it may be possible and practicable to do so by administrative measures. The dividends of the publishing interests of the two Churches shall be united and distributed as one fund among the retired preachers, their wives, widows, and children, of the reorganized Church.

6. The General Conference at its first session shall appoint a Commission made up of an equal number of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who shall consider and report to the next ensuing General Conference for its action a plan for the reorganization, coördination, and correlation of the connectional missionary, educational, and benevolent Boards and Societies of the two Churches.

Pending the report of said Commission, and action thereon by the General Conference, the several Boards and Societies shall be continued as at present constituted or as they may be constituted by their respective General Conferences.

But those in authority over said Boards and Societies shall be instructed to make every reasonable effort to correlate and unify the activities of those Boards and Societies having similar objectives, in so far as it may be possible and practicable to do so by administrative measures.

7. The General Conference at its first session shall appoint a Commission made up of an equal number of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who shall consider and report to the next ensuing General Conference, for its action, a plan or plans for the proper safeguarding and control of the permanent funds and properties of the two Churches, not otherwise provided for.

Pending the report of said Commission and action thereon by the General Conference, said funds and properties shall be supervised and controlled as at present, or as they may be supervised and controlled by the action of their respective General Conferences.

8. The General Conference at its first session shall appoint a Commission made up of an equal number of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who shall be authorized and instructed to investigate the matter of Annual Conference boundaries and their proper readjustment, and who shall advise with the proper authorities concerning the same.

I move the reference of these recommendations to a committee of ten, five from each Commission.

This motion was seconded and carried.

A Voice: I raise the question as to raising these committees.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I take it for granted it is to be done by the respective Commissions.

Bishop Mouzon announced the committee touching the representation of the colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the reorganized Church, as follows: Edgar Blake, A. W. Harris, Bishop Cannon, P. H. Linn. Dr. Joy was later substituted for Dr. Blake.

Bishop Moore: I think it would be very well if we had a committee, or else let one of these committees act, to formulate for us some statement regarding an invitation to the Methodist Protestant Church or any other Churches that might wish to

unite with us in this matter. I move a committee of four for that purpose.

This committee was ordered.

Bishop Hamilton asked that he be given leave of absence in case the illness of his brother, Rev. J. B. Hamilton, should require him to leave Louisville; his proxy to be left with Bishop Leete and Bishop Cooke.

Judge White requested leave of absence, his proxy to be left with Dr. F. M. Thomas.

These requests were granted.

Dr. A. F. Watkins was granted leave of absence, his proxy being left with Dr. E. B. Chappell.

P. H. Linn: It seems to me we ought, if possible, to have a meeting of the separate Commissions for the definite purpose of making the nominations on these committees that have been ordered. If we are appointed to-night, individually we can be thinking upon what we should propose. I move that immediately upon adjournment the Commissions meet in separate sessions for the purpose of making such nominations.

This motion prevailed.

Dr. S. J. Thompson, presiding elder of the Louisville District, made announcement of assignments for the Sunday services.

After a prolonged session, the Joint Commission adjourned until Monday.

FOURTH DAY, MONDAY, JANUARY 19, 1920.

Morning Session.

The Joint Commission was called to order at 9:39 A.M. by the Chairman, Bishop Mouzon.

The hymn, "What a friend we have in Jesus," was sung, and Dr. J. J. Wallace offered prayer.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I read for the Scripture lesson Christ's great high-priestly prayer in John xvii. May I not ask that, drawing our minds from other things, we give careful attention to the reading of this great chapter? I shall be told, of course (I have heard it often), that Christ is not here praying for the organic union of Churches; that he is praying for unity, not for union. I am aware of all that. But I know that a divided and discordant Methodism contributes nothing to unity. And I feel that this morning no chapter could be more appropriate than this one. We have gone through our great Centenary. We have raised millions of dollars. With the world in confusion, what a tragedy if we should use this Centenary money to build altar against altar! to erect fort against fort! to put cannon against cannon! May God grant that this

great prayer of Christ's in the fullest sense may be answered, and that we may make our contribution toward the answering of this prayer.

After the Scripture reading, Dr. Frank M. Thomas offered prayer.

Secretary Thomas read the minutes of Saturday afternoon's session, and with slight alterations they were approved.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Earl Cranston, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr. Ministers: Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, R. E. Jones, Albert J. Nast, Frank Neff, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. J. Lamar, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey, F. M. Thomas. Laymen: G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, Rolla V. Watt, J. R. Joy, C. A. Pollock, E. L. Kidney, H. N. Synder, P. D. Maddin, J. R. Pepper, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, J. G. McGowan.

Bishop Cranston took the chair.

Dr. Downey announced that Dr. C. M. Stuart was called away by the illness of a very dear friend and had left his proxy with Dr. Joy.

Bishop Cooke: I wish to make an inquiry to which I would desire the attention of the body. A committee was appointed on "Articles of Religion and the General Rules." That is the case, is it not? What I want to know is, is that all that was referred to this Committee—simply the editing of the Articles of Religion and the coördinating of the General Rules?

A Voice: The proposed name also.

Bishop Cooke: Is that all that really we should consider under that head? It is a matter of fact that we have in both Churches the phrase, "contrary to our present and existing standards of doctrine." Of course I am not going to take up the time of this body in discussing this, that, or the other concerning that. I simply want to say that since we are going into what is practically an entirely new Church and laying the foundations for a future Methodism, is it not in harmony with good judgment that we should establish some one thing along these lines? The fact is, there is not a branch of Methodism in the world—not a branch of Methodism in the world—that agrees with any other branch as to what really constitutes the standards of doctrine.

A Voice: Thank the Lord.

Bishop Cooke: I heard a brother thank the Lord for the League of Nations with the Shantung phrase in it! You have one number of the sermons of Wesley, we have another, and the English Church another, the Australian Church another, the Japan Church another. And here we are going on, agreeing

to "our present existing and established standards of doctrine!" Now, what are the doctrines? I am not bringing in, of course, about those little pamphlets; not going into those things at all. But should not that matter be threshed out? The English Church has really threshed it out at last, after holding some fifty-three or fifty-four sermons from the beginning until now. She has now appointed a Council to investigate her standards. I think that really this matter ought to be included in the duties of this committee.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Have you a motion to make?

Bishop Cooke: I will make one when the time comes. I want you to think over it and see whether it is worth serious consideration, and if so to appoint a regular committee to have it referred to. In order to test the matter, I move that this subject be referred to the committee named.

This motion was declared to prevail.

Bishop Mouzon: I call for a division on that point. I do not believe that this Commission is going to vote anything like that.

A restatement of the motion was called for.

Bishop Cooke: The motion is that the subject of the present existing standards of doctrine be referred to the committee named.

The vote was taken again; and again it was declared that the motion prevailed.

F. M. Thomas: Mr. Hines stated that he was called to Frankfort on official business, and requested that his proxy be left with me.

P. H. Linn: Ought we not at this time to have the announcement of the committees ordered on Saturday?

Mr. Samford announced that Bishop Ainsworth had been called home by the serious illness of his daughter.

Bishop Mouzon announced the following as appointed from the Southern Commission on the committee to prepare a preamble: Bishop Moore, A. J. Lamar, H. N. Snyder.

Secretary Harris announced the following as appointed on that committee from the Methodist Episcopal Commission: Bishop Cranston, A. W. Harris, J. J. Wallace.

The Committee on Articles of Religion and General Rules, the Name of the Church, and Standards of Doctrine was announced as follows: From the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, F. M. Thomas, P. H. Linn, R. E. Blackwell; from the Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop Cooke, Albert J. Nast, D. G. Downey.

The committee of ten on Organization of the General Conference, etc., was stated to be as follows: Bishop Cannon, C. M.

Bishop, T. N. Ivey, J. R. Pepper, J. H. Reynolds, Bishop Leete, E. L. Kidney, Rolla V. Watt, Edgar Blake, J. W. Van Cleve.

W. J. Young and P. D. Maddin were announced as the Committee on Overtures to the Methodist Protestant Church and other Methodist Churches, members from the Southern Church; the members from the Northern Church had not been selected.

A. J. Lamar: A question of privilege. I have a reason for it, which is sufficient in my mind. I wish to decline to serve on the Committee on Preamble, and to request that the Chairman appoint some one in my place.

A. W. Harris: I have a paper signed by L. R. Templeton, sent to this Commission, representing a meeting of students of all the Methodist theological schools, both South and North, recently held at Des Moines, and urging unification. I have a paper of the same purport from Jesse McKerns, representing one of the theological schools.

P. H. Linn: A matter that was overlooked the other day. It will cause no discussion. I therefore, to make it a matter of record, move that on page 7, line 4, after the word "change" we insert the words "the areas of," so that the line will read, "to divide, consolidate, and change the areas of the Regional Conferences." It was agreed that that was the meaning; but if so, we should have a motion so that it shall be inserted by official action.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Is that the general understanding? I do not think that any technical use of "areas" could possibly confuse the meaning. Or do you prefer "boundaries"? You can say "change the boundaries."

P. H. Linn: May I have the privilege of retaining my statement of the motion, and let some one move an amendment? I consider it much better and clearer language to have "areas" there. So I adhere to my original form of the motion.

Edgar Blake: While it is true that Dr. Linn's present statement makes it clearer, it will also make for confusion. For instance, we have in our Church our system of episcopal areas. You have your system of episcopal districts. In that Northwest group as it now stands we have five episcopal areas. If you change the form of it so as to read "to divide, consolidate, and change the areas of the Regional Conferences," you will seem to give to the General Conference the power to change the episcopal areas within the region of jurisdiction. That will make the confusion. I do not believe that we need all these words, "divide, consolidate, and change." I think if you would strike out the words "divide, consolidate, and," so that it will read, "to change the boundaries of the Regional Conferences," that will make all clear. I move as a substitute for Dr. Linn's mo-

tion that we amend line 4, page 7, so that it will read, "to change the boundaries of the Regional Conferences."

This substitute was accepted, and then adopted.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Naturally you now have the report of the committee to which was referred the rewording of the subject on hand Saturday evening.

H. N. Snyder: I move that from this time on all speeches be limited to five minutes.

A. J. Lamar: If I remain in my present frame of mind, I shall not speak for five or three minutes. I think one would cover all I want to say. But I am opposed to the motion. You are dealing with matters of the very gravest concern; matters on which it is very desirable that conviction and harmony should be the result of the discussion. And we all know, no matter how capable we may be in compacting our thought, our remarks —we all know that it is impossible for any man to make a worthy speech on a great question in five minutes. I hope the motion will not prevail.

H. N. Snyder: It occurs to me that most worthy speeches have been made in five minutes. We have had this experience when we have been working under the rule, that when the speech seemed worthy to go on we have usually made a motion to extend the time. I do not think it would really be in the way of any one's saying what is on his mind.

F. M. Thomas: Let me say just this, that there is a phase of this problem—in a sleepless night I heard two men talking, and that brought it to my attention—a phase of this problem which came upon me like a thunderbolt. I was dull in grasping it before. I want some light before I vote. I want to say this to Dr. Snyder: If I should perhaps be confronted with the question of unification at his Conference and the meeting asked me why I had not raised that question before, I might reply that, on account of his motion, I was not able to make myself plain.

H. N. Snyder: I ask permission to withdraw that motion.

E. B. Chappell: Is it understood that in line 25, page 7, the words "for residential supervision" are to be inserted after the word "jurisdiction"?

It was answered that those words are already in there.

Edgar Blake moved that the report of the committee be heard.

Bishop Cannon: We are not quite ready to report. For one thing, we are waiting for the answer to a telegram which we have sent. We will have to ask for another meeting before we can report.

Edgar Blake moved to proceed to the regular order.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Has any regular order been fixed?

Edgar Blake: I think the motion was made that we take up these recommendations of the two Commissions in regular order. I think we have taken them all up except that referring to the number and geographical distribution of the Regional Conferences. I would like to have that statement confirmed by the record.

The Secretary read from the record.

D. G. Downey: I move that we take up the matter of the number and geographical distribution of the Regional Conferences.

This was ordered.

Edgar Blake: As I think all you brethren know, I was a member of the subcommittee that dealt with this matter of Regional Conferences, their number and geographical distribution, their powers, and other matters relating to these bodies. I may say this word for our committee, that I think no group of men in this entire Joint Commission did more faithful work than did this commission or committee on Conferences. And there was no part of our work that commanded so much of our time and our investigation and debate as did that dealing with this item here. And while I do not speak for the committee, but speak solely for myself, I believe that the plan here presented, all things considered, is one of the best, if not the best, for arrangement that we can make at this time. This is not saying that this plan suits every member of our committee, or suits any member of our committee in every particular. I think there are one or two points where it can be strengthened and ought to be strengthened. There are one or two changes that I am sure would make it very much more acceptable to many of our own people. I want to call your attention to subsections 2 and 3: In Region 2, "Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and North Carolina"; in Region 3, "Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi." I am sure that it would greatly ease our situation with reference to certain of our interests in the South if we could have an exchange of Tennessee and North Carolina; if we could put Tennessee in Regional Group 2 and North Carolina in Regional Group 3. The largest white Conference we have in the South is our Holston Conference in Tennessee. The bulk of the Conference is in Tennessee, although we have 8,000 members of that Conference in the States of Virginia and West Virginia. That Conference will be cut in two if Tennessee is associated with Division 3. If it could be associated with Division 2, it would enable the Holston Conference practically to remain intact as it now is, so far as our own work is concerned. It would greatly ease the situation for us if that exchange could be made. I might make this further statement, that, so far as any shift in numerical balance between Regional Group 2 and

Regional Group 3 is concerned, this exchange of these two States would have practically no effect whatsoever, as the total membership in North Carolina is almost identical with that in Tennessee. I might also call your attention to this fact that would be of interest to you, although I do not bring it forth as a reason for this transfer, because I am speaking entirely from the standpoint of our own work. But if you will turn to that sheet, which I think is in the possession of you all, which gives the distribution of Annual Conferences whose membership falls into two or more of these Regional Groups, you will find this interesting fact: The Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has a membership of 47,000 plus in the States of Virginia and West Virginia, and has a membership of 34,000 in the State of Tennessee. If Tennessee continues to be associated with Regional Group 3, the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, will be cut practically in two. May I also call your attention to the Memphis Conference of that Church? That Conference has a membership of 18,000 plus in Kentucky, and of 58,000 in Tennessee. If Tennessee is associated with Regional Group 3, it will mean practically the splitting in two of that Conference. If Tennessee should be associated with Regional Group 2, with Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, as that Regional Group now stands, the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Memphis Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, would then remain practically intact. I do not make a motion. I do not feel quite free to do it. I did not know quite how the suggestion would strike our Southern brethren.

C. A. Pollock: I move that the State of Tennessee be taken out of Group 3 and put in Group 2, being exchanged with the State of North Carolina, which shall be taken out of Group 2 and put in Group 3.

E. B. Chappell: Attention should be called to the fact that at a former meeting when this matter was brought up, for reasons that seemed worth while to the delegation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, we insisted on having Tennessee kept in this third group. Our desire grows largely out of the very close relation of the various members of this group of Conferences, and especially their very close connection with Emory University, which would be the great central school of that group. In the State of North Carolina there is a great college, the strongest college that we have in the Church. That would throw Emory University and Trinity College into the same Regional Conference. It would put the Emory University out of relation to the Conferences in Tennessee, with which it now

bears a very intimate relation. And because we want to retain that relationship and maintain that educational balance in the South, we favor the present arrangement. Trinity College would be the central institution of Group No. 2 and Emory University would be the central institution of Group No. 3. We very much desire to maintain that relation.

Bishop Cannon: I would offer as a substitute the exchange of the States of Kentucky and South Carolina. That is to say, put Kentucky in Group 3 and South Carolina in Group 2. I propose this for the following reasons: The proposal made by Dr. Blake joins together Maryland and Tennessee, Memphis and Baltimore, the longest sort of jump possible, it seems to me, in the Southern area. Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina naturally go together. Commercially they are together. The South Carolina people—I am not here to speak for them; but, as I have learned some facts, the South Carolina people do not turn southward to Georgia. They go north. Their associations are all up the other way. The people of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and North Carolina have practically little association with Kentucky and very little with Tennessee. We love them; but only as we are compelled to go to Nashville, we have very little Church relationship. The only reason, it seems to me, that Dr. Blake offers is that 8,000 members of the Methodist Episcopal Church live in Virginia. This is a very small number of members to upset the whole scheme. If I understand the plan, when the Churches are united, the two Holston Conferences will be one Conference. We will certainly not have two Conferences covering the same area. There will be 33,000 Holston Conference people in Tennessee and about the same number of Holston Conference people of our Church in Tennessee, enough to make a very good Conference. Whereas, if the purpose is to keep the Holston Conference as it is together, all of it together, you will have a very large Conference, and the continuation of that very unsuitable geographical arrangement running all the way from West Virginia to Georgia. I do not think it is possible in an arrangement of this kind to consult the whims or wishes of a few thousand members. The Memphis situation is amply met if you put Kentucky in the third Regional Conference. Kentucky and Tennessee are bound together by trunk lines of railroad, and the Louisville and Nashville system has connections all through the South, starting at Cincinnati and covering the States down to New Orleans. I do not think that geographical distribution that joins Tennessee with Delaware and Maryland is at all desirable. Nor do I think it is desirable in view of the fact that the people would come together ecclesiastically when they do not come together in any other way, or very rarely in any other way. Whereas, if you put South Carolina in Group 2 you maintain

the balance as to number, and you join together territories that are homogeneous and geographically belong together. I do hope nothing will be adopted that has in view to maintain that extraordinary and very undesirable arrangement of the Holston Conference which should long ago have been changed in some way. Preachers went away up to Princeton, W. Va., from Chattanooga, spending a great sum of money unnecessarily, and are going to jump back to Chattanooga at the next Conference.

J. R. Pepper: I second Bishop Cannon's motion. The arrangement he suggests is far more natural. The Memphis Conference is most intimately associated with Mississippi and Alabama. We have more Mississippi business men in Memphis than from Tennessee, and South Carolina and North Carolina properly belong together. I am certain the arrangement would be far better in every way, to have Kentucky changed to No. 3.

Bishop Cooke: I think what Dr. Pepper has just stated is correct, so far as his part of Tennessee is concerned. There are social, commercial, and other relationships between West Tennessee and Alabama and Florida and Mississippi, more than between West Tennessee and any other part of the country. On the other hand, it is unnatural, from whatever point you look at it, to relate East Tennessee with the same States that I have mentioned and Brother Pepper has referred to. All the commercial relationships, all the commercial affairs of East Tennessee go eastward, up into Virginia and Delaware and Maryland, and so on, on to the East. The social relations are that way. Our membership is there. East Tennessee is related to Virginia in the closest way—to this portion of Virginia that hinges on East Tennessee. Families in East Tennessee are related to families in Virginia. Preachers are related. Their Conferences are joined. And to cut East Tennessee off from Virginia—I am speaking now even of both Conferences, the Southern Conference and our own Conference—would give intense dissatisfaction. And I want to say now that I have serious doubts whether the people, either in the Holston Conference of the Church, South, or in my own Conference, will be satisfied, or can be brought to agree to this arrangement. I have talked to my neighbors down there. I have talked to prominent Southern Methodists. And they are dissatisfied with this. I called up a prominent man for an interview the other day, but he could not come. But I talked to some of the chairmen of districts, and they were emphatically against this. I am not drawing any line between the Holston Conference of the Church, South, and my own Holston Conference, because truly I do not know any, and I am as familiar with one as with the other. It would make no difference to me personally; but I know the feeling of the people. And I say now that you will never get the consent of

East Tennesseeans to go down into Florida and Alabama and West Tennessee, when they have been all their lives commercially and socially related to the people in Virginia and West Virginia. Tennessee naturally belongs to Virginia. We have railroads and Churches through there; and to think of jumping from Kentucky clean over Tennessee to get to North Carolina! It is perfectly natural that North Carolina should be related to South Carolina, because the Seaboard Line connects them. They belong together geographically. But to jump from Kentucky over Tennessee to get to North Carolina! It is a very small angle there, whereas the Holston Conferences of both Churches run into Virginia and there is a large membership there. And those people will not consent to be dissevered from the relations that existed before the division of the Church and since then until now. To cut them off completely from every relation they have had and put them into relationships which they have never had and never dreamed of, is a most unstatesmanlike affair. It it all right to talk about "numerically." I do not care about that. It is the people I am thinking about, and the unity of spirit among our people, the unity in thought and feeling and purpose, and the perfect satisfaction that will result. We do not want to lose any people in East Tennessee. I do not want to see our people going into the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches. We want to hold them. They are our people, in whichever Church they are. We do not want any division among our people, or occasion for preachers who will be discontented to be propagandists of disunion and disruption of Methodism. God knows we have had enough of that. I beg you to consider the effect of the thing in the Regional Conferences, in the General Conferences, and in the mass of the people, in the local units, among the people who have commercial and social and other relationships with Virginia.

Bishop Cannon: Are not East Tennesseeans more closely related to Middle and West Tennessee by State pride and politics than to any other part of the world?

Bishop Cooke: If East Tennessee had its chance, it would be a separate State!

Bishop Cannon: Cut it off, then.

Edgar Blake: I fear I did not make myself quite clear to the brethren, especially in view of the remarks made by Bishop Cannon. I was not basing my statement entirely upon the fact that in the Holston Conference we had 8,000 people in Virginia. I simply meant that as one of the factors in the case. We have 42,000 white members in the State of Tennessee. As they are now grouped they will be completely immersed in that Regional Conference 3, because the total membership in Regional Conference 3, including our membership in Tennessee, will be

only 62,000. Now, in Regional Group 2, we have in that group, as it now stands, 224,000 of our members and 584,000 of your Church. Our members in Tennessee would feel much more comfortable if they were permitted to remain in a regional grouping where there was a larger representation of the people whom they have been associated with during the years. We have said considerable here about the protection of the rights of minorities. So far as our Commission is concerned, I think our concern has been fully to protect the rights of minorities at every point, so far as that could be done. We have not said very much about that concerning the rights of our own minorities in this regional grouping. I am not pleading for the protection of the rights of minorities even now. But I am suggesting that ecclesiastically and psychologically it would be a most helpful thing if we could reach an agreement here at this time that Tennessee might be associated with Regional Group 2. Of course, as I think Bishop Leete said some time ago, there are bound to be some unhappy minorities, whatever we do. We do not want these unhappy minorities entirely on one side. I confess that the statement made by Dr. Chappell concerning the college situation in the South does not appeal strongly to me, because I think there are other colleges in the Church, South, besides these two. Are there not? If we were basing this grouping on college lines, we would have to split up regions completely; for in Regional Group 1, as proposed, we have Boston University, Wesleyan University, Syracuse University, Allegheny College, Carlisle, and Dickinson; and several more, I think. You cannot make this regional grouping quite on that basis. I ask you to think this over. I do not suggest that we arrive at a decision now. If agreeable, I move that we refer this matter to a special committee of six, three from each Church, to consider and report at the afternoon session.

This motion was seconded.

J. J. Wallace: Before that motion is put, I want to say something on this subject. I think you will bear with me, though I have spoken often and long during the past three years! I have thought about this matter of the lines of the Regional Conferences. I want to say one or two things. I believe, as we all do, in unification—at least, in union. And I believe in a plan of unification. It is inevitable, when two bodies of equal size are to be brought together, that there shall be two dreads arising: the dread of absorption on the one hand, and on the other hand the dread of division. It is absolutely necessary that any plan or unification machinery shall take both into account. Now, as I understand it, one of the basic principles of the Chattanooga suggestion, which was mentioned in the preamble to the action of the General Conference of the Church, South, and which was

recognized by our General Conference, was the protection of minorities. I quite agree with that. I think that we have rather fully protected the minority known as the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with 2,100,000 members. But I want to call your attention to this table here, to the facts just as they exist. Take No. 2, as Dr. Blake called your attention to it a moment ago. In that region the Methodist Episcopal Church has something over 224,000; and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has some 584,000. In Region 6, the Methodist Episcopal Church has something over 143,000 members. In Region 3, it has something over 163,000 members. There are minorities there, as compared with the Church, South. All together in those three Regional Conferences there are some 2,500,000 members, which is 400,000 members more than the total membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at this time. That is to say, the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in these two regions are placed in Regional Conferences where, I will not say the Church, South, is predominant, but I will say it is largely preponderant. I want to call your attention to another fact in connection with that—namely, that the incidence of unification will fall in those regions where the Churches are both really strong; that is to say, unification will be first felt there. People away down South will know that there has been unification and will be interested; and so with the people away up North. But the people in those regions where both Churches are relatively strong will be the ones to really feel it. And we have got to secure unification there, if we ever secure it. I think that these regional lines may help us to secure it. I think they may greatly hinder us from securing it. They will hinder, if there is any very considerable minority which cannot be protected and has not been protected. On the other hand, they may help us in this way. Suppose that in these regions, where the Churches are both relatively strong, we can construct Regional Conferences in such way that there will not be the predominance of either Church, and the lines are drawn around such regions. Don't you see that those people will have a chance, a large and fair chance, to secure unification without interference from other parts of the Church? What do I mean? I mean that if we have a Regional Conference with about equal numbers of members in that region where the Churches are both relatively strong, New England would not interfere. Dr. Blake could not prevent those people from getting thoroughly together there; and Dr. Hyer, from Texas, could not prevent unification from taking place there. You see what I am driving at. The unification must take place where those conditions exist, or it will never take place. It will take place more rapidly if we make these Regional Conference boundaries in such way

that it can. Now, is it possible to do that? I think it is, in one of two ways. We can increase the number of Regional Conferences, or we can lessen the number of Regional Conferences by one, and accomplish the same thing. Of course I would not propose here for one moment that the strong Northern region should go down and overlap those regions where the Churches are both relatively strong. That would not remedy the matter; it would only make it worse. What I am proposing is that these two regions that I have mentioned shall go North and take in enough Northern territory so that there will be a fair balance in both of them, and an opportunity to secure unification in those very regions where unification must first of all take place, where it must be feasible, if it is ever to take place. If you are at all interested, I shall be glad to present a proposition and have it referred to this committee, by which that can be brought about.

R. E. Blackwell: What is your plan?

J. J. Wallace: Extend Region 2 so as to include Ohio, and you will secure 601,000 members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and 606,000 of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I would extend No. 6 west and north; and that would eliminate No. 4 and give you five Regional Conferences, two of which would be predominantly Northern, one predominantly Southern, and one almost perfectly balanced, while in the other the Southern Church would have three-fifths of the members. The original proposition was for three Regional Conferences. The membership of the two Churches in the United States is about three to two; I have the figures. Suppose we had adopted the Chattanooga suggestion of three Regional Conferences; you could not imagine any division that would have given the membership of the Church, South, more than one of them. They would have had one out of three. I am proposing that they shall be preponderant in two of them, we in two of them, while the other one will be almost balanced. If nobody raises the question about voting by regions, there is a very simple way by which that arrangement can be adopted almost exactly as it is now in the Cleveland proposition.

Bishop Cannon: How would you meet that point?

J. J. Wallace: By changing the word "two-thirds" to "three-fourths."

C. B. Spencer: I have not had in my mind the test of the proposition for the protection of minorities. My thought has been directed entirely toward producing a reorganization that will really unify our people in both branches of the Church. In my own thought I have not had in mind what you call the protection of minorities in the letter of the law, because the men I have met in the Church, South, have been fair-minded men. We understand that. But there is difference between the people

in this room, and difference among the people in our Churches. Nobody ever emphasized that more strongly than Bishop A. W. Wilson. He said that if a certain thing should carry, it would cost the Church, South, 500,000 members. I could not quite believe that until I looked the matter up. What I would like to see, what I think we all would like to see, is unification that would prevent any exodus, but would produce a larger Methodism, a larger leadership and power at every point throughout the country. In a map that I made I drew three border Conferences where the Churches are in a pronounced manner side by side. Take Missouri and Oklahoma, which is a part of my territory, and with which I am intimately acquainted. There I found this, in the diagram that I prepared for that meeting at Evanston, that while there are about 85,000 of our people in the State of Missouri, and in the Church, South, considerably more, only fifteen per cent of Methodist Churches in the State of Missouri were in towns where both Churches were represented. Fifty-four per cent of the Methodist Churches in Missouri are in towns where we have no Church. Fifty-four per cent of the Methodist Churches in Missouri are in the Church, South, and in localities by themselves. Thirty-one per cent of the Methodist Churches in Missouri are of our kind, and occupy territory all alone. Only fifteen per cent, I think it is, are in towns where both denominations are represented. In this reorganization there ought to be some provision whereby neither of the two should be entirely under the hands of the other. Bishop A. W. Wilson said that if a certain thing went through, many of his people would think they were delivered hand and foot into the hands of their enemies. There is something of that psychological condition in the territory I now speak of. In Oklahoma the matter is still more simple. There the Methodits Episcopal Church, South, has fifty-five per cent of all the Methodist Churches in Oklahoma in towns by themselves. The Methodist Episcopal Church has thirty-three per cent of all the Churches down there in towns where no Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is. Only twelve per cent of the Methodist Churches in Oklahoma are where, as we have been used to say in the past, altar has been built against altar. In the twenty years that I have been in my present position, I have never allowed a criticism of success of the Church, South, to enter the columns of the *Central Christian Advocate*. When I have heard of the intensive work of the leaders of the Church, South, in Missouri or Oklahoma, I have been glad, and never in my heart had a criticism of it. It has seemed to me, brothers, that if there could be some kind of alignment, if the States of Missouri and Kansas and Oklahoma and Arkansas could be placed in a group where they could work side by side, if they could be related to

the same schools, if the bishop from the Methodist Episcopal Church and the one from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, could be on the same college board of trustees, and so, if in everything those men could work side by side, vying with each other for the common good, sitting around the same table and leading all factions of the Church as they have existed in the past, that would make for a greater Methodism. And I have thought that the delegations of the Church, South, would be pleased to have it so. In that little map that I made, that I borrowed from Brother Wallace just now, I made three of these border Regional Conferences. In two of them, the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, far exceeds that of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is a matter of absolute indifference to me—what I care for is not that either Church shall preponderate in the matter of membership, but that whichever is preponderating, the two Churches in these border regions shall act together and work side by side for the common good, for a greater Methodism, for a larger unification. When I printed the findings of the Savannah meeting in the *Central Christian Advocate,* there were plenty of Churches in the area of that *Advocate* that felt as if they had been struck by paralysis. The building of churches was halted. Bishops had requests from our pastors in those areas that have gone bag and baggage over in one of these regions in the Church, South—requests for transfers to get out of those areas. I do not believe that anybody wants that. I would not want it to occur with members of the Church, South. I would move as much influence as possible against any influence of that kind in the Church, South, as certainly as in behalf of our own Conference. I commend this to the attention of this Joint Commission. Let us build such a distribution of areas as will cause all the elements of the Church to flow together, to be brought together, jointly consolidated, and thus go on into that future that we have an aspiration for, for reunited Methodism. I do not believe it would be pleasing to members of the Church, South, that are represented here to have such an exodus on the part of our people, or such a sense of betrayal on the part of our laity, even as I know it would not be pleasing to our own people that your people should have any sense of being absorbed by our own Church. You will recall the words of Bishop Hoss, who said that he did not propose to be absorbed. Let us apply that all around. Let us try to get such an areal distribution as will bring these large bodies together into one in very fact. It is no small thing that there should be 85,000 of our people in Missouri, or that there should be districts in the State of Oklahoma presided over by our District Superintendents in which there is not a single society of the Church, South. There is at least one large district in which

there is not one Church, South, society. And these matters, with an eye to the future, without any reference to taking over large numbers, should be given due consideration. Such a distribution should be made as in these border areas will cause these two Churches to flow together because they have a mutual leadership, rather than by voting and Churches entering into this compact. I lay this down for the conscientious determination of this Commission if some provision of that character shall not be made.

A. J. Lamar: We devoted a large part of one entire session of this Commission, at a previous session, to the discussion of these regional bounds. We had practically everything before us which is before us now. If we take up the question now of the boundaries of these regions, we can discuss the matter here for a week, on divergent propositions, before we arrive at any conclusion. I therefore move as a substitute for the motion of Dr. Blake, which I believe is before us—

C. A. Pollock: Bishop Cannon made a substitute motion which is before the house.

A. J. Lamar: I move that we adhere to the original boundaries, as set forth in this paper. I offer that as a substitute for everything before us. I think it is a wise thing to do.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): I do not see just how time would be saved by that. It puts the same issue in another form.

Bishop Cannon: That is moving as a substitute what is really the original motion. The paper is before us as the original motion, and these are substitutes.

A. J. Lamar: I move the previous question, then.

This was not seconded.

P. H. Linn: According to my understanding of our situation, we have before us the motion of Dr. Blake to refer to a committee to report this afternoon. And the Chair announced that it was seconded.

Edgar Blake: I ask to be permitted to change the form of my motion somewhat, these other matters having been brought in. It would seem to me that if they are to be considered, as I think these and others that may be brought forward should be considered, the committee should be enlarged to ten, and we may refer Bishop Cannon's motion, Dr. Wallace's suggested plan, Dr. Spencer's suggested plan, the suggestion we made originally, and any other suggestion any one may desire to make, to a special committee of ten, so that they can get together—I think in an hour's time they can be ready to report back to this body an action that will be accepted by the body.

The reference suggested by Dr. Blake was ordered.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): It is understood, of course, that each Commission will name its own committee.

P. H. Linn: I want to call attention to the language I used when making a motion for a reconsideration. I think that in haste a moment ago I put wording into line 4, on page 7, that does not at all represent the liberal conference of power which we intended to give to the General Conference, in the matter of effecting changes in Regional Conferences. It may not be so in Church law or Church courts, but I am certain it would be so in State law or State courts, that a conference of power to change would not confer power to obliterate or to create; both of which powers, I think, ought to be in the hands of the General Conference. If I may make a word of further explanation, I will just say this, that I have great confidence in that Regional Conference idea. I want the General Conference to have power to originate additional regions. And if the Regional Conference proves not successful, I want it to have power to reduce the number of regions. I do not believe that power can be conferred under a statement of change. So I move a reconsideration of the vote by which that wording was fixed, in order to move this: "to divide or consolidate Regional Conferences and to change their boundaries." Will Dr. Blake listen just a moment to that, since he made the other motion? I want to substitute there a reconsideration of this language, and have it read, "to divide or consolidate Regional Conferences and to change their boundaries."

J. W. Van Cleve: I want to ask if Dr. Linn does not think that the power he wishes for the General Conference would be sufficient under line 15 of page 8.

P. H. Linn: I do not think so. When a specific matter is dealt with in law, I do not think you could read into that an additional grant of power by some general provision.

Edgar Blake: I wonder if Dr. Linn will broaden his motion so as to reconsider the whole subject of Section 6.

P. H. Linn: O, yes, if there is anything you want done, certainly. May I make my motion that line 4 on page 7 shall be amended to read, "to divide or consolidate Regional Jurisdictions, and to change their boundaries"? If you divide, of course you would have to create. If you would consolidate, you would have to limit the number by elimination. And the change would be provided for. The purpose is to change to "Jurisdictions" instead of "Conferences," in order to affect territory instead of membership.

A. J. Lamar: Does not that power of the General Conference do away with this arrangement which has been devised for the protection of minorities?

P. H. Linn: No, because of the fact that it could not be done at all without the consent of the Conferences of the minority; because they would operate under the rule of the vote by two-

thirds of the Regions. Therefore the minority would be entirely protected in the vote.

The motion was read again, "To divide or consolidate Regional Jurisdictions and to change their boundaries."

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): You mean Regional Conferences?

P. H. Linn: No; "Jurisdictions." It would affect the Regional Conferences, but it relates to areas and not to memberships.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): It strikes me that that is a rather dangerous experiment, to introduce a new word for which there is elsewhere no definition.

P. H. Linn: It occurs in Article III., Section 1. It is a "Regional Jurisdiction" that we want to effect.

A. J. Lamar: A point of order. The question before us is reconsideration.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): The motion to reconsider was carried.

Bishop Cooke: I understand, Dr. Linn, that you drop your idea of power of the General Conference ever to obliterate regional lines.

P. H. Linn: No. If you consolidate, you would necessarily have to obliterate.

Bishop Cooke: Then your thought is that it shall never be in the power of the General Conference to do away with the Regional Conferences?

P. H. Linn: No. I am trying to confer that power as we had it at first before we struck out those words.

Bishop Cooke: I beg to submit that you are not doing the thing you are talking about. You are not conferring power upon the General Conference to do away with the whole Regional Conference idea.

P. H. Linn: To do away with the Regional Conferences would have to be by constitutional process.

Bishop Cooke: You are making it impossible.

P. H. Linn: To do away with Regional Conferences, as Regional Conferences, would require a constitutional change.

Edgar Blake: As I understand the purpose of Dr. Linn's motion, it is to make provision whereby the General Conference might consolidate, if it see fit to do so, two or more Regional Conferences, and thus obliterate one or more of them.

P. H. Linn: That is correct.

Edgar Blake: I think it is very unwise for us at this time to write that into the Constitution. I think it will make for difficulty in getting our Constitution accepted by the Church at large. In a sense, these Regional groups are contracting parties. That is implied at least, I think, by this agreement. And I do not believe that we want to put it into the power of any body

except the general Church itself by regular constitutional process to wipe out of existence any one of these Regional groups. And I am quite certain that if you change this, as Dr. Linn has indicated, you will find people who will seize upon the fact that the General Conference, by concurrent action of two successive sessions, can obliterate one of these Regional Conferences or Jurisdictions, to make capital against this plan as it goes down to the Church. It seems to me the only thing we need to provide for at this time is that there shall be power of legislation in the General Conference, with the consent of the Regional Jurisdiction or Regional Conference, or by the concurrent action of two successive General Conferences, to make any desirable changes in the boundaries of these Conferences which we have established. Now, under that proposed action, as it is stated, giving the General Conference the power to change boundaries, I think it would be possible to create a new Regional Conference.

P. H. Linn: If to create, why not to obliterate? Why cannot you move it over to the next line?

Edgar Blake: It is barely possible that that could be done. I am not quite sure. The thing which I am concerned about now is that we shall not write into the Constitution at this time a provision that invites the General Conference to do that thing. For the reason, as I have already stated, that I feel it will open a line of attack upon the plan which we wish to present, which we shall find greatly to our discomfort as the debate and discussions proceed. My judgment is that, in a matter of this kind, the shorter your line of defense the stronger your position will be.

Bishop Leete took the chair.

The Chairman (Bishop Leete): I would like to know, Dr. Linn, whether your construction of this proposition would make it possible for the General Conference to reduce the number of Regional Conferences?

A Voice: Not if Church law is interpreted as civil law is.

Bishop Cranston: Would it make it possible to increase the number?

P. H. Linn: No, sir.

Bishop Cranston: You cannot consolidate without defining how or what you propose to consolidate. You are compelled to fix the boundaries indicating your division or consolidation. But I do not see any need of your amendment.

P. H. Linn: If the purpose of the house is to prevent all possible increase or decrease of the number, that is their privilege. But they ought to understand, as I did not understand when the amendment was made, that they are doing what will prevent their enlarging or reducing the number of jurisdictions.

Bishop Cranston: I think it would indicate your purpose more

clearly if you put in the proviso that the number of Regional Conferences shall be neither increased nor decreased.

P. H. Linn: I want a proviso so that that can be done. I want power to divide that great Northwest Region into two; and you cannot do it as it now stands. Of course anything could be done by constitutional amendment.

T. D. Samford: Would it not be safer to leave it that way?

P. H. Linn: It would be more difficult to do it, but I think the minority would be perfectly protected under the two-thirds rule.

Edgar Blake: Do I understand, Dr. Linn, that you think that if this phrase reads, "to change the boundaries of Regional Jurisdictions, but it shall not take away territory from any Region without its consent, save by the concurrent vote of two successive General Conferences"—do you think that under that provision the General Conference would not have power to divide the Northwest Region?

P. H. Linn: In legal interpretation, a power to change is not a power to create. You can have the power to mortgage property, but that gives no power to sell.

Edgar Blake: Then, if that is correct, clearly the matter ought to have some addition, because the chances are we shall find that that Northwest Jurisdiction will have to be changed.

D. G. Downey: The change suggested by Dr. Linn is only a restatement in clearer language of what was originally in the report, and we are not doing any violence to our original intention. We originally had it, "to divide, consolidate, or change Regional Conferences." Evidently "Regional Conferences" should have been "Regional Jurisdictions." So this only clarifies the original meaning and makes it perfectly clear what we intend. Then follows the proviso, "It cannot take away territory from any Regional Conference without its consent save by the concurrent vote of two successive General Conferences." It cannot create any Regional Conference with less than 500,000 members, etc.

T. D. Samford: The intention was to make it more definite and emphatic that we were to confer on the General Conference only the right to change, not to create new Regional Conferences or to obliterate any of them.

D. G. Downey: I think originally it was intended that the General Conference should have the power to divide, change, increase, or decrease, subject to exact limitations.

T. D. Samford: The amendment to this section was to make it more clear that the General Conference was limited in that power.

J. W. Van Cleve: I would move an amendment to the amendment proposed by Dr. Linn, by striking out certain words and

inserting, so that it will read, "increase the number or change the boundaries of Regional Jurisdictions."

T. D. Samford: I move to lay the motion with the amendments on the table, so that it will remain as it is now.

On a count vote, this motion of Mr. Samford's did not prevail.

Edgar Blake: As I understand it, I want exactly what Dr. Linn wants—namely, the power to divide that Northwest Regional Conference, or any other, if it be found necessary to do so. And I want that power lodged in the General Conference, with the consent of the Regional Conferences affected, or by the concurrent action of the General Conference in two sessions if the consent of the Regional Conferences affected is not given. What I am concerned about is that we shall not give the General Conference power to obliterate or wipe out. From my conversation with Dr. Linn a moment ago, I think his purpose can be accomplished and the desire of some of the rest of us can be accomplished if we will drop out the word "consolidate" and allow it to stand—how does it read?

The phrase in question was read, as follows: "To divide or consolidate Regional Jurisdictions, or to change their boundaries."

Edgar Blake: Drop out the word "consolidate," and that takes out the power of the General Conference to wipe out, as the word "consolidate" appears to give the General Conference power to do. I move an amendment to Dr. Linn's motion that the words "or consolidate" be stricken out.

P. H. Linn: I shall not oppose that except to state that my purpose in getting the two words in there was to accommodate the divided thought in the Commission. I understand that our Church would like to have fewer Regional Conferences. It was the original proposition of our Commission at Savannah to have only three. Therefore it seems to me that liberty to go in both directions would be better than liberty to go only in one direction.

G. W. Brown: I sympathize with Dr. Linn in that matter. I think it might become desirable to consolidate. I think we should arrange power to go in either way.

The vote was taken on Dr. Blake's amendment to the amendment, and it did not prevail.

Bishop Moore: I wish you would let it stay as it was. I think it would be easier for us. Let it read simply, "to change the boundaries of Regional Conferences." I think that in that clause you have all the power you need—to change the boundaries and change the divisions if you need to do so. It is a better phraseology for us.

Bishop Cranston: Dr. Linn moved to reconsider the provision, in order to propose the amendment now before the house.

Bishop Moore: Is not his present motion really a substitution for what was originally before us? If it is, I am opposed to it.

A. J. Lamar: I am opposed to Dr. Linn's proposal, because, while he does not intend it, he is putting another obstacle in the way of action by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and, I think, by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Secretary Harris read Dr. Linn's motion: "Moved by Dr. Linn that line 4, page 7, be changed to read, 'To divide or consolidate Regional Jurisdictions, or to change their boundaries.' "

The vote was taken on this amendment, and it did not prevail.

P. H. Linn: It seems to me that by consent you ought to change the expression "Regional Conferences" there to "Regional Jurisdictions," because you are relating to territory and not membership in the cases where it occurs. I move that where the expression "Regional Conferences" occurs in paragraph 6, page 7, it be changed to "Regional Jurisdictions."

This motion prevailed.

Edgar Blake: I want to call your attention to lines 6, 7, and 8, "Nor shall it create any new Regional Jurisdiction with less than 500,000 members in full connection." If we are going to leave that clause in there, it seems to me that we certainly ought to reduce the limit of membership. We have only put 720,000 in that Northwest Jurisdiction. And if it shall be found necessary to divide that into two Jurisdictions a little later, it clearly cannot be done, for the simple reason that you cannot make out of it two Jurisdictions of not less than 500,000 members each. If we allow that clause to stand, then we ought to reduce the number from 500,000 to something very much below that.

Bishop Leete again took the chair.

P. H. Linn: It seems to me to be consistent with the action just taken that that entire clause should be stricken out now. I move now that we strike out the words, "nor shall it create any new Regional Conference with less than 500,000 members in full connection."

Edgar Blake: It seems to me that if we leave that clause in, it could be fairly construed to give the General Conference the power to divide.

P. H. Linn: That is what I am trying to avoid in the Constitution of the Church, the conferring of power by indirection which we are afraid to give it power by vote to do.

Edgar Blake: What I want to do is, to get power for the General Conference to divide any one of these Regional Conferences that may desire to be divided. I do not think we ought to tie our hands in this matter. I think if we will reduce this number here to meet emergencies that may arise, and leave this clause with your conception of it to stand, a fair construction

of it would confer upon the General Conference the power to do this thing that all of us are anxious it should have power to do when it is necessary that a Regional Conference be divided.

A Voice: I do not favor Dr. Blake's suggestion, because each Jurisdiction, as now constituted, has many more than 500,000. If we allow the erection of a new Regional Jurisdiction with less than 500,000, we shall be giving those members much larger proportional power.

A. W. Harris: I think it better to leave to the General Conference full authority to divide Regional Conferences. Take the Northwestern Region. You make impossible at any early time its division into three parts, if you require a minimum membership of 500,000. I think that Northwestern Regional Conference very unfortunate, but I do not believe it can be changed now. It consists of three sections, and can never become a unit. We have a university in the extreme southwestern corner, at Los Angeles; the beginning of another one at Denver; and in the next Regional Conference, and just on the edge of it, we have Northwestern University. We will have two universities in one Regional Conference and neither one will have the general support of the Region; in the Northeastern section, we have Boston University, Wesleyan University, Syracuse University, etc. And neither one will have any real support from the Regional Conference.

J. W. Van Cleve: In the interest of time, I suggest that this matter may be wholly changed after we get the report of the committee recently appointed.

A. W. Harris: Northwestern University is on the extreme western edge of the Central Northern Regional Conference, although the trend of students is from west to east. We may not make a change at present, but we ought to leave it possible to divide, when experience shows that division ought to be made, without the cumbersome method of constitutional amendment. No interest would be put in danger, and the real interests of the Church, in education, might be greatly served by the change. With the safeguards put upon General Conference action, we may with entire safety trust this matter to the General Conference when the facts are before it.

Edgar Blake: This Regional Conference business refers to foreign groups as well as to those in this country. It is very clear that this paragraph ought not to stand in its present form. I move that the paragraph be referred to the committee already appointed, for consideration and report at the afternoon session. This is a substitute for what is before us.

This substitute was adopted.

F. M. Thomas: I want to ask a question for information. I have been laboring under a misapprehension. When our Com-

mission at Cleveland agreed to the change of the word "Missionary" to "Regional," I was under the impression that we did not change the missionary status that we proposed. The question that I wish to ask is—it comes to me with peculiar force and power because it goes to the very heart of some questions that we have been dealing with—under this proposed plan of Regional Conferences, will the Annual Conferences of the colored membership possess the constitutional voting power that inheres in the traveling ministry?

A Voice: Why not?

F. M. Thomas: If that is so, I move the reference of this question to a committee. If I had known that was true, I would never have consented to it. I have been exceedingly sympathetic toward the proposal of the committee. I laid down the proposition at Cleveland that you cannot compass two contradictory propositions by organic law. Is it possible that I was mistaken in that? It seems that in the proposed solution there has been a very wonderful advance. In fact, the concept of the Methodist Episcopal Church acts for a time, and then when it reaches a certain point the concept of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, operates for a time. I will say this, that the great problem of unification lies so close to my heart that I might bring myself enthusiastically to support that; but you come to the great body of the electorate, the official source of power, and ask the Church, South—that is what is meant in this proposition—to accept an interpretation which I cannot think she will accept at this time.

D. G. Downey: Please state your exact point.

F. M. Thomas: The point is this, that the Annual Conferences of the colored membership will have the same voting power on constitutional questions that any other Annual Conference in the reorganized Church will have. The limit of five per cent does not apply to the Annual Conferences. It cannot do it, because that is an inherent right of the traveling ministry.

Bishop Cooke: If this Constitution confers the right in the new Church, where does the right come?

F. M. Thomas: Let me go a little further. I am sure Dr. Jones will not misunderstand me. The principle I have laid down at Cleveland I have not heard answered, that all races have an absolute right to free development, but that immature races cannot function freely in mature society until they themselves become mature. It means, very frankly, saying to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, "If you adopt this plan, you must consent to give to the colored membership now in the Methodist Episcopal Church the same constitutional power that you have." With their concept of the functioning power of races, it will be very difficult to convince

them that they can justly do it. As I take it, to put into immature hands mature power is a sin against the world order. Suppose I should go to my Conference and they should ask me, "Why did you do this?" I might say, "Out of my love and desire for the reorganization of American Methodism, for the great good that would come." They could very frankly say to me, in the words of a great American sociologist, "Equal privileges among unequals is gross injustice." It is true that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, might perhaps be persuaded—I do not know—to agree to give to the present traveling colored ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church this power, out of its desire to get the great good that would come from unification. But, brethren, it cannot transfer to any future minister who came into that Church this same power, with its conception of life. Now this is true. If the colored Conferences in the Methodist Episcopal Church are competent to function freely, then they ought to have this power. But we have both said, by these two plans, that there ought to be a limitation on their functioning power in the General Conference, because of immaturity. I said at Cleveland that if I believed that the colored membership was fully competent to function freely in the life of the Church, I would cut off my right arm before I would agree to any limitations of power on their part. In this plan we have said that they are not fully competent to function freely. We have put a limitation there. You put a limitation in the General Conference. But there is a far more serious problem involved in your Annual Conferences, the very source and fountain of power. Shall these 2,000 men, more or less, who, I trust, will soon come to their full functioning power—I am satisfied that some of them have; and some I know have not—can you give to them the same functioning constitutional power that is now possessed by the traveling ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South? Therefore I move, because it is fundamental with me, the reference of that question to that special committee.

D. G. Downey: I do not think there is any necessity for referring that to the special committee. Because if it should transpire that our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are a unit on that matter, we do not need to spend any more time here. Of course we may have been sinning for a number of years; but we have taken that position. If the matter were carried to its logical conclusion, you would have to put some sort of a measuring rod on the mentality of every man, to know whether he had sufficient intellectual and spiritual capacity to function freely. I have no question that there are some brethren of our colored membership who may not be at the highest point of intellectual and spiritual development. I am very sure it is equally true with the white membership in our

Annual Conferences. Probably the brethren of the Church, South, find the same difference among their members.

A Voice: Do you mean to use the phrase "equally true of the white members of your Church"?

D. G. Downey: Yes. And also with reference to some of the members of the white Conferences of the Church, South. I said it was "equally true." If we are going to go back to that fundamental question and disturb everything of that sort, if we did not know our minds when we reached that conclusion, I think there is no use in our spending any more time here. I think I know the position of our brethren on that matter.

Rolla V. Watt: I hope that the motion to refer this to the committee will be adopted, and let the committee consider it and bring it in for the report.

On motion of Edgar Blake, the time was extended.

R. E. Jones: I want to make just one remark, without discussing the matter. I want to express my surprise at the remarks made by Dr. Thomas. And further to say that I do not understand that that is the position of the South. I live in the South. I was born there, I live there, was reared there. I suppose I shall live nowhere else. What is the accepted theory of the South? I suppose it is that those of us who can quality, vote. I vote. I would not live anywhere where I could not vote. In Louisiana there is quite a group of us that vote. We have an educational and property test. I did not know it was particularly shocking that, if a man owned certain property and has certain mental qualifications, he should vote. It is certain that in New Orleans such a man can vote. This matter of voting of Methodist ministers on constitutional questions as stated by Dr. Thomas is all the more surprising to me, when you know that the General Conference fixes the qualifications and the methods by which men come into the ministry. It fixes the prescribed course of study. I simply want to express my surprise and say, as a counter to Dr. Thomas, that we will never agree to anything else. That is a big question. If you wish to talk of disfranchising me, I do not believe the Church will stand for it. We cannot agree to any such thing as that. I do not believe that that is the position of the country, the nation, or the world. It is not the position of the Supreme Court, which has sent down its decision. It is not the position of the court of Texas that rendered a decision the other day. A little group of us, all from the South—that is the only thing that keeps us quiet.

Bishop Cannon: Is Dr. Thomas's motion that this shall be referred to the Committee of Fourteen, or to what committee?

The Chairman (Bishop Leete): That small committee that is to deal with the committee on rephrasing.

Bishop Cannon: I had understood that this matter was de-

termined when we discussed that question of the two-thirds or three-fourths. The question of how the Constitution shall be amended was taken up in each delegation, or in ours, separately, and we brought in our proposition, that we preferred a change from two-thirds to three-fourths, and that we preferred that there should be the additional safeguard on constitutional amendments that the Regional Conferences could block that motion—this or any other. I should greatly have preferred, if Dr. Thomas had this in his mind, that this question could have been brought up at that time, and we could have discussed it as a delegation. I prefer that now, really. I would particularly prefer, if this question is to become a serious one, that it be discussed by our Commission. Just now I cannot see with Dr. Thomas. I am very sympathetic with the position of Dr. Jones, as just stated, that this is not exactly the same as ordinary voting of the mass of the people; that it is the voting of a picked body which has had training, and has stood certain tests, and that we have protected the constitutional changes by these two methods. Personally, I have no fear on that point.

Bishop Cranston: I am almost as much surprised as Brother Mouzon was the other afternoon. I hope my surprise will prove to be as baseless as his was. It appeared to us that when we had settled the matter of the recognition of our negro membership in the reorganization, we had come to the end of that very much discussed question. This would be, to my thought, a revolutionary, rather than a conservative movement, if I get Dr. Thomas's idea as to the rights which inhere in the Methodist ministry as such. Surely these brethren who would be entitled to vote upon a constitutional amendment are ministers in regular standing in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and ought to be in the Methodist Episcopal Church as reorganized. It would seem to be not only a matter of inconsistency, but a matter of injustice, even to debate the right of the man to vote upon a constitutional amendment who had been declared qualified to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ under the commission of our Church or of any other Church. What is there in voting upon a constitutional amendment that is more important than setting forth in intelligible fashion the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ? What is there in the mere casting of a vote upon any question that may come up, with nineteen-twentieths of the General Conference consisting of the better qualified, better prepared constituency—what is there that can come up that would be imperiled? It strikes me that it would have to be proved that the recognition of this inherent right by the colored ministers who would belong to the reorganized Church would be perilous to the Church or in some way a hindrance to its progress and welfare. More than that, it would strike me as a move directly in opposition to the spirit

of democracy which is now, we hope, to prevail throughout the world. There is an extreme, of course; an extreme indulgence in the matter of suffrage, in the cruder conceptions of the democracy. In this country we have passed the Rubicon. We have crossed over, and we cannot and do not in any of our States, or in our governmental restrictions, bring men born in America to the test. I do not want to go into a discussion of the whole matter now. I cannot vote to refer a question of this kind to the committee.

A. J. Lamar: I do not want to make a speech. Dr. Thomas has been misunderstood. You have been debating this as if it were a question of disfranchising all the colored preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church voting in the Annual Conferences. That was not Dr. Thomas's intention. His intention was to put the same limitation on the total of that vote that you have already put on the negro vote in the General Conference. Something, if it can be worked (though I do not see how it can be), something like a proviso, "provided that the total vote of the negro Annual Conferences shall never be counted as more than five per cent of all the Conferences."

P. H. Linn: Would there be any chance of getting the committee's report by 2:30?

C. M. Bishop: I move to adjourn to meet at three o'clock.

Edgar Blake: I wonder if we cannot have unanimous consent to vote upon this question to refer. Let us settle it.

The Chairman (Bishop Leete): If there is no objection.

Voices: Vote, vote.

The Chairman (Bishop Leete): The present motion is suspended, and the question is on the question of referring the matter proposed by Dr. Thomas to the small committee of two from each side.

Bishop Cooke: Will Dr. Thomas state the exact intent of his proposal?

F. M. Thomas: Whether it is possible to apply something of the same principle which is applied to the General Conference to the Annual Conferences, the very source of power.

The vote was taken, and Dr. Thomas's motion to refer was declared not to prevail.

Bishop Mouzon: It seems to me that the house should be willing to refer anything.

The vote being taken again on a division, it was declared that the motion did prevail.

The Committee of Ten ordered above was announced to be constituted as follows: From the Methodist Episcopal Commission, Bishop Cooke, Edgar Blake, J. J. Wallace, C. A. Pollock, James R. Joy; from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South,

Commission, Bishop Moore, E. B. Chappell, R. S. Hyer, C. C. Selecman, P. D. Maddin.

At his own request, Dr. Joy was dropped from the committee, and G. W. Brown was put in his place.

Secretary Harris read a communication from the White House, addressed to Bishop Cranston, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
January 16, 1920.

My Dear Bishop Cranston: Allow me to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of January 15, and to say that I have had pleasure in handing it to Mrs. Wilson, with the request that she read it to the President at the first opportunity. With the hope that you are in good health, and that your labors at Louisville may be crowned with success, I am,

Sincerely yours, J. P. TUMULTY, *Secretary to the President.*

Announcements were made.

Edgar Blake: Would it be in order to move that the committee to be created on the Regional Conferences be requested to meet at 2 P.M.? I move that that committee be requested to meet in this room at that time.

This motion prevailed.

The Commission adjourned at 12:47 P.M., to reconvene at three o'clock, the benediction being pronounced by C. C. Selecman.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At 3:11 P.M. Bishop Cranston called the Joint Commission to order.

The hymn, "More love to thee, O Christ," was sung, after which P. H. Linn offered prayer.

Bishop Cranston read the twelfth chapter of Romans.

Judge C. A. Pollock offered prayer.

The minutes of the morning session were read by Secretary Harris, and with slight correction were approved.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Earl Cranston, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, Collins Denny, E. D. Mouzon, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr. Ministers: Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. J. Lamar, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey, F. M. Thomas. Laymen: G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, I. G. Penn, Rolla V. Watt, J. R. Joy, C. W. Kinne, C. A. Pollock, E. L. Kidney, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, J. R. Pepper, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, J. G. McGowan.

Bishop Mouzon took the chair.

The Chairman announced that Dr. Selecman takes the place

of Dr. Lamar on the committee appointed to prepare the preamble.

Bishop Cannon: The committee on rephrasing Article V., relating to the negro representation in the General Conference, is ready to report. Dr. Joy will present the report, he being the Secretary.

J. R. Joy presented the report, as follows:

The matter relates to what is on page 5 of the report, Article V. We recommend to amend Article V. as follows:

1. On page 5, line 25, Section 1, strike out all of line 25, and insert: "Section 1. The General Conference shall consist of not less than 670 and not more than 850 ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers, as the General Conference may determine, who shall be apportioned to the several Regional Jurisdictions according to a uniform rule to be established by the General Conference, subject to the further limitations and provisions of this article. It shall be composed as follows."

2. Amend subsection (a), page 5, lines 27 and 28, by striking out the words from "chosen" to "determine," both inclusive. And in line 28, substitute the word "Jurisdictions" for the word "Conferences."

3. Amend (b), page 6, line 4, by striking out the word "forty" and inserting the word "forty-two" in its place. Also, on the same page, lines 5 and 6, amend by striking out the words from "chosen" to "determine," both inclusive.

4. Amend (c), page 6, lines 11 and 12, by striking out the words from "chosen" to "determine," both inclusive.

5. As to the matter of placing limitations upon the voting power of members of colored Annual Conferences, as suggested by Dr. Thomas and referred to this committee, it is the unanimous judgment of the committee that no further action be taken.

Bishop Moore: I move that we take it up *seriatim.*

The motion was seconded and prevailed.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Secretary will read the first item, that it may be clearly before us.

This was done.

Bishop Cannon: I think perhaps it will not be out of order for me to make a statement which may go beyond simply that first paragraph, because it will save time. The paragraph just read uses the numbers 670 and 850. We found that 650 would not be the proper number, unless we changed the basis of representation in the Regional Conferences. Six Regional Conferences with 100 members each would have 600. Thirty is a minimum for the colored jurisdiction, and 10 is a minimum from each of the four foreign jurisdictions; which would make a minimum of 670. So we put that in instead of 650, as had been proposed. We put in the paragraph just read the statement as to the determination of the number by the General Conference, and so we struck it out to-day in (b) and (c). That follows, it is true, in the rest of the report; but it is involved in the fact that in this first paragraph we commence the statement,

"chosen in such number, etc., as the General Conference may determine." That is covered already, and so it is omitted. The figures 30 and 42 are the result of the calculation which we have by the Year Book. Five per cent of the membership of the General Conference would give to the colored jurisdiction 42. The figures, as Dr. Joy has compiled them from the Year Books of the two Churches, total 6,028,692; negro membership, 303,372. The percentage of the negro membership as we have it on the above total is 5.02. So that, on the basis of membership, as we have it by our latest official Year Books, five per cent is just as close as we can get it. Forty-two will cover it, so we recommend that that be inserted.

R. E. Jones: It is figured that we have 303,000 colored members. There are upwards of 2,000 colored members in the New York East Conference who, I am sure, are not figured in that basis. There are four or five hundred in the New England Conference; something like 1,500 or 2,000 in the Southern California Conference. And the very moment that a colored Regional Conference is established automatically, I suppose, all those Churches come into some negro Conference. If it is true, then they ought to figure in the basis. Now, 42 or 44? Forty-four would mean considerable, if it avoided leaving out an Annual Conference or Mission Conference from having an actual representation in the General Conference. Two might not amount to much, but it might amount to a good deal, if that barred one lay and one ministerial delegate. There is no attempt here to swell the number. I wish to be perfectly fair, but I am careful that we guard at this point against any embarrassment which we may have in fixing upon our delegation in the General Conference. Now, it seems to me that the first part of that resolution covers pretty clearly the whole case, without saying it shall be not less than 30 or more than 42. I could wish that the resolution could stand as it reads, "ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers, chosen . . . from the colored Regional Jurisdiction." The limitation of five per cent, or whatever it is, prevents going beyond that point, very clearly. In this way we fix it twice. The General Conference is given power to apportion to the Region according to a principle that obtains later on in this document; and it seems to me superfluous to say that it shall not be more than 42 or less than 30. I know why we say that a Regional Conference shall not have less than 100: We do not want the Regional Conferences to be too small. I wish it were possible for you to see it as I do. I do insist that when you get down to figuring it out squarely, we shall have just what our membership entitles us to. You take New York East Conference, New England Conference, and Southern California Conference, and those are very clear cases. Moreover we have

some Conferences, as they are now constituted, with less than 14,000 members. We would be embarrassed in electing delegates from, say, the Virginia or the Central Alabama Conference unless we have some way to determine how these delegates shall be determined as to number. All I am anxious for is that we shall not be embarrassed among ourselves when we get to the point of electing our delegates. Feeling as I do that the whole proposition is sufficiently hedged when we leave it in the power of the General Conference and with the constitutional provision that it shall not go beyond a certain percentage, with the understanding, of course, that whatever our membership is now it shall be the basis of our record, I simply make that suggestion in the interest of fairness, in the interest of freeing us from any especial embarrassment that may come later on.

Bishop Cannon: May we have the item read again? It seems to me that part of it is covered. Let us listen carefully to the rereading. Read the first item before us.

I. G. Penn: If I understand, Mr. Chairman, that states that according to our membership, as set forth in the latest Year Book, we should be entitled to 42 members in the General Conference. Then, that being proportionate representation for the membership as it now is, why state "32"? It strikes me that if it read "of not more than 42 members," which covers the present membership, it would save the embarrassment that is likely to arise among our colored people, and it would not change it at all. It would give us the actual representation which Bishop Cannon says we are entitled to.

D. G. Downey: This simply establishes the upper limit—"not more than 42." In a smaller Conference, they would have only their proportionate number.

I. G. Penn: If we put it "not over 42," it covers the same thing as in this proposal.

Bishop Cannon: That is simply following the same method that we followed in reference to the white Regional Conferences, "of not less than 100," etc. We give the limit at both ends for the other, too. We are simply having a similar method of statement.

Bishop Moore: It does not seem to me that Brother Penn is asking anything unreasonable. The reason we put the other in there, "100," is because we never want it to be less than 100.

Edgar Blake: I was going to say to Dr. Penn that if you take out that minimum representation 32, it will then be possible, assuming that the colored membership decreases, to go below that number. It seems to me that that minimum representation protects our colored membership. In the last years there has been a slight decrease in the colored membership. If it keeps on, it would be to your interest to keep the minimum number in. I

am sure we want to do what our colored brethren want; but I have some doubt as to the wisdom of your withdrawing that minimum representation.

The first item was unanimously adopted.

Item 2 was read by the Secretary and adopted.

Edgar Blake: I hope you will leave those words, "chosen in such manner," in the document. Let me anticipate. Assuming that the General Conference assigns delegates to these Regional Jurisdictions on the basis of a ministerial and a lay delegate to each Regional Jurisdiction for each 15,000 Church members in full connection, that would mean that Europe and Africa, with a membership of 70,000, would be entitled to ten delegates. But the same amendment is made in that foreign section. Europe would be entitled to ten delegates. But in Europe and Africa you will find that we have one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight Annual Conferences. Now, how are you going to apportion to them ten delegates, five ministerial and five lay, among that number of Annual Conferences? It seems to me you have a case there where your General Conference will have to provide that the delegates to the General Conference shall be elected by the Regional Conference, and not by the Annual Conferences. Do you see what I mean? In other words, you will have a situation there in which you will need some body to determine how these delegates to which the Regional Jurisdiction is entitled shall be chosen. Therefore, I think we ought to leave this in.

Bishop Cannon: Does not the paragraph preceding all these sections cover that? It was so intended. It reads, "shall consist of not less than 670 and not more than 850 ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers, as the General Conference may determine, who shall be apportioned to the several Regional Jurisdictions, according to a uniform rule to be established by the General Conference."

Edgar Blake: No, for this reason: that the only thing you provided for is the apportionment by the General Conference of the number of delegates to which a Regional Conference is entitled. You do not make any provision for the manner of their election. What I want is that you shall allow that to stand, "chosen in such manner as the General Conference shall determine." And I want it to stand in subsection (b) in reference to the colored Conference. I will tell you why. Personally I believe it would be better to have it stand all the way through, though I can see how it will never be quite necessary in that first paragraph, as it is in there too. I move that we strike out the words "in such number and."

This motion was accepted by the committee.

Edgar Blake: Now, in line 11, page 6, strike out the words "in such number and."

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Are you ready to vote?

A. J. Nast: I am willing to vote on that except as it refers to Regional Jurisdictions in foreign lands.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair understood that you are considering all three sections at once.

A. J. Nast: If I can get consent that only (a) and (b) be considered, I will withdraw my motion. I move that the consideration be now only on (a) and (b).

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): In Section (a) are you ready to strike out "in such number and"?

This was stricken out.

E. B. Chappell: I was going to suggest that maybe after all it would be worth while for us to consider seriously whether it is wise to put in these numbers 30 and 42. Conceivably, the colored membership might drop down to 100,000 in the United States, and still have 30 representatives. We could not under this arrangement reduce the representation in the General Conference without a constitutional process, however low it might fall.

The vote was taken, and "42" was substituted for "40" in subsection (b), line 4, page 6.

The motion as to line 5, page 6, subsection (b), prevailed, and the words "in such number and" were stricken out.

A. J. Nast: I move that we defer acting on subsection (c), page 6, lines 10 to 15, until after we have acted on Article III., page 2, division C, lines 7 to 14.

Edgar Blake: I suggest that just now we perfect this paragraph to make it accord with the others. Then, if necessary, I will move to reconsider.

In subsection (c), line 11, page 6, the words "in such number and" were stricken out.

Item 5 was taken up.

Bishop Cannon: As a member of the committee, I voted for that because I think that the end desired to be obtained is covered by the action we took on Article VII., changing "two-thirds" to "three-fourths," and the action we took in which we required that amendments to the Constitution shall be subject to the objection of two Regional delegations. I felt that these two amendments to these two reports fully covered the matter presented by Dr. Thomas, so far as I am personally concerned.

Item 5 of the committee's report, covering the matter referred to them, as suggested by Dr. Thomas, was approved.

On motion of Bishop Cannon, the report as a whole was adopted.

Bishop Moore: We are providing in Article IV., page 4, for Associate General Conferences, and in lines 19 to 23, for a rep-

resentation of twenty delegates, ten ministerial and ten lay. It seems to me that we should put there, under this matter of membership in the General Conference, "(d) Of twenty ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers from each Associate General Conference, chosen in such manner as the respective Associate General Conferences may determine." I move that this be added.

Edgar Blake: Inasmuch as it is already covered in Article IV., do we need to repeat it?

Bishop Moore: The thing to do is to put it back here where it would really belong.

Edgar Blake: I think it ought not to be put in in that way. As I recall, in your motion you did not place any limitation on the matter of voice or vote.

Bishop Moore: You provide for that under Article IV.

Edgar Blake: I would suggest, then, that you phrase your resolution or paragraph to make it as it is here, "ten ministerial and ten lay delegates from each Associate General Conference, as provided in Article IV."

Bishop Moore: You might say "with such powers as provided in Article IV."

Edgar Blake: Something of that sort.

Bishop Moore: I accept your addition.

Bishop Denny: Would you not accomplish exactly the same thing if you transfer the paragraph, page 4, lines 19 to 23, as (d), so as to bring all the membership of the General Conference together on page 6? Instead of leaving it here, just bring it in over there. Then you would have all the membership of the General Conference grouped together.

Bishop Moore: I want it grouped under the membership of the General Conference. I think, if you repeat it, nothing would be hurt.

Edgar Blake: I do not see the necessity of it. It is already covered.

Bishop Moore: I think the membership of the General Conference should be grouped under the subject "Membership," and that this very part of the membership should appear under the article "Membership."

P. H. Linn: It seems to me it would become necessary under "Associate General Conferences" to make provision for the membership of the Associate General Conferences in the General Conference. It works both ways.

Edgar Blake: I call your attention to another difficulty in the case. You have said in your opening statement in this Article V. that the General Conference shall consist of not less than 670 nor more than 850, and shall be composed as follows, (a), (b), (c). Now, if you put in (d) here, the representatives from

these Associate General Conferences count against your 670 or 850.

D. G. Downey: Probably it would be given to an editor to harmonize various parts in the Discipline, and to adjust them. This is really an editorial matter. Further, the whole question of the Associate General Conference is problematic. You provide, when an Associate General Conference comes into existence, for a quasi representation in the General Conference. It occurs to me that we do not need to do anything about it just now.

R. E. Jones: I want to say two things about that representation of the Associate General Conferences in the General Conference. First, if it is a delegation, it ought to be a delegation. It would be an exceedingly hard matter to determine what would be the matters that concern them. If I were a delegate from an Associate General Conference to the General Conference, I would be concerned in everything that went on. I now have my first chance to say that I do not quite see why we load up a constitution with provisions for an Associate General Conference when we do not have material in sight for an Associate General Conference. It makes me feel as if somewhere it is contemplated that the Associate General Conference will come into being, and that as a somewhat ordinary man I cannot quite appreciate the assuming that some 400,000 members will sometime have a desire to be formed into an Associate General Conference; and you put it into the Constitution that you cannot have an Associate General Conference unless it is asked for. We are reading into the minds of that 400,000 members a desire to become an Associate General Conference, or else it is a sort of coercion and suggestion that "we would like to have you as an Associate General Conference." I grant you that there is enough pressure put upon us to keep us from being particularly enthusiastic about getting men into the kingdom. I wish this Associate General Conference was not there at all. That is my point. We are not going to erect an Associate General Conference now. We have not a single desire—certainly, speaking for my people, there is no desire. I think I know my mind better than you do. You certainly cannot quite know just how I think. If you think that I think that I am going to an Associate General Conference, you are wrong. I do not want to see that in a constitution, when you have no material for an Associate General Conference in sight. Now, assuming that all we have done is in utter good faith, and that we are satisfied with the limitation of five per cent, and that we are willing, under five per cent, if we grow to 450,000, still to sustain that same relation, why do we have this sort of trapdoor that might spring sometime when we are not quite conscious of it! You cannot

put that in there without its being interpreted as the ultimate hope of the Church. It is an invitation—I know it is—to become an Associate General Conference. I want to put myself on record as knowing what I am walking onto.

Bishop Moore: I will withdraw my motion. I think, however, that since that is withdrawn it would be a splendid thing to transfer that paragraph from its present place and make it a third privilege.

C. B. Spencer: In a very hurried glance through the report of the Commission on Unification to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in May, 1918, it is my recollection that I do not find any reference to the Associate General Conference until the Savannah meeting. It was not in the Chattanooga proposition, but has come along in the evolution of our proceedings. I wonder if the Joint Commission have taken into account all that is implied in this matter. I was drawn to it first of all by studying the situation in South America. For it is proposed that one of the Regional Conferences shall include Mexico, Panama, Porto Rico, Bolivia, the North Andes Mission, the Argentine, Brazil (larger than the entire United States), and Cuba. This is a pretty large proposition. In the last few minutes I have taken up the Year Book of the Church, South, and our own; and as nearly as I can get at it now, the Church, South, has about 12,000 members in Cuba and Brazil and the border Mexican Conferences. Bishop Moore will correct me in a minute if I am mistaken. We have just about the same number in South America and Panama. In other words, there are about 24,000 Methodists in that new Regional Conference. That leaves it in such shape that, according to the representation that is given them, seven preachers and six laymen could elect bishops for that area—at the rate of one for every 2,000. I figured hastily, but I think I am right.

A Voice: The General Conference determines everything of that sort.

C. B. Spencer: At any rate, they are too few. I have a motion to make. It is rather revolutionary, and just at the moment I cannot defend it as I would like. I was going to make a motion that the Associate General Conference be dispensed with in the polity of the reorganized Church. And I would like to give one reason, which is this: that the Associate General Conference is so related to the General Conference by the number of commissioners that are between the General Conference and the Associate General Conference (ten if I understand it), and the powers of the Associate General Conference are such, as to really tend to an independent Church. Is not that a fact? I appeal to gentlemen here who are best informed on this matter, whether we shall put the reorganized Church into such an atti-

tude as that it will promote and necessitate national Churches. Is the experience of the Church in Japan of the character which would warrant us in putting into the economy something that really is an incentive toward independency? Do we wish to set them aside? If the Associate General Conference will have no voice in the matters of the reorganized Church except in those things that pertain to that General Conference, they are not a body connected with the reorganized Church as a whole. They have no voice in dictating its polity. They are entirely confined to that part of the General Conference which relates to themselves. They are held into it by the dividends from the Book Concern and by other interests that may be of a material character. But they have no organized relation with the polity of the reorganized Church. They have a voice only in those things that pertain to their own interests. Some have likened that Associate General Conference to a trapdoor. To my thinking it is like crowding them into the vestibule and allowing only a certain number of them to come in, and that only when we are considering what relates to their own interests. Is not that putting a premium on absolute independency? I do not wish to see projected into the future a vast organization built on that principle. If we should have independency in India, there would rise up in India a Church which in all likelihood would repudiate the deity of Jesus. Do we not want to have an ecumenical Church which reaches out into all parts of the world and is a factor in all parts of the world because of its connectionalism? There is an absolute necessity that there shall be one great Protestant force which can stand up against the Roman Catholic Church. The Methodist Church is the only Church that can do it. It is the only connectional Church on the planet. As soon as we go on these lines we begin to have independent national Churches. Is that needed in South America, for example? What is the fact in our own land? I am disturbed when I think of the reception that Cardinal Mercier had in comparison with that given the King of Belgium. Is it not ominous that that Roman Catholic cardinal should be the hero of the hour, and the King of the Belgians be sidetracked off into the Grand Canyon or somewhere else, receiving hardly any attention at all? It seems to me we ought not to imbed into the structure of the future a principle which would tend to national Churches, rather than to an ecumenical Methodism which would encircle the earth.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I do not understand that Dr. Spencer's motion was seconded. Is the motion to eliminate all reference to Associate General Conferences seconded?

Dr. Spencer's motion was seconded.

Bishop Cranston: Dr. Spencer was correct in calling that a

revolutionary motion at this juncture. However certain Dr. Jones may be that the colored membership in America, or some foreign jurisdiction, may not desire to act under the privilege granted under this item, it is very possible that the time may not be two decades ahead of us, if we may judge by the indications to-day throughout the world, when there will be a movement made to place such an article as this in the Constitution of the reorganized Church, provided it were now taken out. It is not safe to predicate the condition of the world, and the attitude of men in general, white or colored, upon the feeling that any man may have to-day, generated largely by the experiences through which we have been passing in the last four years. I would not like to see that, nor would I like to see this article disturbed, because I am quite sure that the time which may come to our colored brethren is already come in our foreign mission fields. It is one of our difficulties now that we are not in shape to do what ought to be done, perhaps, within a very short time. I am not sure but that it is overdue. I have never placed great value on our representation from foreign Mission Conferences, so far as the improvement of the home Church is concerned. I do not think that it has served to bring our brethren from abroad, Chinese and others, into the presence of the General Conference, to increase the home interest in foreign mission affairs, and to give foreign delegates a better knowledge of the working of a democratic church organization to carry back to their own people, with the inevitable result that their people would presently desire to set up and operate such government for themselves. There is a strong tendency to self-government, self-determination, in China and in India. I do not speak with confidence of the other fields. But it is perfectly normal that there should be such a sentiment. When this was proposed, it was my thought (and I have never had any other) that it was to serve to apprise our restless brethren in China and elsewhere that the time was in view, and in the mind of the Church, by which their natural desires not to follow in the path of dependency would be met. And if they have now come to that, and already desire to have autonomy in such degree as they could rationally ask it in view of their present relation to the American Church, they need not agitate in order to acquire that which was already being provided for. I would not like to see this provision disturbed at all. I know some of our brethren have no sympathy with an ecumenical Church. I have no insatiate ambition in that direction. The whole question turns on what is the better method of advancing the kingdom of Christ in these foreign fields. If a large measure of autonomy be essential to that end, they should have it. If under the influence of the gospel of Jesus Christ they have come to the consciousness of an inde-

pendent relationship to him and to a confident assurance of their own ability to evangelize their own people, it ought to be a matter of thanksgiving to us and not a matter of fear. Let us have what we need for the realization of the larger hopes of the Church provided for in this Constitution. I trust we can vote without being thought of as meaning to intimate to our Chinese friends that we would like to have them go apart, or to our people in India that we would like them to segregate themselves into an Associate General Conference and the sooner the better. I do not understand that to be the thought at all, any more than I understand it to be the thought with regard to our colored brethren in this country. I submit that our colored brethren have opened the way, by a commendable act of self-sacrifice; but I do not want them to get it into their thought that, in this instrument which has been for some time under consideration, it is proposed to crowd them into an Associate General Conference. As long as the compulsory clause was in it, it might have had that construction. It is the colored and foreign jurisdictions which are referred to in that article. If I were representing our colored brethren in the sense that our colored brethren here are, I would not wish to speak for the wants of their people after they shall have had the advantage of ten or twenty years' more experience in the enjoyment of larger opportunities.

I. G. Penn: I was opposed to the Associate General Conference idea as long as we had in there the "must" and the "shall." I want to say, to start with, that if this instrument which goes down to the Annual Conferences from the General Conferences of the two Churches carries, so far as I am concerned, I am in the reorganized Church just as long as I can stay in it. And, in speaking for an Associate General Conference, I have not in mind at this moment, at all, that the colored people will want an Associate General Conference, or that the colored people will want an independent relation. It ought to be contemplated by us that the people shall be in the reorganized Church, that our white people, both of the North and of the South, may come in contact with the colored people and understand their spirit and their purposes, and know them better. I would stand for that, Mr. Chairman. For I think that much of the troubles which obtain among us grow out of a failure to know each other. So I would like to see them continue in contact with our white people, that our white people may know how harmless they are, to start with, and that they might know the white people a little bit better. I am rejoicing, these days, because of this contact in practically a clearing house between the white people of the South and the colored people of the South. I am rejoicing in what I see in the *New York Christian Advocate* concerning a decision between the white people and colored people of the city

of Nashville in relation to racial troubles in that city. I am rejoicing at what I see in the city of Atlanta: twenty-five colored men and the same number of white men meeting together every Monday as a kind of clearing house for the people of Atlanta. I am informed that the races in that city are more friendly than ever before. So far as I am concerned, I hope that the colored people will be in the reorganized Church all their days. I freely say that I hope that sometime after the colored people have been in the reorganized Church, the General Conference will so understand them and their spirit and how harmless they are that if there are any decisions in regard to representation of the colored people in the General Conference of the reorganized Church, the South as well as the North will be glad not to have us displaced. But having said that, to assure you that I think the colored people ought to be in the reorganized Church, I say that the Associate General Conference is not a bad idea. One of the sad things to-day is this: The colored people in the Methodist Episcopal Church have done one of the most magnificent things in the South. I sat in a colored Conference in the South under the presidency of Bishop Leete and saw that the colored people had raised $60,000 in one Conference, and three times as much in another Conference. Now, Mr. Chairman, I feel that one of the sad things is that the African Methodists and that the A. M. E. Zion Church and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church have not the program of a great Church, that these colored people may be doing the very same thing in their own Churches that the colored people are doing to-day in the Methodist Episcopal Church. And so I say, somewhat in the future, if these three colored Churches want to become an Associate General Conference, or if the colored people of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the future want to be a kind of link in a closer association of all the colored Methodist Churches with the white Methodist Churches, I think the idea here involved in the Associate General Conference may be a good idea that may come to a conclusion that will conserve the entire negro people in relation to the white people in having one program for all that will mean the moving together of all, and getting the largest possible results for the kingdom of God upon the part of all. I think that keeping that provision in this instrument is not a bad thing. I do not take it as a suggestion—I did, when you had "must" or "shall" in there. But I will not take the hint. I think this ought to stay in there in order that we may have this thing, if in the course of events and in the providence of God in the years to come we may want this great program of Methodists everywhere working together.

Bishop Moore: The Committee on Regional Conferences is

ready to report, and we desire to have the report considered tonight.

Edgar Blake: I think the case has not been fully stated. If the minds of the brethren are made up, I have no desire to go on with the discussion.

On motion by Bishop Moore, the time was extended.

Edgar Blake: I desire simply to make a statement of fact. My good friend Dr. Spencer, and he is my friend, has stated that this proposition for an Associate General Conference does not appear in the discussion of this Joint Commission until the Savannah meeting. I think he is accurate in that statement. I do not know all that influenced this Commission in the action which took place in Savannah. I would not be at all surprised if one of the most effective factors in the case was an editorial which appeared in the *Central Christian Advocate* in December, 1917, one month before we met at Savannah, which editorial advocated a proposition of this character.

Bishop Denny: Are you certain about your date?

Edgar Blake: The editorial bears the date December 26, 1917. Now, concerning this matter (I mean the merits of this proposition), I do not believe that this proposition for an Associate General Conference is in any sense a "trapdoor" for anybody. My judgment is, it affords an opportunity for any group for which the provision is made, which may desire a larger control of its own affairs under its own best leadership, to have the opportunity to realize its national or its racial aspirations under God. I cannot forecast what the attitude of the colored leadership and the colored membership of our Church is to be. But I do say this, that if it exercises racial wisdom, which has been so splendidly manifest in its past, it will avail itself of every opportunity given it by the Church of God to come into the largest measure of free control of its own affairs. No nationality, no race, gentlemen, ever comes to its best in the leading-strings of another people. I do not know what the outcome will be. I do not prophesy concerning that. My interest in this particular section does not relate primarily to the colored membership of our Church. My interest in this section relates primarily to our foreign jurisdictions. I call attention to this very illuminating and very significant fact, that in the last twenty-five years the colored membership of our Church has increased forty per cent. The white membership in the home field has increased seventy-two per cent. Our membership in the foreign field has increased two hundred and seventy-eight per cent, and is the most rapidly increasing constituency in our Church at the present time. I have a letter here from Dr. Fred B. Fisher, written immediately on his return from India after his last visit to that great field, in which he says that by 1925, he thinks, our

membership in India will amount to 1,000,000 communicants. My judgment is that he is too optimistic in that. But I desire to call your attention to this, that with our Church spending $50,000,000 in the foreign field in the next five years, you can expect an acceleration of progress in the foreign field, in respect to increase in our membership, such as we have never yet seen. It is only a matter of a short time before Southern Asia and Eastern Asia will reach the 400,000 mark. Do you suppose Eastern Asia and Southern Asia are always going to be content to be ruled from America? I do not think so. I cannot conceive of it. Do you think that India, with its increasing consciousness of racial solidarity and its demand for national independence, when it reaches a few over three-fourths of a million, or a million members, is going to be content with a maximum representation of forty delegates in the General Conference? I cannot think it. And when the time comes that India feels that its representation in the largest lawmaking body of the Church is not commensurate with its numbers and its interest, I'll tell you what will happen: There will be a movement inaugurated in India demanding that India be separated completely from the Church and become an independent body. Now, then, if you can make some provision in your economy by which these Regional groups, these foreign Regional groups, shall be given a control over their own affairs commensurate with their ability to meet their responsibilities in the discharge and control of their affairs, and then can make provision in your economy for the increase of their autonomy, as their ability develops, you are going to do the wisest and most statesmanlike thing we can do here, to hold India ultimately and perpetually as an organic unit in this reorganized Church. I do not know quite how some of you brethren feel to-day. But as I look out upon this great foreign field and see what I think is coming, and the demand that is certain to be made upon us in the near future for a larger control over their own affairs in these jurisdictions, I think this section which we are now writing into this Constitution providing for an Associate General Conference for any jurisdiction that may desire it, when they reach 400,000 or more, is one of the most statesmanlike sections that we have written in this document. I could say other things; but I sincerely hope that this Joint Commission will not seriously consider for a moment the taking this section from this Constitution, which I think in a very large measure assures for all time a world Church for the Methodism of the world, which we represent.

Dr. Spencer: In my early years as a journalist I took a man very sharply to task. I still think he deserved it. But it created a wound in that man which he carried to his grave. Since then I have very carefully avoided that. I do not think my per-

sonal opinions have any accelerated value because I hold them. For that reason I have not replied to certain things within the last few months, some of which might possibly have been ironed out with a red-hot flatiron. I would not get up here now and refer to that editorial, to which Brother Blake has referred, were it not for this fact, that I am going to explain that editorial. I have been a pretty fair friend of the negro race. Booker T. Washington felt that. Professor DuBois feels that. Plenty of things are spoken by myself that have a very small value. But my idea in that was to develop one of the fundamental theories that have been advanced by Bishop Mouzon in favor of race consciousness. Since I have come to see what a Regional Conference offers, not only of race consciousness, but also to the white man and the black man in the relation of brotherhood that is deeper than a mere name, I have held a different view. So far as that is concerned, I do not think I hold any illusions in regard to the colored race. I have some idea of what its disabilities are. I have been in touch with it for more than twenty years at close range. But I hold this, that we want to realize what is in the windows of the Rust Library in the great institution in Washington. I had the privilege of lecturing on comparative religion in one of our theological schools for a while. There was a negro there who wrote a letter that fell under the eye of McKinley, and he showed it to a friend. They sent the young negro through Ohio Wesleyan University; and he went to Drew Seminary. He went into the African Methodist Episcopal Church. I asked him why he did so; and he said that if he stayed in the Methodist Episcopal Church people would say that whatever he accomplished was due to the white people who held him up. I told that to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And then I told them what was there in Washington—a white hand and a black hand. We want both those hands together. I do not want to see those hands pulled apart. That is my understanding of the principle on which we are trying to build this Regional Conference. So far as India is concerned, we must be greatly concerned over that. We know the movements in favor of nationalism going on there. It is teaching us a very important lesson as a Joint Commission on Unification. I have tried to find what was in that indigenous negroid race there in Hindustan. I have tried to find whether there is in them a faculty that will enable them to compete with the more favored Aryan population in India. I am told that to-day a representative of that weak class has not only graduated with the greatest honors in the University of Calcutta, but holds one of the most responsible positions in the Indian government. While I sympathize with the remarks here of a distinguished bishop of the Church, South, we still want to

judge them by their accomplishments; and when they emerge where they can present as high grade of thought as the most favored race has done, we need to encourage them, in behalf of the race as a whole. So far as India is concerned, the national uprising going on there will raise clashes as severe as we have seen in this country. We must remember that the city of Chicago is the largest negro city in the world. What I had in mind in my speech at Cleveland was national in its scope, and what I said has proved true as a forecast of events, in that racial riot in Chicago. I hope that we will build a polity for the centuries that are ahead, so that we can propagate the highest principles of human brotherhood upon which we and they alike may ask the blessing of Almighty God.

F. M. Thomas: I would move as a substitute for Dr. Spencer's motion the following: that we insert in the proper place under Article IV.: "The privilege of becoming an Associate General Conference may be extended to other Churches, through the constitutional process." My reason for that is this: We have a committee on approach to other communions. And it is possible that somewhere in the world there may be a Church similar in theology and polity to ours, that will want to become, after much discussion, an Associate General Conference; and this would provide a method by which it might be done.

This motion was seconded.

F. M. Thomas: It would be inserted in its proper place under Article IV.

R. E. Jones: I do not want to prolong this discussion; but I want to say a word. This word ought to be said. We all know how the idea of the Associate General Conference came into being. The remark has been made here, I do not know whether I thoroughly subscribe to it, talking about race consciousness and race determination. The Church is a voluntary organization. A man does not need to belong to it unless he wants to. No Church has the power to confer on any people self-determination unless they desire to come into the Church. So there is no conference of power to participate in any voluntary Church organization. I want to say this, which I think is very fundamental. It seems rather singular that I should be the man to say it. We have said much about race consciousness. Speaking from the standpoint of a patriot (and a patriot I am), and speaking from the standpoint of a lover of peace and of good will among men (and a lover of peace and good will among men I am), I think anything that is promotive of a chasm between the races does an injustice to both. If I know my section of country, and I think I do in some sense, we are making desperate efforts to join hands rather than to promote racial solidarity. The worst thing that could happen to American life is

to make 12,000,000 negroes solidly a race in themselves, and to thrive upon race consciousness and race independency. I took up a paper last night and was shocked—a paper edited by my own people—to see there was a call for those people to join in with the radicals and agitators, saying that these would welcome them, and that the negro would get freedom and liberty by joining in with them. Don't you suppose I know and measure every step I take here? Don't you know that I know that the larger part of my people are in Churches that are thriving in large measure by what you call race consciousness and racial solidarity, and that I have given myself to opposition to all that? God deliver us from the day when white men and black men shall be arrayed over against each other! I do not want any suggestion that means that later on—do you know that the negro is growing stronger every day in social life and political life? The very fact that he has moved north gives him more political power. The worst thing that could ever happen is to let these people feel, even at first, that you disassociate yourselves from them. May I say, in all courtesy and in all candor, that you want to get your hands as close as you can on that negro, and bless him and lift him? The atmosphere of this Associate General Conference is predicated on exactly what Dr. Blake said, that we ought to recognize race consciousness and self-determination. I have it now! I can walk out of the Methodist Episcopal Church to-morrow. I resist that, in the interests of peace and good will and the larger life of my country. I think all that is in there. I do not want any suggestion that any time, anywhere, you want to divorce yourselves from the negro. Do you think we want to stay in the Church for the philanthropy of it? The negro does not want that. He wants not charity, but a chance. He wants to associate himself with the believers in the fellowship of saints, that he may grow. I felt I ought to say that. If I do not misinterpret the situation here, I have not seen in American life anywhere the effort on the part of men to do the very thing I have tried to say here. I have not seen here, in all my experiences in interracial affairs, any earnest and sincere and brotherly effort to do what I have said—that is, that we shall put our hands in each other's hands, and trust each other and not be afraid of each other. That is what I want to say to my brothers, "Don't be afraid of us." You know, colored people are much inclined to say that white people hate us and have prejudice; but not all the prejudice and not all the hate are on one side. It will be exceedingly bad if this docile, kind, charitable, tractable negro ever gets down into the fiber of his being the determination to hate and be mean and have revenge. It would be the easiest thing in the world to champion some sort of disassociation from you men. But I have sought, at some

sacrifice of self-respect, to insist that there shall be fellowship and good will and mutual helpfulness. I believe that there is a platform and a place where black men and white men can work together in mutual respect and love, without suspicion and without distrust, in holy fellowship. I think it is in the interest of both that we do that very thing. I am praying that there shall be no suggesion in this document of disassociation. I further want to say that I suppose in constitution-making we take a minimum and not a maximum of right. I felt I ought to make these remarks, however late it may be, in the interests of the larger life of our Church.

Rolla V. Watt: I seconded Dr. Spencer's motion, because I have not been able to disabuse my mind of the thought that this plan is intended to be a constitution. I listened very carefully to Dr. Blake's speech, and to Bishop Cranston's, concerning the Associate General Conference, because of the possible effect upon our mission fields. I think that is far, far in the distance. We have about 50,000 members in India. Fisher is an optimist, of course, when he talks about a million members. There is little difficulty in meeting such a situation as that when it arises. I cannot get over the idea that it is put in there, not as a trap, but as a suggestion. I can see no reason for it in this Constitution at this time. I trust we can see our way to eliminate it. When the time comes that we have grown in foreign lands so as to want a Conference of that sort, we can provide for it. But what is the position of our work in Europe and Africa? Imagine the time when you could use an Associate General Conference! I sincerely hope the whole section will be taken out.

D. G. Downey: Brethren, we face not a theory but a condition. I am not at all enamored of the Associate General Conference idea. If it were mandatory, it never could get my consent. But when I realize conditions as they are in this country, when I realize certain interests of our brethren in the Church, South; when I realize that we are preparing not an ideal constitution but such a constitution and plan as we hope will win its way through both Churches, and then remember that there is nothing mandatory in this Associate General Conference, that it leaves it entirely in the hands of the brethren in China, in India, in the islands of the sea, in our own land, to say whether or not they want an Associate General Conference, then I feel that in view of the practical difficulties that we face we ought to accept the Associate General Conference—that is, if we expect to adopt here a plan that has any chance of getting through.

Bishop Cannon: I think you will remember that this Associate General Conference, up to the Cleveland meeting, was a Conference which would be organized of necessity, whenever the colored membership should reach a certain number. And that idea

was stricken out at Cleveland. Instead of being mandatory, it was made optional. It is in this document, I think, not simply for the reasons which Bishop Cranston and Dr. Blake have stated so strongly, but also for another reason—namely, that should the colored membership increase to 400,000 or a half million, or 600,000, or more, the pressure would inevitably come for an increase of representation of that colored membership in the General Conference. But I do not think it will come to pass. But suppose there should be an increase of a large number of colored Methodists in this country. Suppose they should become a million in number. Is it not certain that in the General Conference there would come a demand that that five per cent limitation should be changed, and would we not be faced with a discussion in the General Conference which would not only be unpleasant, but might produce a great deal of friction? So this was put in here to meet the idea, not only for the foreign jurisdiction, but the idea that if the colored membership were not satisfied with their representation in the General Conference of five per cent, we believe it would be better for all concerned for them to have the right to ask for this Associate General Conference and there have just as many colored members as the evangelistic movement among them might be able to bring in; and that they could have their representation, their tie with the General Conference, with the twenty delegates provided for. I think it would be a great mistake to strike this out. I think it should stay in here, because it does meet the possibility of a large increase in colored membership without creating the question of either injustice to them or increase of five per cent.

A. J. Lamar: I wish to move that the vote be now taken.

The previous question was ordered.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The vote is on the substitute offered by Dr. Thomas.

Bishop Cooke: Will Dr. Thomas suspend that?

F. M. Thomas: What I wish is simply this, that if at any time a Church anywhere in the world desires simply to become an Associate General Conference, then it may become so by the constitutional process.

Bishop Cooke: Will it be subject to the laws and rules and regulations of the General Conference?

F. M. Thomas: Yes.

Dr. Thomas's substitute was put to vote, and declared to prevail.

D. G. Downey: Then the situation is, that the Associate General Conference stays in, with this addition?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): That is the situation.

Edgar Blake: If there is any question in the mind of anybody, let us do this thing over again.

P. H. Linn: I think I understand exactly what we were voting about, but I raise the question whether Dr. Thomas's motion was a substitute, was germane, anyway.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): If it is not a substitute, what is it?

D. G. Downey: It would be most unfortunate for any one here to feel that a snap judgment was taken. I am personally satisfied with the vote. But I did not understand that it was a substitute for Dr. Spencer's motion.

P. H. Linn: How could it be an addition or an amendment to a motion to strike out the whole section? There was a motion made to strike out the whole section. The substitute was that instead of that there be an addition to the whole section.

D. G. Downey: I think there are a good many brethren who feel that they did not understand.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Do you give unanimous consent to have a vote on the motion by Dr. Spencer that the entire section dealing with the Associate General Conference be stricken out?

The vote on Dr. Spencer's motion was taken, and the motion did not prevail.

D. G. Downey: Now, if Dr. Thomas wishes to present his motion as an addition, we ought to vote on it.

Dr. Thomas's motion was presented again, put to vote, and carried.

Bishop Moore: The committee on territorial distribution is ready to report.

Dr. Wallace, Secretary of the committee, presented the report, as follows:

We recommend that that part of Tennessee now embraced in the Holston Conferences of the two Churches be transferred from Regional Jurisdiction No. 3 to Regional Jurisdiction No. 2, so that lines 16 and 17, page 1, will read: "(2) Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and that part of Tennessee now embraced in the Holston Conferences of the two Churches."

We recommend that Tennessee, except that part in Regional Jurisdiction No. 2, remain in Regional Jurisdiction No. 3.

We recommend that Article V., Section 2, subsection (6), page 7, line 7, be amended by inserting after the word "Jurisdiction" the words "in the United States."

Bishop Moore: We had the various motions made this morning before us, and we considered all the amendments that were offered, and these are the only changes that we ask to be made.

F. M. Thomas: Was the suggestion made to exchange Kentucky and South Carolina?

Bishop Moore: It was. There are some 23,000 members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Kentucky. The brethren of that Church would greatly prefer that Kentucky be not transferred into the other section. They desire very much that that remain just as it is. So, after giving due consideration to that motion, and also the other motion to exchange Tennessee and North Carolina, this was the agreement on the whole matter—just simply to transfer that territory contained in the Holston Conferences from Region 3 to Region 2.

A. J. Lamar: A practical difficulty may arise. Would it not be best to say, "that part of the Holston Conference lying in Tennessee"?

Bishop Moore: We would concede that. We mean to write the real geographical boundary line in there as soon as we find out what it is.

P. H. Linn: That description of territory here ought to be in.

Bishop Moore: It will be put in. The two Conferences have practically the same territory.

P. H. Linn: It will be expressed in geographical terms, then, and not in terms of Conferences?

Bishop Moore: Yes.

Items 1 and 2 of the report were adopted.

J. J. Wallace: Item 3. We recommend that in Article V., Section 2, subsection (6), line 7, page 7, after the word "Jurisdiction" there shall be added the words "in the United States"; so that the sentence shall read as follows: "Nor shall it create any new Regional Jurisdiction in the United States," etc.

Bishop Moore: No change except putting in the words "in the United States."

Rolla V. Watt: I hope that the committee is not objecting to a chance to reduce the number. If you were in Region 5, I think you would find some reason for it—I will admit we have only some 700,000 members. But the countries are just as different; the middle West and the far West are just as different as New England and Florida. And there ought to be a little easier way of separating that enormous district into two Regional Conferences than to get them up to a million members. I wish the number could be reduced.

Bishop Moore: This matter was duly considered, and this was the unanimous opinion of the committee.

C. A. Pollock: I agree with Brother Watt. I am in the same Region with him, and yet I live 3,000 miles from him, more or less.

Rolla V. Watt: I am going to offer an amendment to substitute 350,000 for 500,000, in subsection (6), line 7, page 7. The matter is still in the hands of the General Conference at all times.

That will give us a possibility of doing something that seems to be wise.

Mr. Watt's motion was seconded.

Bishop Moore: If the General Conference should divide that Regional Conference and make two, you would see that that membership of about 780,000 would have 200 representatives in the General Conference. We have a minimum representation of 100 in the General Conference from each one of the Regions. At present that territory would have a little over 100 delegates. If you make this sort of a division, if you adopt this sort of a basis, you put 100 men into the General Conference for the 350,000 members that would be in each one of these Jurisdictions. Whereas, over in the Regional Jurisdiction of something over a million members, you would have only about 150 members in the General Conference. Not only does it make this difference, but it disturbs the equilibrium which now has been obtained in this present document.

D. G. Downey: I sympathize with the predicament of Brothers Pollock and Watt. At the same time, I do not see how in justice we can change that figure. I do see how they can easily bring it to pass so that they can have it divided. It will only take between two and three hundred thousand to bring it up to the million. It is a great and growing section of the country. When I hear the folk of that section talk, I know they can do anything they want to. I am perfectly confident that with the aid of the missionary fund of the Centenary, under the enthusiasm of that great and growing country, and with men of such ability as Judge Pollock and Brother Watt, they will have a million members and more. Let it stay as it is, and let it be an incentive to these brethren to go out and do the immediate evangelistic work that is needed.

Bishop Cranston: When we were in Chattanooga, where all this plan had its inception, it was contemplated that the third jurisdiction should include all the territory west of the Mississippi River. One of the arguments by which that was sustained was that it would so mingle the representatives of the two Churches in the western part of the nation that the other two Quadrennial Conferences, one North and the other South, would be radically influenced for the better by the Western spirit. I do not know that anybody undertook to contradict that view, or in any way to reduce its influence as a factor in determining what should be the report to the General Conference. In the next place I want to say, and I am anxious to get it into the record, that Dr. Wallace's proposition to run that line straight through to the coast is the better proposition of the two. It is the one permanent solution of the whole matter, so that we will not have that far-flung, long-strung-out Regional Territory, with traveling ex-

penses and distances so great as to require more time than should be required. Put that line through the west. Let us have some place where our people and your people shall be mingled together from the very start, and there is no place where you can really carry out that idea better than in the West, where things are not crystallized so as to be unchangeable, and where everything is growing, and toward which, after all, your constituency from the South seems to be tending. Do not dismiss that idea. Think on it. Suppose you had 500,000 in one of these territories in that Regional Conference. Would not the same difficulty arise that Bishop Moore has just spoken of? It means that you would have to wait until you had the full complement of membership for both divisions. Let us put that thing through, then we will have a better outcome. You will find it very difficult, I think, to put this through as it stands now.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The question is on the amendment offered by Brother Watt, that the figure 500,000 be changed to 350,000.

The amendment was lost.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The question recurs on the report offered by the committee that following the words "Regional Jurisdiction" you insert the words "in the United States."

Rolla V. Watt: Possibly the figure I named is too small. I do not like to feel that this body is determined that there shall be no change out there except on a basis of a million members. One of the brethren said, "As soon as we get to using these Regional Conferences, we will want more of them." I would like to try another figure.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair thinks he was in error in permitting the kind of an amendment you offered. The report of the committee had nothing to do with the number. If you favor the report offered by the committee that after the words "Regional Jurisdiction" you insert the words "in the United States," say Aye. If opposed, say No.

The item was adopted.

A motion to adjourn was made, but did not prevail.

Rolla V. Watt: I want to try once more to see if we can get a little relief for that great Northwestern section. You see we are at present thrown in with Nebraska and Minnesota and Iowa and Kansas, to say nothing of the Mountain States, and then clear over to the Pacific Coast. I fear that there will be an attempt for a division sooner or later. I therefore move the substitution of 400,000 for 500,000.

P. H. Linn: That cannot be accomplished for years, according to the statement of your Constitution. But that does immediately create a possibility that will frighten us, because it will disturb the protection for minorities which you have given us, in return

for which we have made concessions to you in order to accomplish unification. The basis of eight Regional Conferences, seven white and one colored, will put into the hands of the present Methodist Episcopal Church the power to control constitutional matters. I shall vote against any lowering of that number.

J. H. Reynolds: In the first place, against the suggestion made by Dr. Linn, there is ample protection in invoking the vote by regions. I am in favor of the motion made. In the first place, it gives larger liberty to your General Conference in meeting situations that may arise in the development of the Church. In the second place, it is perfectly safe, because the General Conference may refuse. It is within the power of the General Conference to determine, and gives your General Conference a little larger liberty of action.

Bishop Cooke: If I wanted to defeat this in the Northwest, in Idaho and Eastern Oregon and Montana and North Dakota, I would need no better argument than the map which you have provided. The people in Fargo, in Great Falls, in Eastern Oregon, in Helena, have wanted to know what possible interest San Diego and Seattle can have in their affairs. For, understand, the underlying motive of this Regional Conference business at all was that it might have superivision over local interests. That was the main reason for this Regional Conference business at all. Now, you are spreading "local interests" over a vast territory, the vastness of which you cannot comprehend unless you have traveled it. I can put the whole of New England and all New York and all Pennsylvania and New Jersey into the State of Montana alone. It is as large as the whole Empire of Japan. And if I wanted to ridicule the thing and defeat it, all I would have to do would be to show the extension of "local interests."

C. C. Selecman: I come from that vast and growing section of the country, and I care to say just two or three sentences. In the first place, if you should undertake to erect a jurisdiction out there of limited geographical size, you would find it to be an impossibility, unless we vastly reduce the number of members in each Regional Jurisdiction. It takes a lot of geography to run us out there! We have one county in California that is larger than the State of Ohio. While I appreciate the arguments that have been made, yet, having been a member of this committee, I realize that we are creating more problems than we are eliminating, by changing this basis. Therefore I am in favor of allowing the paper to stand as it is.

D. G. Downey: If the main objection to division is because of the fact that it will disturb the number of delegates in the General Conference—

Bishop Moore: To be perfectly plain, it disturbs the equilibrium we have established in the General Conference, which we

desire to maintain, and that has been a basis on which a great many things have been wrought out.

D. G. Downey: I was wondering whether some exception could be made whereby, at the suggestion of an interested region, the General Conference might provide that the total number of delegates from the region that was divided should not exceed the number from the original Regional Conference until the membership in each of these Regional Conferences should equal the average per cent of these white Regional Conferences.

Frank Neff: Mr. Chairman, I too am a Roman! I do not feel like these brethren do. I would not accept that at all, of my own choice, living in that region. Yet we are not undertaking to formulate a perfect document here. We are trying to do the best we can under the circumstances. I do not like the whole arrangement as it is. But with the adjustment of numbers (2) and (3), I think that we had better leave it as it is. There is a much closer connection—with all due deference to Brother Watt, there is a very close connection between Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa and the mountain and coast country. We feel much closer to the mountain country and the coast than we do to the extreme East. And there are thousands of our people from those plains States who spend their summers in the mountains and their winters on the coast. Brother Watt is a member of the Book Committee and of this Unification Commission. He is one of the most loyal men on our Commission, and a loyal member of the Book Committee. He does ont complain. He comes all the way from San Francisco for all these meetings. And as far as I can recall, there have been only three General Conferences in that Region; but those delegates come all the way East. We are a growing country out there; and we feel that, giving us an opportunity in that way to build up, we can draw the kingdom our way. I say again, the arrangement is awkward. Brother Wallace's suggestion to run the line including Kansas with Oklahoma and Texas, going along the north line of Utah, and including California and Nevada—you have the same difficulties of distance then. You have Portland and Seattle reaching across fifteen or sixteen hundred miles to Duluth. I think the wisest thing under the circumstances is to let it go and put the incentive on us to build up; then we can make that division run up and down along the Rocky Mountains, giving the plains States and those east of the Rocky Mountains the one region, and the great Pacific Coast country another.

Bishop Moore: In the States of California, Oregon, Washington, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Colorado, the two Dakotas, Utah, and Nebraska there are only 230,000 members. If you draw a line so as to get 400,000 members in that Western section, you have not changed your territory very much. The big

part of your membership is clustered in the little eastern end, and you have not relieved the situation at all, from the geographical standpoint and from the standpoint of railroad travel. So it seems to me, if you put this at 400,000 you have not got anywhere.

The amendment offered by Rolla V. Watt, making the number 400,000 instead of 500,000, was put to vote, and did not prevail.

Edgar Blake: I want to call attention to this. Yesterday we adopted certain amendments on page 13, Article VII., lines 11 to 16, which provide that the recommendation of three-fourths of all the members of the Annual Conferences present and voting shall suffice to authorize the next ensuing General Conference by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting to alter or amend the provisions of this Constitution, and also when such alteration or amendment shall have been first recommended by a General Conference by a three-fourths vote, etc. What I want to call your attention to is this: In Article V., Section 2, subsection (11), page 8, it says, "To consider, and, if deemed wise, to disapprove of the decisions of the Judicial Council upon any constitutional question and to require its submission to the members of the several Annual Conferences, and the decision of two-thirds of those present and voting shall be final thereon." There appears to be a conflict between that section and the amendments adopted yesterday.

F. M. Thomas: Not necessarily.

Edgar Blake: I think you will find that we have understood that when the Judicial Council pronounced an action of the General Conference not in harmony with the Constitution, and the General Conference took exception to that action, it then became a constitutional question and was to be sent down to the Annual Conferences to be decided by constitutional process. That being the case, both sections ought to harmonize. At least, I think there is sufficient question in this matter to make it advisable to refer these sections to a committee for consideration. I move that we appoint a committee of four, two from each Commission, to whom this matter shall be referred.

P. H. Linn: May I understand that? That simply is a question of what is the reference there; that is, what is called for by the two-thirds vote? I interpret that to mean that the decision of the General Conference to submit to the Annual Conferences should be by a two-thirds vote. It is clumsily stated. But is it not your understanding that the purpose of the committee was that that is the required vote within the Conference and not within the several Annual Conferences?

Edgar Blake: No. My understanding is that that has to do with the vote in the several Annual Conferences. I think the whole section needs to be revised and cleared up. The thing as

it now stands is not clear. It ought to be made perfectly clear so that there could be no question. That is why I think it ought to go to a committee.

J. W. Van Cleve: It seems to me there is a vast difference between declaring how the Constitution shall be changed and declaring what the Constitution now is. They do not need to be done by the same process. There is no need of requiring three-fourths to tell what the Constitution now is. Two-thirds ought to be sufficient for that purpose. Then the Constitution stands as it has been.

Bishop Moore: I favor the appointment of this committee.

The committee was ordered.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): How will you appoint it?

Edgar Blake: I think we have a method of appointing committees.

E. B. Chappell: I move that we ask the Chairman of the two Commissions to appoint from their respective Commissions.

D. G. Downey: Have we voted on that matter of the Regional Conferences, or is that to be held until our next meeting?

Bishop Moore: I think perhaps there was no vote to adopt that section referring to Regional Conferences, as a whole.

Bishop Denny: Do I understand that this motion just made proposes to take in from "Members," on page 2, down through page 4 to "Associate General Conferences"?

Bishop Moore: No; simply as on the first page, with reference to the distribution of the membership in the white Conferences.

The report of the Committee on Regional Conference Boundaries was, on motion, adopted as a whole.

The special committee of four referred to above was constituted as follows: From the Methodist Episcopal Church, J. J. Wallace, C. A. Pollock; from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Bishop Mouzon and A. J. Lamar.

On motion of Dr. Lamar, it was voted to adjourn.

J. R. Pepper offered prayer.

The session closed at 6:20 P.M.

FIFTH DAY, TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1920.

Morning Session.

A hymn was sung, and J. R. Pepper offered prayer.

Bishop Moore read Psalm ciii.

The hymn, "I will sing the wondrous story," was sung.

Secretary Thomas read the minutes of Monday afternoon's session, which were approved as read.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops E. D. Mouzon, Collins Denny, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr., Earl Cranston, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke. Ministers: F. M.

Thomas, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, E. B. Chappell, T. N. Ivey, A. J. Lamar, P. H. Linn, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey, Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, J. W. Van Cleve, J. J. Wallace, C. M. Stuart. Laymen: H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, T. D. Samford, J. R. Pepper, J. G. McGowan, G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, J. R. Joy, C. W. Kinne, I. G. Penn, C. A. Pollock, Rolla V. Watt, E. L. Kidney.

P. H. Linn: I move that the Committee on Boundaries be instructed to describe that change of the Regional Conferences in geographical terms, covering the territory declared in terms of Conferences of the divided Church.

J. E. Dickey: We do not describe the bounds of any Conference in these regions. When we put Tennessee into this region, we do not bound Tennessee. We do not bound the Holston Conference. We do not bound these Conferences in placing them in the region. Why is it necessary to bound them when we take them out?

P. H. Linn: The rest of the document is not in terms of Conferences at all, but in terms of States. It is all geographical except this one reference.

F. M. Thomas: That is a good point.

Edgar Blake: We are stating this in terms of geography. We take that part of the State of Tennessee embraced in the Holston Conferences of the two Churches. The minute you attempt to state in your Constitution the boundaries as they are stated here in that Discipline, you are going to have a very unhappy mess. We always will have the record. If you write in the Constitution, "That part of the State of Tennessee embraced in the Holston Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as they are now constituted," that covers the case and is perfectly clear. If you write in your Constitution the names of counties, and "up the river line to Kentucky and down the river line to Georgia," etc., nobody will know what territory you refer to. But if you write, "That part of the State of Tennessee embraced in the Holston Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," everybody knows instanter, when they read it, just exactly what you mean.

C. M. Bishop: This Constitution will probably last for a good many years, if it ever becomes a Constitution. Twenty-five years from now what will "boundaries of the Holston Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," mean? We understand now, and it will be understood at the General Conference; but if the Constitution is adopted as we present it, if we do present it, these particular regional lines will be described in terms which will be constantly

getting older and dimmer in the minds of men, and you will have to go back to the Discipline of long ago to find what they mean.

Edgar Blake: What is the status of the case?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): A motion made by Dr. Linn that this committee describe the lines in the terms of geography.

Edgar Blake: I move that Dr. Linn and Bishop Cooke be made a committee to formulate the statement.

Bishop Denny: The lines of the Holston Conference are determined by the geography of the country, particularly in the southern end of it. It has not been found possible for us to give service to certain portions of that country outside of our present Holston lines. These valleys are of such a nature that there is no passageway over the mountains. The result is that we have in Alabama, as well as in Georgia, certain work that we have never been able to serve except from the Holston Conference. If you make a geographical line, not only will it be open to the objection of which Dr. Bishop spoke—

P. H. Linn: May I ask Bishop Denny a question? I have no intention of changing the content of the thing at all. I simply want to state in terms of geography. Certainly that can be done, for both are stated in terms of geography now.

Bishop Denny: But we are cutting State lines. The time may come when, by tunneling those mountains, all that may be remedied. And if you lay down the geographical line now, which accommodates the present condition of things, it may be unnecessary after a few years. And you will make it necessary, instead of having the proper authority in Regional Conference or General Conference to adjust the difficulties, to have a constitutional change to adjust them. If some general terms could be used, it would still leave the proper authority to delimit the Conference lines under changed conditions, and thus save a great deal of difficulty. It would be dangerous to put in geographical lines.

Bishop Cooke: There is really no difference here. We are all agreed upon the thing. The only difference at all is whether we shall put a long string of county names and river names and mountain lines, or shall express the same thing in two or three words, all of which have their meaning in the Disciplines of both Churches as at present constituted. If Dr. Linn feels that there is anything else, I do not care anything about it, so long as we get the thing we want. You can describe it any way you want to. I move that Dr. Linn's motion prevail.

Bishop Cannon: There is a motion to appoint a committee.

Bishop Moore: The motion is that these terms be written in terms of geography; and then there is an amendment that a committee be composed of Dr. Linn and Bishop Cooke.

This latter motion was withdrawn, and Dr. Linn's motion was adopted.

Bishop Cranston took the chair.

Bishop Cooke: Dr. Spencer wrote me a note last night, saying that he was compelled to leave the city, and would leave his proxy with Bishop Leete.

Bishop Denny: If I could be given a little information, it would help me very much. Has any hour for final adjournment been fixed?

A. J. Nast: I am compelled to leave this afternoon at 4:25, and should be very glad if the time of adjournment could be fixed.

Bishop Cannon: Would it not be wiser to decide that at 12:30? It seems to me it would be a mistake to fix the time of adjournment arbitrarily now when we do not know what time discussion of reports of committees will consume.

Edgar Blake: I think we would all like to adjourn as quickly as possible; but I think no one of us wants to adjourn until our work is fully completed. It seems to me that with the work in such shape as it is, if we can go along without unnecessary debate, we can get through in a reasonable time. We could delay fixing the time of adjournment until the close of the morning session, when we would probably be in a position to determine more accurately at what time we ought to adjourn. I move that speeches be limited hereafter to three minutes.

C. M. Bishop: I propose instead of that that we continue in session, if necessary, until 3:15 P.M., with the understanding that final adjournment shall be at that time.

Rolla V. Watt: I do not believe there is any way of adjourning at 3:15 except by simply accepting the report of a committee and not trying to make any changes in it. I am not satisfied with that, and will never vote for it. I have come a longer distance than any man here, and am willing to stay through. There are several amendments that ought to be made, and that will hold up the time of adjournment. I hope that nothing will be done now with reference to adjournment, but we will proceed with the business of the day.

G. W. Brown: I am absolutely opposed to fixing any particular hour for adjournment to-day. This matter of the hour when we will adjourn can very well be deferred.

P. H. Linn: I move to amend Dr. Blake's motion to limit speeches to three minutes by substituting "five" for "three."

This amendment prevailed.

F. M. Thomas: May I rise to a question of personal privilege? I am sure the men who have known me for some time know that in my remarks yesterday I intended no reflection in any wise upon any one in the Commission. I am satisfied that they have

done all that men can do. But there is one man in the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church that I want to reflect on very severely! He made a false statement yesterday! He said I did not love him! I refer to Bishop Cranston. He and I have been together thirteen years.

P. H. Linn: In line 1, on page 12, the expression "Judicial Conferences" has no meaning to my mind. What is the fact in the case? I do not recognize the term at all.

Edgar Blake: As an amendment to that section, I would move that, beginning with line 28, on page 11, we strike out the words "the records and documents transmitted to it from Judicial Conferences." Also strike out in line 2, page 12, the words, "questions of law and," so that it will read: "The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General Conference, the Associate General Conferences, and the Regional Conferences, to hear and determine all other appeals coming to it in course of lawful procedure."

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Brother Linn's embarrassment is no greater than that of the brother who was elected a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church and asked that same question, "What is the Judicial Conference"?

Bishop Cooke: What is the reason for eliminating the words "records and documents transmitted to it from Judicial Conferences"?

Edgar Blake: Because that is covered otherwise.

Bishop Cooke: I beg pardon. A record and a document are not an appeal. You are doing an injurious thing. You are eliminating documents and eliminating records.

Edgar Blake: Is there any reason why a Judicial Conference should transfer these things?

Bishop Cooke: You have Conference records and journals which ought to be referred to Judicial Conferences.

Edgar Blake: There is no danger at all. We are talking about the powers of the Judicial Council.

Bishop Cooke: But if it has no power to examine the documents that may be transmitted to it, what then? You know that there are numbers of cases which have to be opened on account of new evidence.

J. W. Van Cleve: The amendment as suggested by Dr. Blake seems to me to cover this case perfectly, because any case coming in regular process of law will naturally bring its records and documents with it, if there are any. The records and documents have no business coming there, unless they come in process of law. They ought to stay where the legal process is officially taken.

Edgar Blake: Bishop Cooke, if we substitute for the word

"appeal" the word "matters," so that it will read, "The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General Conference, the Associate General Conferences, and the Regional Conferences, and to hear and determine all other matters coming to it in course of lawful procedure," will that be satisfactory?

P. H. Linn: Let me suggest that, instead of substituting, we add "and matters."

Edgar Blake: I accept that suggestion.

Bishop Denny: An appeal is based on a record, and the appeal cannot be intelligently entertained unless the appellate body has the power to call for the record. Is this Judicial Council confined in its survey of facts to the record that is brought before them? It does not go outside the record transmitted from the Conference or committee below it. That is one question that ought to be settled. Do we propose to have the case *de novo,* or is it really appellate? If it be appellate, something ought to be said to indicate that the Judicial Council shall confine itself to the records and documents that come up, on the basis of which the appeal is made. It is only a question of what the intention is.

Bishop Cooke: Who will pass upon the legality of the acts of the Annual Conference from which any appeals may be made, which acts have not been challenged in the Annual Conference? Acts have been done in the Annual Conference which may be contrary to the law of the Church, and passed over. But they become actual precedents in the acts of the future Annual Conferences. That is, these Conference records go through scrutiny. They are passed upon. This eliminates all such as that.

D. G. Downey: We have a motion before us. I move to amend by simply striking out in line 1, page 12, the words "from Judicial Conferences," and in line 2 the words "questions of law and," so that it shall read, "The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General Conference, the Associate General Conferences, and the Regional Conferences, the records and documents transmitted to it, and to hear and determine all other appeals and matters coming to it in course of lawful procedure," etc.

C. A. Pollock: I think the point raised by Bishop Denny should be considered just a moment. May I suggest that the first two lines of the paragraph, lines 26 and 27, page 11, would seem to imply that the Judicial Council should only have the power to review matters which are brought before the lower body, which would apparently exclude the possibility of bringing in new evidence?

T. D. Samford: I suggest that Dr. Downey use some word which would indicate that the Judicial Council shall have power

to call for necessary documents. All judicial tribunals have that power.

D. G. Downey: If we adopt this amendment, we can put that in later.

Dr. Downey's amendment was read again.

F. M. Thomas: I would like to ask one question there. It strikes me that there ought to be some method or process by which the case to which attention was called by Bishop Cooke might be covered. For instance, an Annual Conference might violate the law of the Church, and no appeal be taken. Some man might think that the law had been violated, and simply transmit the record to the Judicial Council to be passed on. It seems to me that would not be sufficient.

D. G. Downey: I would add, "provided that no appeal from any Conference shall be entertained unless the same has been taken by at least one-fifth of the Conference."

Dr. Downey's amendment was adopted.

The question was asked whether the words "provided that no appeal from any Conference shall be entertained unless the same has been taken by at least one-fifth of the Conference" refer to appeals taken from the action of the Conference or to appeals taken by the Conference.

R. E. Blackwell: It means an appeal coming from the Conference.

Edgar Blake: Does it mean an appeal initiated by a Conference?

Bishop Moore: I do not know what it means.

Edgar Blake: Neither do I.

Bishop Cooke: I do not think that, the way it now reads, any one can prove from this statement that the appeal from an Annual Conference will be entertained. I do not believe that you can prove that any Annual Conference would have the right to send an appeal to the Judicial Council, the way it now reads. Since you have a number of Conferences mentioned, does not the word "Conference" include any of those Conferences?

Bishop Denny: This statement would probably better come from some lawyer than from me. But it is a matter of common sense, since common law is common sense, that the specification of the Conferences from which appeals can be taken is an exclusion of any other Conference from which any appeal can be taken. This would prevent a review by the Judicial Council of anything done in an Annual Conference. You could cover this, if it is the desire of the Commission to cover it, by striking out the word "and" in line 28, page 11, and after "Regional Conferences" saying "and Annual Conferences."

A motion to this effect was made and seconded.

J. W. Van Cleve: I wonder if we are not in danger of trying

to write into the Constitution what ought to go into the ordinary legislation of the Church. We could get back at last even to the Quarterly Conference, or the Church Conference, possibly. From that point onward any matter might proceed in regular order if we were defining our legal procedure as we shall later on when we get together. But to define it all in the Constitution seems to me carrying it too far. If we say, "All other appeals and questions of law coming to it in the course of lawful procedure," then after this Constitution has been adopted we may define lawful procedure.

Bishop Denny: Would it not be possible under law that the moment you set forth a series of Conferences from which appeals can be taken, by that very act you bar every other Conference from taking an appeal? Brother Maddin, Brother Samford, Brother Pollock, you lawyers make a statement of the facts in that case.

Bishop Moore: We have had considerable trouble over this statement of the powers of the Judicial Council. I would be very happy indeed if we would refer Section 6, subsections (1) and (2), on "Powers," to a special committee of four or six men, and let them rewrite that and bring it back to us at the afternoon session. I move that this section on "Powers," Section 6, be referred to a committee of six.

This committee was ordered.

Edgar Blake: I move that the following amendment to Section 3, at the top of page 11, line 6, be made: Insert "except that one-half the members of the first Judicial Council shall be elected for four years, and their successors thereafter for eight years," so that it will read: "Section 3. Members of the Judicial Council shall serve for eight years, or until their successors are confirmed, and shall be eligible for reëlection. The term of each member (except as provided in Section 9) shall expire at the close of the second General Conference succeeding that at which his term began; except that one-half the members of the first Judicial Council shall be elected for four years, and their successors thereafter for eight years."

Bishop Denny: You had better say seven of them.

Edgar Blake: That is true. I move that this amendment be referred to this committee.

It was so referred.

A. J. Nast: You remember that yesterday, in discussing subsection (c), on page 6, I desired to introduce a resolution and was informed by Dr. Blake that you could reconsider your action later, if necessary. I do not know whether it will be necessary to reconsider it. What I wish to offer now is to call your attention to Article III., page 2, "C. Membership in Foreign Countries." I understand we have not finished all the matter

pertaining to Regional Conference membership; and I wish to offer this resolution in lieu of under C, lines 7 to 14, subsections (8), (9), (10), (11)—in place of all that, this resolution: "The number, classification, and geographical boundaries of Regional Conferences in foreign countries shall be determined by the General Conference."

This was seconded.

A. J. Nast: I think it is obvious to every one of us, if you will study the boundaries as given in these four subsections, that while some of them may be perfectly satisfactory, some of them are not quite so.

P. H. Linn: Why do you use the word "classification"?

A. J. Nast: Because we must classify these Regional Conferences, not only in view of their geographical position, but also in view of conditions of nationality, political considerations, etc. I will give a concrete case in subsection (9): "The Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions in Europe, the Madeira Islands, and in Africa." Here you have put into one Regional Conference two whole continents as diverse as they possibly can be. The "dark continent" of Africa, and that enlightened, though sadly disturbed, continent of Europe, are in the one Regional Conference. Could you imagine anything more diverse in character than those two?

P. H. Linn: Why would not that be accomplished under the matter of division? I do not understand the idea that is contained in your word "classification." There is no classification.

A. J. Nast: I will yield that word. Brethren, we are not in a condition now intelligently to fix the boundaries of those two continents. Especially in regard to Europe, so distracted and so divided politically, linguistically, nationally, and socially, and in every possible way. And then, in our own Church we expect very shortly to receive the report of the special deputation that has been sent to investigate the condition of our work in the lands of the former "Central Powers," including Switzerland. My motion is that instead of now attempting to define the boundaries of subsection (9), we refer that to the General Conference in these words: "The number and geographical boundaries of the Regional Conferences in foreign countries shall be determined by the General Conference." That includes all of them.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): Does that conflict with the provision by which you say there shall be Regional Conferences in Eastern Asia, etc.? This says, "the number" of Regional Conferences. But you have fixed the number by those you have indicated already.

P. H. Linn: That is what I want to do away with. I think his idea is to allow some liberty in changing boundaries in foreign countries according to development. We do not want to

require a constitutional change in order to accomplish a readjustment of Regional Conference boundaries in foreign lands.

The motion prevailed.

Bishop Mouzon: If it is not too late, attention should be called to the fact that that may upset the voting strength allowed by your General Conference. It is stated on page 6, subsection (c), line 10, "of not less than ten nor more than forty ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers . . . from each of the foreign Regional Jurisdictions."

Edgar Blake: I do not see how that is affected at all.

Bishop Mouzon: Suppose instead of the number specified you should have twice that number of foreign Regional Conferences. They will certainly be rearranged if the desire of Dr. Nast is carried out; and it may be found necessary to change the number. Thus you change the voting strength in the General Conference. You will have to consider that whole matter.

P. H. Linn: It would still be in the power of the General Conference to fix it in view of proposed voting strength. The General Conference would have that matter before it when it fixed the boundaries.

Bishop Mouzon: But then it reads, "of not less than ten from each." You would have to have that, and you have agreed as to the number of members of the General Conference. That will affect the membership of the General Conference.

F. M. Thomas: Is not this also true? I may be mistaken. Is it not true that it would affect the voting power on constitutional matters?

P. H. Linn: That is confined to Regions in the United States.

Bishop Mouzon: Where is that indicated?

F. M. Thomas: Page 10, lines 8 to 11.

J. H. Reynolds: But they will vote as Annual Conferences on constitutional amendments, as the amending clause now stands on page 12. That exists to-day in both Churches, and would seem to be carried over by this amending clause into the new Church.

Edgar Blake: If you think there is a real difficulty in the point raised by Bishop Mouzon, as to having a large number of these foreign Regional Conferences, which would oblige us to give a minimum representation of ten to each of these bodies, you can strike out that minimum representation in line 10, page 6, so that your section will read, "of not more than forty ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers."

D. G. Downey: Could we accomplish the purpose by adding a clause to Dr. Nast's statement—namely, "provided, however, that such determination shall be in harmony with the other provisions of this Constitution"?

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): That would have to be so anyhow.

D. G. Downey: I wonder if that would not cover the point. They would have to consider the matter of representation in the General Conference.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): There is no motion before us.

Edgar Blake: I was about to make one. Look on page 9, lines 6 and 7. I move that the words "in the months of April or May" be stricken out, so that the sentence will read: "The General Conference shall meet once in four years perpetually at such time and place as shall be fixed by the preceding General Conference, or by a commission to be appointed quadrennially," etc.

This motion was seconded.

C. A. Pollock: My reason for seconding that is this: Suppose we should have the influenza, or some other epidemic of that description, so that we could not have it in the months of April or May. But with those words out it is left with the authorizing body to call the Conference at least once in four years.

Bishop Denny: I am about to second that motion. I am about to make a statement which will provoke a smile from men who have not thought deeply over what Patrick Henry meant when he said that he knew no method of judging the future but by the past. It seems that any reference to the past provokes amusement or scorn from some brethren. In 1850 cholera prevailed in St. Louis during the period in which our General Conference met there. Statements, erroneous as a matter of fact, have been made that H. B. Bascom took the cholera while attending that General Conference. In one of the early General Conferences of Bishop Asbury, I think in 1796, Bishop Asbury and Bishop Coke changed the General Conference from May to a later date because of the scourge of yellow fever in Baltimore. I question the wisdom of limiting the time of the General Conference to April or May. Let them meet at such time as it is found necessary to meet.

D. G. Downey: I call the attention of those who wanted the time changed to the fact that the method of change is provided for in the paragraph itself—"at such time and place as shall be fixed by the preceding General Conference, or by a commission to be appointed quadrennially by the General Conference; and the commission shall have power to change the place, a majority of the General Superintendents concurring." Well, that does not say to change the time, but you can put that in.

Bishop Cooke: The General Conference has full power to do many things. But it is lacking in divine omniscience, and cannot predict the possibility of an epidemic. Furthermore, there is a

great satisfaction through the whole Church in knowing that there is a definite time toward which all the movements of the Church move. "The General Conference shall meet in the months of April or May." There is a great advantage in the whole Church's knowing that there is a fixed time, and toward the one definite event all the minds of the Church turn. Now, if there should arise at any time in the providence of God such an epidemic as would render the meeting of the General Conference impracticable, the Commission would have the right, according to this paragraph itself, to fix such other time as might be necessary. It has got to meet once in four years. That is certain. That is in the document. It has got to meet in some place. If it does not meet in April or May, the Commission shall appoint when it shall meet, for it must meet once in four years.

On motion of J. E. Dickey, the previous question was ordered.

C. A. Pollock: The motion is simply to strike out the words "in the months of April or May."

The motion was put and carried.

Bishop Denny: I move that after the word "place," in line 10, you add "and time."

J. W. Van Cleve: That is all in now.

C. W. Kinne: The power to change is not there, though the power to fix is.

Bishop Denny's motion prevailed.

Edgar Blake: If this motion creates any discussion, I will withdraw it. I want to call attention to this, that we have here a number of items which seem to me not to belong to a constitution. They are really not statutory matters, but matters of parliamentary procedure. Line 14, page 9, "When the time for the opening of the General Conference has arrived, one of the general superintendents, designated by the Board of Bishops, shall take the chair and conduct the opening devotions of the session," etc. I move that lines 14 to 18 be stricken out.

Bishop Cooke: If other matters in this Constitution, which we are making under a five-minutes rule, under tremendous pressure, a Constitution which is supposed to last forever, and we are to do it between three and five minutes, which fact I think the General Conference and the whole Church ought to be apprised of, and we say that we are unable to give mature consideration—

Edgar Blake: I move an extension of time to Bishop Cooke.

Bishop Cooke: I do not wish any rights not given to everybody else. Since we have undertaken to state that we have reduced our episcopacy to a mere abstraction, and since in this document we have given the bishop no place in the General Conference, no right to the floor, and he can serve on no committee, and only one man, or more, is to preside, and if more, then only

one more; and since all these things have taken away the episcopacy, and the bishop, I say, has no voice in the General Conference or Regional Conference, where is the need of a bishop's being at the General Conference at all? What is he there for? With that in view, and in order to give emphasis to the cumulative argument against the episcopacy and for reducing the whole polity of our Church to a presbyterial plan, I heartily agree with Dr. Blake.

F. M. Thomas: I can answer Bishop Cooke's question, at least from practical experience. It enables a bishop to feel how members of an Annual Conference feel!

Edgar Blake: My motion is to strike out lines 14 to 18, page 9.

This motion prevailed.

Edgar Blake: I offer another motion. If this excites discussion, I will withdraw it. What is mentioned in lines 24 to 27, on the same page, belongs to matters of procedure rather than in the Constitution.

Bishop Denny: There certainly will be discussion.

Edgar Blake: Then I withdraw it.

Rolla V. Watt: I have a motion to offer which I will not promise to withdraw if it creates discussion, because I am sure it will. I want to move, in place of page 7, lines 18 to 27, and over on to page 8, lines 1 and 2, the following, and I hope I will get a second: "The bishops shall be assigned by the General Conference for residential supervision, but any bishop may be assigned by the general superintendents to any Annual Conference for presidential supervision." I offer that in place of all in those lines.

Bishop Mouzon: Do I understand from that that Brother Watt means that a colored bishop may be assigned to a white Region? Is that what you are driving at?

Rolla V. Watt: I do not see how you could ask that question. You must know that I have more sense than to expect that that thing could be done by the General Conference. Nor do I believe for one minute that the general superintendents of our Church would assign colored bishops to preside in any white Conference.

Bishop Mouzon: Does not the proposed amendment make it possible to do that?

Rolla V. Watt: Yes. But I have some confidence in my Church and my people.

Bishop Moore: I doubt if that is possible.

Rolla V. Watt: If I could get a moment or two, I think I could explain. Personally, of course you know, I think, that I object to the election of bishops by the Regional Conferences, as belittling the office of the bishop. I believe we will get better selections for the episcopacy by elections by the General Con-

ference. But some people are afraid of that and feel that there might not be an equal distribution of bishops among the entire Church. My feeling is that, when we have united these Churches, all the bishops are my bishops. I object to any suggestion that such a one is a Southern bishop and such a one a Northern bishop. If we are going to unite these two great Churches, when we are united it is going to be my Church. And every bishop that is already elected, or who shall be elected, will be a bishop of my Church, whether he is from the North or the South. By providing that his activities are to be confined to his region, with certain exceptions, you degrade him. Your General Conference officers, the Missionary Secretaries, the Publishing Agents, will be more nearly general superintendents than our bishops. They will have more power of administration than our bishops. I do not believe in it for a minute. I would like to see the office maintained in its highest state, in the place it has occupied from the beginning of the Church. If you think it is best that they shall be elected by the Regions, let the General Conference take the responsibility of consummation; and when they are once elected, they shall be subject to the General Conference, and subject to assignment to their areas. I believe in the areal system, which gives the Methodist Episcopal Church more careful supervision than ever before. It was adopted at Minneapolis. After four years trial there was not one single memorial in opposition to it. Before that, there never was a time when a bishop was required to make a report of his work to the General Conference. Before that a bishop could do as he pleased. Now the responsibility of the area is on the shoulders of the bishop, and he has to make a written report of his administration to the General Conference. I believe that by confining the bishop to the Regional Conference by which he is elected, and permitting him only to be assigned by the General Conference by the circumlocution which is very difficult, and preventing him from even presiding in an Annual Conference in another Region, you belittle the office and actually do away with episcopacy and violate the purpose and intent of that general word. I am anxious that this amendment be adopted. We can trust the South. I think the South can trust the North. If we propose to keep up forever this dividing line, there is no use in our uniting. I am strongly in favor of making these men bishops of the whole Church, subject to assignment by the General Conference, according to the practice of the two Churches.

Bishop Cooke: I am in favor of the amendment offered by Brother Watt, for one reason among many, that this section indicated by him negatives what is said on page 8 in that meaningless, tautological, and inconsequent item we have here under Section 2: "The General Conference shall not change or alter

any part or rule of our government so as to do away with episcopacy, or to destroy our itinerant general superintendency." What the General Conference cannot do, you have put it into the power of one man in a majority of the bishops of a Regional Conference to do. Not only do you give him the power to negative this rule as to what the General Conference shall not do, but you also put it into the power of the delegates of the Regional Conference to do it. Now, if you notice those words, "or destroy our itinerant general superintendency"—and the superintendency is not itinerant; we have a sectionalized itinerancy! We are sectionalizing the Church and the government, and we head up in a sectionalized episcopacy! No bishop can move out of his Region unless the majority of the bishops in another Region permit him to do so! Is that the episcopacy of Methodism? Is not that the very thing that McKendree drew up charges against George for trying to do? In 1825 George, acting on a direction of a previous General Conference, did assume the presidency of the Northern Conference. In 1826, when McKendree and Soule came up to Philadelphia to hold the first bishops' meeting, Bishop George did not want to recognize the episcopal function of either of those bishops. In 1826 Bishop George put that into operation against McKendree and Soule. McKendree brought charges against him, but never presented them. What they said should not be done, this proposes shall be done. So you have no longer an itinerant general superintendency. For what is the meaning of "itinerant," and of that clause, anyway, in our history? It does not mean that a man shall get into a Pullman car and ride from Dan to Beersheba looking out of the windows. The itinerant episcopacy is a universally functioning episcopacy. It does not simply mean riding through the length and breadth of the land. And if a bishop cannot function, he is not a traveling bishop, and he has no more place among us, according to the Disciplines of both of our Churches. But you are doing away with the itinerant episcopacy. You are instituting a diocesan episcopacy. We are substituting diocesan episcopacy and doing away with the entire government. If that is what the Methodist people want, it is what they want! But let us understand just exactly what we are doing and recommending to our people. Let us have no camouflage about it. Let it be distinctly understood we are doing away with the Methodist episcopacy. You are putting out the words "the plan of." That phrase reaches to the very essence and character of the episcopacy. In 1784 we said, "We will institute a moderate episcopacy under the leadership of bishops and elders and helpers." And now when you do away with that, "the plan of," or "kind of," or "character of"—when you do away with the meaning of the word, you do away the

thing. You are retaining the language of the old Church, but with new meaning. You are trying to put new wine into old bottles. [Time expired.]

D. G. Downey: I want to make an amendment to Brother Watt's motion, and then explain it. My amendment is simply to strike out on page 7, in lines 21, 22, 23, the words, "if a majority of the resident bishops of the jurisdiction to which he is assigned shall concur in said assignment." I move to strike out so that the whole paragraph shall read, "A bishop shall be assigned by the General Conference for residential supervision to the Regional Jurisdiction by or for which he was elected, but any bishop, except as herein otherwise provided, may be assigned by the general superintendents to any Annual Conference for presidential supervision; but such concurrence shall not be necessary in the case of assignment to a colored or foreign Regional Jurisdiction." Or cut out the whole thing after "presidential supervision." On page 3, lines 27 and 28, and page 4, lines 1 to 5, that matter is definitely fixed and provided for. If we take out this limiting clause here, which I suggest as an amendment to Mr. Watt's motion, it makes it perfectly possible for our white bishops to be assigned for presidency anywhere in the connection—for presidential supervision. I believe that that preserves the dignity of the general superintendency. And that by this we will do a good thing for the Church and the cause of God, and for our communion, in that our bishops will circulate freely and will be, as they ought to be, a unifying bond in the reorganized Church. This was stricken out at St. Louis, but somehow it has got back. It would be a very good thing for us to come together for the omission of this limiting clause.

R. E. Blackwell: I think we had better not touch that. We had better leave it to the bishops resident in the jurisdiction to decide that. I do not believe it would change the situation any way. I do not believe any man would be assigned from one section to another when it was known that the bishops of that particular region did not want him there. And therefore I say you had better leave it as it is and let us work through Mr. Watt's arrangement.

Rolla V. Watt: You leave it tied up so that you will never change it.

R. E. Blackwell: When the proper time comes, there will be no objection on the part of the majority of the resident bishops. We ought not to change this now. It will bring up the whole question over which we have difficulty among ourselves. We had better let it "stay put," and work toward the right concert of feeling between the various sections.

P. H. Linn: I am opposed to both the motion and the amendment; and am opposed to it, with full sympathy with what has

been said about the general nature of our episcopacy. It does not limit it, statements to the contrary notwithstanding. I sincerely hope, and I believe the unification of the Church, after unity has been secured in outward form, will be accomplished more by the free assignment of bishops from other regions. But we all know that there are bishops who have certain ideals, both North and South, that would make it a very unfortunate thing if they should be assigned for supervision in the other section. Nobody knows the feeling of a section so well as those bishops who are elected from that section. And if a majority of them think that it is unwise for a bishop to preside there, by all means he ought not to preside there. More than that, the statement in the latter part of the clause does not carry the same matter as the other sections referred to by Dr. Downey. The first refers to a possible presidency of a colored bishop in white Conferences. This relates to the matter of presidency of a white bishop in colored Conferences. The two are entirely different things. I am quite certain it will be impossible to get through our delegation a modification as striking as that proposed section concerning the presidency and the residence of bishops.

Bishop Cooke: Of course we all agree with the real thing; we understand what we mean. I do not believe there is anything but absolute harmony in our inner minds and hearts upon the real thing. The General Conference assigns the bishop, does it not?

P. H. Linn: No, sir. It is done by a vote of the bishops themselves.

Bishop Cooke: The General Conference assigns the bishops, with such proviso. "A bishop shall be assigned by the General Conference for residential supervision to the Regional Jurisdiction by or for which he was elected; but any bishop, except as herein otherwise provided, may be assigned by the general superintendents to any Annual Conference for presidential supervision, if a majority of the resident bishops of the jurisdiction to which he is assigned shall concur in said assignment." That relates to assignment in presidential supervision. What prohibits the General Conference from sending any bishop to reside in that Region?

A Voice: Read the next paragraph.

Bishop Cooke: Now you are coming to delegates.

P. H. Linn: You do not require the same bishop to be the resident bishop and the president bishop of a Conference within the episcopal area.

Bishop Cooke: Certainly. Let us not get confused. A bishop assigned by the General Conference to a Region must stay in that Region.

P. H. Linn: He must live there for residential purposes.

There is a distinction between residential and presidential supervision. For purposes of residential supervision, a certain specified plan is made in this section. For presidential supervision, another perfectly simple plan is provided in the case; and because of the discrimination between those two things, recognized in your own Church, the matter is perfectly clear as it stands right now.

E. B. Chappell: I am going to call for the previous question, simply because this thing has been thoroughly discussed before.

The call for the previous question was not sustained.

Bishop Denny: I should not take a moment of time that is valuable (and the value of time is appreciated by the Commission) if any one had touched what I believe to be the very center of this question. The arrangement provided for in this paper was made so that no Region could have forced on it a man in whose election they did not participate or would not have participated. I am giving away no secret when I say that in our own Church there are bishops who could not be sent to certain sections. I do not know whether you suffer from the same inability, but we have that. While the episcopacy is a very small matter in this paper, reduced to a minimum, at the same time I can see how no Region would ask the privilege of electing a man to office and then having any man, whether he were agreeable to them or not, put on them for either residential or presidential supervision. That is one point, as you will remember, Mr. President, over which we had considerable discussion as far back as Chattanooga in 1911.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): There are two sides to this. In which way you will take it depends on your idea of what ought to be the future policy of the Church in the matter of democracy. You adopt this plan, and by it you certainly take a long step toward diocesan episcopacy. On the other hand, if you refuse to adopt it, you take away from the people who, under the most enlightened application of democracy, certainly have the right to it, just what is provided in this Constitution as their right. We are in a critical time in the evolution of government. A constitution that cannot be amended is restrictive and is in antagonism to progress itself. A democracy with a constitution that cannot be amended is a retarded democracy. We may be progressive! It may be that the time has come for us to get away from the idea of the universally applied episcopacy. But here we are. I am glad this discussion came on. I think the record will be of value to the future as interpretative of the evolution of Methodism and, I trust, the evolution of episcopacy. But mark you, we are going toward a diocesan episcopacy as you go in this direction.

Rolla V. Watt: At St. Louis I was especially gratified that

the motion of Dr. Du Bose (now Bishop Du Bose) to strike out, "If a majority of the resident bishops of the Region to which he is assigned shall concur in said assignment," was adopted. I was glad that the motion came from one of the delegates of the Church, South. I was glad it was adopted. I was very much surprised when I got the report of the Committee of Fourteen to find that those words had been reinstated. I do not know that I ought to have any higher regard for the office of bishop than the bishops do themselves. But I feel that I can trust the Board of Bishops to make the assignments with wisdom. I think this restriction here is belittling, not only to the bishops, but to the Christ. I think the words should be eliminated. I think my amendment is better for the future of the Church. But I would be satisfied with Dr. Downey's amendment, relying on the Board of Bishops to make assignments for presidential administration wisely. I think the inclusion of these words in this report will have a very bad effect in the Northern Church when this thing comes to be voted upon for final adoption.

F. M. Thomas: I wrote to a friend that at our meeting in Richmond this report of the Committee of Fourteen was as delicately balanced as an egg on its point. I think that we have tried to harmonize. I was thinking about it last night, just trying to review it from the purely intellectual outlook. I think it is a wonderful piece of work we have done—excuse me—which *you* have done. I said yesterday that some of these reports cut clear across my intellectual landscape and bring my intellectual blood. But I have got to face that, and you have got to face it also. It is a question of give and take. But I believe on this fundamental point I want to say this (and Bishop Cranston will bear me out), that when we met at Cincinnati, in those discussions that lasted two days—I wish we had a transcript, because I will say this, excepting for Bishop Cranston and Bishop Hoss, now gone, they were the greatest speeches I have ever heard in the Joint Commission, masterpieces that I wish had been preserved. The very first question that confronted us when we met was the episcopacy. That thing has been coming on down. I am not satisfied with this report on the episcopacy. I am frank to say that it eviscerates the episcopacy in many points. I am sure that many men will be glad to hear me say that, in my Church! But they ought to know the facts. The question that faces us as to Methodism, and the great question that will face the General Conference, is the kind of episcopacy they want for the great Church in the future. But the time is past when we can change the final solution of the question, as stated here, because this thing is delicately interlocked. We would better leave it alone.

On motion of G. W. Brown, the main question was ordered to be put.

Dr. Downey's amendment to Mr. Watt's motion was read—to strike out on page 7 everything after the word "supervision," in line 21, down to the word "jurisdiction," in line 24.

The vote by show of hands being apparently nearly evenly divided, a count vote was taken; and the motion was lost by a vote of 18 to 22.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): You have set the preference of two or three or four men in a Regional Conference over against the judgment of the whole Board of Bishops. Think that through.

P. H. Linn: You have now before you Mr. Watt's motion.

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): If Brother Downey's motion was a substitute, the vote comes now on the amendment of Brother Watt.

This amendment was not adopted.

Bishop Denny: I wish to call attention to a matter of considerable importance. It makes very little difference to me personally whether this new Church, which will be wholly different from any Church any of us has ever known, has the episcopacy or not. I think, however, our attention ought to be called to the fact that there must be an executive in the Church. The only executive provided for in this paper is what you call the episcopacy. Now, if you have looked carefully into the statements contained in this paper, you will find that you have no functions for the episcopacy. I have read the paper through with reference to that, and call your attention to those statements as exhaustive, so far as this reading enables me to determine. The bishops ordain the bishops. Do they ordain anybody else? It is not inherent in our episcopacy. It is a grant or a duty laid on the episcopacy from 1784 through 1808, and then fixed in the Constitution. But it is not an essential inherent quality or function in our episcopacy. The "itinerant general superintendency" is provided for on page 8, lines 20 to 22, but no content is given to the statement of what superintendency is. I will quote here what I took occasion to state in our Commission, that we have come, seemingly purposely, to the very position that Hamline asserted to be the existing provision at that time of the episcopacy; that is, to quote his exact words, with a little hesitation about one or two of them, the episcopacy is an abstraction which the General Conference can mold into concrete form in any one of a hundred or more ways, according to its pleasure. That doctrine divided American Methodism. This body has written into this paper that very fact. I think we ought to understand it. If that is what we want to do, we ought to understand the fact. The bishops' consent is necessary to change the place or

time of the General Conference, "time" having been put in this morning. They call a special session of the General Conference in case of necessity. They open the General Conference, and preside. That was stricken out. They nominate the Judicial Council, and they have the right to appeal from a connectional board or other connectional body. One presides over the General Conference. But he may be only a chairman, such as the chairman of a banquet. Now, in those points, Mr. President, is the specified grant of the all-inclusive General Conference, which is given more power and has less limit than any legislature on the face of this green globe. But I shall be glad to have any one turn my attention to any legislative body now existing that has as all-inclusive power as is provided for in this General Conference. We put it specifically that the privileges, the powers, the duties, of this so-called episcopacy are to be determined by the General Conference. No man who has ever been in the General Conference can doubt that time and time again General Conferences are swept by a wave of sudden emotion or passion or prejudice. There is not a solitary function, except those few points that I have referred to, that cannot by a simple majority of the General Conference be swept out of the hands of the only executive for which you have provided. Now, if you regard as matters of any moment at all the discussions of what I believe to be the greatest body of men that ever gathered to consider constitutional questions—that is, those fifty-five men who sat in Philadelphia in 1787, from May to September, in order to have any efficiency in a government, in order to have continuance in a government, you must have an executive that is not subject to the sudden whims of any body. If that is what you want to recommend, you certainly here recommend it. But if you want to have anything that can pass for efficiency, if you want somebody that can carry out the laws the General Conference enacts, if you want to put men where they will not be constantly looking to see whether fires are kindled about them, you will have to do something different from what you have done in this paper. Your episcopacy, your executive, so far as you have provided for it, is without standing in dignity or in law, and cannot command respect. It is a matter of indifference to me whether you have any episcopacy or not.

P. H. Linn: Where do we get the powers of the bishops now, except in that provision of the restrictive rule and in the acts of the General Conference?

Bishop Denny: After taking up the historical setting, which plays no inconsiderable part in it, the most pregnant word in the history of our episcopacy in either Church is the word "plan." There was an episcopacy on a certain plan. There was the inquiry whether that episcopacy should be fixed or not. The Gen-

eral Conference of 1808 said they were satisfied with the episcopacy on this "plan." And they fixed it in the Constitution of the Church by the use of the word "plan." That is the only thing that has made anything like an efficient episcopacy in either Church. The episcopacy would have been upset, the Church would have been torn in fragments in 1820, when the suspended resolutions were adopted and Soule declined to be ordained under that arrangement, if it had not been for McKendree. And he was losing the confidence and affection of all that portion of the Church which went off as the Methodist Protestant Church. Now you have made this provision so elastic that I doubt whether any man on earth can interpret it. You have said, "If unacceptable or inefficient, a bishop can be set aside." There is no protection for innocency against the sudden whim of a bare majority. There is no protection for character against malice that may surround itself with a simple majority. Brethren, if you want that kind of an executive, you have it here. But if you pay any attention to such a statement as George Cabot made in connection with governmental matters (and he was one of the greatest men and would have been one of the best-known men of his day, if he had not cared so little for office)—he has called attention, in words that ring through the books to this day, to the fact that unless you put men in a position where they are not subject to the sudden passion of a bare majority, you have destroyed the efficiency of your system. I am not ignorant of the attitude of the people in the Church toward the episcopacy. I know the attitude of brethren around me. Why not strike it out—cut it out of the Constitution? Do away with it! Set up an effective executive and put it where it can accomplish something. But I do not believe this will do it. I believe you will find that self-respecting men, seeing what will be the outcome, will say, "You cannot put me where you can deal with me in such a way as that." I felt responsible to emphasize these truths, so far as I can emphasize them.

P. H. Linn: May I make a motion about procedure? I should like to move that at the afternoon session, following the roll call, it shall be the order of the day to consider reports of committees.

Bishop Cannon: I move to take up the reports of committees now.

A. J. Lamar: A point of order. Dr. Jones had the floor and yielded it to Bishop Denny.

R. E. Jones: I move to strike out on page 7, line 24, the word "colored," where it reads, "such concurrence shall not be necessary in the case of assignment to a Colored or Foreign Regional Jurisdiction." Elsewhere it is provided that the bishops of the Colored Conference shall be restricted to that area in their powers and privileges. This makes it so that it will not only

be the case that these bishops shall be limited in their power to within the Region, but it is entirely possible, under this provision, that a man will be totally objectionable to us. Secondly, it makes it entirely possible that the entire number of bishops may be assigned to all our Conferences. I know that is a very far-fetched supposition; but it is entirely possible to set all the bishops of that colored Regional Conference on the shelf for a year or more. I think it is entirely enough emaciation of that episcopacy to say that it is to be limited to that Region, without putting in here, after saying that those other Regional Conferences shall not have bishops unless they agree to them, that a man may be put on the colored Regional Conference without its consent. It does not help anybody to put it in there, and it does give offense to us. It will hurt this document among us if that goes in. I see no necessity for it at all. I will go back and say, if Dr. Downey's motion had prevailed, I would be perfectly willing that a bishop should be assigned to our Regional Conference for presidential supervision. But in this motion you single us out, for you give us a limited episcopacy, and may send a man to us who would be entirely objectionable to us. I move that the word "colored" be stricken out.

This motion was seconded.

Bishop Moore: I am not sure that I have understood Dr. Jones. I think what he really desires is that the bishops of the colored Regional Conference should have the privilege of saying with reference to the man who may be appointed, "That man is not acceptable to us." So far as I can see, that would be nothing more than fair. I would not as a bishop want to preside over their Conference if I knew that their bishops objected to my coming. I would not want to go into any Region to preside over any Conference if I should know that the bishops residing in that Region objected to my coming. I think if we have that for our white Methodism, it is nothing more than being perfectly fair to our colored brethren, if a man is objectionable to them, to have it so that he shall not be sent to them.

Dr. Jones's amendment was put to vote and carried.

J. W. Van Cleve: In view of what has been said as to the impropriety of forcing a man on a jurisdiction where he is not wanted, I move to strike out the word "foreign."

This motion was seconded.

Edgar Blake: It is a very difficult problem on the foreign field. There may come a time when it would be very advisable that the bishops should have the power to send a man to the foreign field to investigate conditions.

A. J. Lamar: I wish to say a word. Some of us who do not think that that plan, the report of the Committee of Fourteen, is a workable plan, have taken the position that for the sake of

peace we were willing to submit that plan as it came from Richmond to the General Conferences without recommendation, as the best we could do under the circumstances. I made that statement myself, as my own position, to Brother Brown. The amendment that you have adopted knocked out that statement, as far as I am concerned.

F. M. Thomas: What?

A. J. Lamar: All the changes. You are changing the whole thing. Let us not fool ourselves or our people. As a matter of fact, in the way we are proceeding we are not uniting the Churches; we are obliterating two Churches and not uniting the membership of those Churches. We are creating a new thing under the sun, an untried thing. And we are doing it in the worst day in the history of our country, perhaps, to consider constitution-making. We are considering it in a time when everything is called in question. Wild theories fill the air. Democracy is abused so as to be confounded with Bolshevism. This is no day to make constitutions; and we ought to go slow. We are yielding to radical theories. What is your episcopacy as you have left it here? The bishop is only the moderator of certain bodies which shall meet, without power to do or to say anything. There is no doubt about that. Do not let us confuse the substance with the name. We are ordaining bishops, but they are not bishops in the sense that any one on earth has heretofore applied the term. We are making a new Church. If you want to do that, all well and good. I have no particular objection. I have not a great deal longer to stay here. I can be religious under a congregational form of government. I have been trying so long to be religious that I believe I could be religious to the end now without any Church. I think I might possibly get into the kingdom. But don't let us fool ourselves as to what we are doing. You are absolutely destroying the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. You are absolutely destroying the Methodist Episcopal Church. And you are recommending to the General Conferences of these two Churches, and afterwards, in regular process, to the Annual Conferences—you are recommending the substitution of an entirely new Church in place of both of them. And it is essentially a Congregational Church. There is no use in trying to fool our people. Those are the facts. If you want to do that, well and good—you have done it! I can agree, as a member of this Commission, to submit that paper to my General Conference without recommendation. But not if you are going to amend and amend it until you radically change the character of the whole paper.

Bishop Cannon: In what radical way has this paper been amended this morning, except, perhaps, concerning the assignment of a bishop to the colored jurisdiction?

A. J. Lamar: I am not speaking particularly about this morning. I am talking about the whole matter. You are changing everything. Bishop Cannon was not a member of the Commission when we met in Baltimore. Gradually, inch by inch, the Southern delegation has given up practically everything for which we contended when we first met. Do you not know that the Methodist Episcopal Church yielded a principle when they said that negro representation in the General Conference shall be limited, definitely limited? We have changed the whole character of things since we started. I believe that is the best you can do, under difficult circumstances. I am willing to submit it without recommendation, if you will take that paper just as it stands and blot out every amendment.

Bishop Cannon: I thought, from the way Dr. Lamar began, that he meant something had occurred within the last session which had caused him to change his mind with reference to submitting it as the best we can do. I think that practically all the changes we have made since the report was submitted have been improvements. I think the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church have agreed to our requests, and we have in the main agreed to the requests they made. I did not vote for the last change with reference to assignment to the colored jurisdiction, because I felt it was very much in the same relation as a foreign jurisdiction, and that it should be possible, in case of necessity, to assign a bishop to the colored jurisdiction without the consent of their bishops. That is the only change made in the whole discussion which I think is a mistake and will give the paper a little less strength.

J. W. Van Cleve: I think there was a second to my motion to strike out the word "foreign."

The Chairman (Bishop Cranston): With some experience in the foreign field, I would take the liberty to say that there is a difference. Except at the time when the bishops representing the foreign region might be present, it would be very difficult to receive or entertain an objection to a proposed assignment.

Dr. Van Cleve's amendment was put to vote and lost.

Bishop Mouzon: The committee appointed yesterday to consider the harmonizing of certain sections in this report dealing with the decisions of the Judicial Council has its report ready. Dr. Wallace has the report, if you will hear it.

J. J. Wallace: The matter referred to us was subsection 11, line 9, page 8: "To consider, and, if deemed wise, to disapprove of the decisions of the Judicial Council upon any constitutional question and to require its submission to the members of the several Annual Conferences, and the decision of two-thirds of those present and voting shall be final thereon." On page 12, line 8, "In all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be

final; provided, that if, on a constitutional question, there shall be a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference present and voting, disapproving a decision of the Judicial Council, its construction of the question involved shall then be sent to the Annual Conferences for final approval or disapproval, as provided hereinbefore." When we came to consider these two sections together, we found that only one of them is necessary. They are not quite consistent with each other. But we found a more radical difficulty than that—namely, we found it very difficult to understand what Section 11 means. We spent quite a while trying to find a way to state that so as to show just what it does mean, what was intended. As it stands, it is difficult to know whether the decision of two-thirds of those present and voting refers to the General Conference or the Annual Conference. Your committee, to whom was referred the matter of harmonizing certain sections of the report of the *ad interim* committee dealing with the decisions of the Judicial Council, submit the following report: On page 8, Article V., Section 2, subsection 11, rewrite lines 9 to 12, so that the subsection shall read as follows: "To review the decisions of the Judicial Council on constitutional questions; provided that no decision of the Judicial Council shall be reversed except by a concurrent vote of two-thirds of the General Conference, and three-fourths of the members of the several Annual Conferences present and voting. On page 12, Article VI., subsection 2, line 8, after the word "superintendents," introduce a separate paragraph as subsection 3, to read as follows: "In all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be final, except as provided in Article V., Section 2, subsection 11"—the provision that I read a moment ago. This means striking out lines 8 to 13.

Edgar Blake: I move to amend by putting in "two-thirds present and voting."

D. G. Downey: Why is that amendment offered?

Edgar Blake: In order to prevent question.

D. G. Downey: I wonder if Dr. Blake realizes that it makes it impossible for less than two-thirds. This matter of a quorum present and voting has been decided in one way from the House of Representatives and United States Senate, down through, and that is that when you have a body like the General Conference in which a quorum is fixed, it is not necessary, indeed it is wrong, to put in any limitation. "Two-thirds" of a General Conference means, and can only mean, two-thirds of the quorum. If you have a quorum present, you can do business. Your amendment is unnecessary. "Two-thirds of the General Conference"—that is, two-thirds of a quorum, or anything over a quorum. It confuses you if you have less than a quorum. Suppose anybody raises a question, and when you count you find you have less

than a quorum. The words "present and voting" are necessary when you have a body that does not have a constitutional quorum. But when you have a quorum, you cannot do business without it. What we mean to say is, that two-thirds of a legally constituted body can do this thing. "Present and voting" is unnecessary in regard to any body that has a constitutional quorum provided.

J. W. Van Cleve: I think that leaves untouched a question that does sometimes arise—that is, whether "two-thirds" may not mean two-thirds of the whole number of the body. So the words "present and voting" make that point clear.

The committee accepted Dr. Blake's amendment; and the report of the committee, as thus amended, was adopted.

Edgar Blake: I have a report to present. I move an extension of time.

The time was extended.

Edgar Blake: This report has to do with the several matters referred to that special committee of ten. The committee met last evening, and bring you the following unanimous recommendation. (The report is here inserted as it appears after being slightly changed as the result of the discussion following its presentation.)

The Commissioners representing the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in submitting the proposed Constitution for the reunited Church, make the following recommendations to our respective General Conferences, which recommendations shall constitute a part of the agreement for the reunion of the two Churches:

1. That a Joint Commission composed of fifteen members from each of the two Churches be created which shall be authorized and instructed to fix the time and place for the first session of the General Conference of the reunited Church, and to make any other arrangements necessary to the meeting of that body.

The first session of the General Conference shall be held within eighteen months after the final approval and adoption of the proposed Constitution of the reunited Church.

When the date has been fixed by the proposed Joint Commission, the bishops shall be notified of the same and shall issue the official call for the first session of the General Conference in harmony therewith.

2. Provided that the first session of the General Conference shall be composed of four hundred ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers, from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and an equal number from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, chosen in such manner as may be determined by their respective General Conferences.

3. Pending the meeting of the first General Conference each Church shall be governed by the rules and regulations of its own Discipline, except as herein otherwise agreed upon.

4. Annual Conferences having membership in two or more Regional Jurisdictions shall be considered as being a part of and belonging to that jurisdiction in which the largest number of its members reside; provided that this shall apply only to the meeting of the first General Conference.

We further recommend that

1. The General Conference at its first session shall appoint a Commis-

sion made up of an equal number of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who shall consider and report to the next ensuing General Conference for its action a plan for the coördination and correlation of the publishing interests of the two Churches.

Pending the report of said Commission and action thereon by the General Conference, the publishing interests shall be continued as at present constituted or as they may be constituted by their respective General Conferences. But those in authority over said publishing interests shall be instructed to make every reasonable effort to correlate and unify their several activities in so far as it may be possible and practicable to do so by administrative measures. Until the General Conference shall have adopted a plan of coördination and consolidation, the dividends of the publishing interests of the two Churches shall be distributed according to the plan heretofore in use by the respective Churches.

2. The General Conference at its first session shall appoint a Commission made up of an equal number of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who shall consider and report to the next ensuing General Conference for its action a plan for the reorganization, coördination, and correlation of the connectional missionary, educational, and benevolent boards and societies of the two Churches.

Pending the report of said Commission and action thereon by the General Conference, the several boards and societies shall be continued as at present constituted or as they may be constituted by their respective General Conferences. But those in authority over said boards and societies shall be instructed to make every reasonable effort to correlate and unify the activities of those boards and societies having similar objectives, in so far as it may be possible and practicable to do so by administrative action.

3. The General Conference at its first session shall appoint a Commission made up of an equal number of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who shall consider and report to the next ensuing General Conference for its action a plan or plans for the proper safeguarding and control of the permanent funds and properties of the two Churches, not otherwise provided for.

Pending the report of said Commission and action thereon by the General Conference, said funds and properties shall be supervised and controlled as at present, or as they may be supervised and controlled by the action of their respective General Conferences.

4. The General Conference at its first session shall appoint a Commission made up of an equal number of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which shall be authorized and instructed to investigate the matter of Annual Conference boundaries and their proper readjustment, and make recommendations to the Regional Conferences concerning the same.

THOMAS N. IVEY, *Chairman;*
EDGAR BLAKE, *Secretary.*

It was moved that this report be adopted.

D. G. Downey: I think we ought to have a fairly full explanation of all these important matters. It seems to me there are many things in here which ought to be left to the General Conference, to its determination when it comes together.

Edgar Blake moved that the report be considered *seriatim;* and this motion prevailed.

Dr. Blake (reading the first items): This is simply a recommendation to the two General Conferences for such action as they may care to take.

Bishop Cranston: Is this proposed as a recommendation to go to the first General Conference that meets, to be acted on by that General Conference, subject to the action of the Southern General Conference? Or is this a proposition, the making and passing of which is regarded as a proper function of this Joint Commission?

Edgar Blake: It is a recommendation that will go to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1920 for consideration and action, if they care to take action thereon. The same proposition will go to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, when that General Conference meets.

Bishop Moore: The section provides for the calling of the first General Conference within twelve months after this Constitution has been adopted by the Annual Conferences. That seems hardly possible. You have to elect your delegates. It takes twelve months to do that. Suppose now your General Conference should approve this Constitution, which I sincerely trust it will do, and that our General Conference should do the same thing. It is possible that our General Conference that met in Atlanta will be called in extra session, as that has been provided for. Then this matter goes to the Annual Conferences. They finish, say, in March. Then the delegates must be elected. But I do not know—

Edgar Blake: What would you suggest?

Bishop Moore: Eighteen months.

Edgar Blake: I am sure the committee has no objection. How is that, Dr. Ivey?

T. N. Ivey: I was in favor of making it just twelve months; but I have been thinking since, and believe an extension of time would be wise.

Bishop Moore: I move the substitution of "eighteen months" for "a year."

Edgar Blake: That is accepted.

The item, with this change, was adopted.

Bishop Cooke took the chair.

Item 2 was read, and a motion was made to adopt it.

D. G. Downey: Does that mean that, after having adopted a constitution and the method for the election of delegates, we entirely overthrow that at the first General Conference, delegates to which do not come through the process of the Constitution?

Edgar Blake: The provision in the proposed Constitution is as follows: "The General Conference shall be composed of not less than 670 and not more than 850 delegates," etc. This cannot

go into operation until the first General Conference of the reorganized Church has met and acted. We must make some provision for the bringing together of that first General Conference to take those actions which are required.

D. G. Downey: You are providing that in practice the first General Conference, which will have all the powers of a General Conference, powers of election, and everything that a General Conference has—there shall be absolute parity of the two Churches represented?

Edgar Blake: The committee is recommending the suggestion, so frequently made by Bishop Hamilton, that in the first General Conference which meets after reorganization the two Churches shall be on a parity.

D. G. Downey: I think that Bishop Hamilton's proposition was that the two General Conferences should meet untrammeled, as a sort of convention, and the body should make its provisions for the future—just act together. But this provides that you have a first General Conference with parity of numbers. The brethren will please understand I am not arguing for or against, I am only striving to have it clear just what it means; and when that Conference comes together, the equal number will have all the power of a General Conference to do anything that the General Conference may desire to do?

Edgar Blake: That statement is not quite accurate. Not power to do anything that the General Conference may desire to do, but that the General Conference may do under the restrictions and limitations of the Constitution. May I state this further fact concerning this proposition, which came up in the committee? There are two or three reasons, I think, that moved the members of the committee to make this recommendation. One was a desire that in this first General Conference, in which we really meet for reorganization, the first time, so far as possible there should be a numerical parity on the part of these two great communions. I think it was felt by some or all that in that first General Conference, the first time we ever come together, one of the Churches has only about one-third the members of the body, and there naturally would be some hesitation on the part of that Church, some fear that they may be outvoted, overridden in issues, and a constant tendency to invoke that privilege of voting by Regions. It may be desirable. But it was felt that if in this first General Conference, the only one to which this provision applies, these two bodies could come together equal in numbers, that feeling of hesitation in large part would be dissipated; and instead of members of that body grouping themselves around certain Regional units, we should find the men grouping themselves around ideas and ideals and purposes and desires. Personally, I believe that is not only the diplomatic but the statesmanlike thing to do.

T. N. Ivey: Perhaps it would be well to state, just at this juncture, that this part relating to the fact that there will be a parity of numbers in the first General Conference—this suggestion came from the side of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It did not come, of course, from the Southern Methodist Church. After it came, we could do nothing less—as we saw the wisdom of it, as we thought—than to express our very great appreciation of what we felt was a very magnanimous act; though we realized it was not made with any such idea as that. Of course, as Chairman of the committee, I am willing to accept the decision of this body as to proportion. Personally I am not contending for that, though I can see what a great advantage it would be if we can go before our people with that proposition.

Bishop Moore: It is 12:30 o'clock, and we have this very important matter for consideration. I believe if we were to adjourn now until two o'clock and let us think over what has just been proposed, and talk with each other, we can be refreshed and talk things over and come together and get along very much faster than by continuing now. I move that we do now adjourn until 2:15 P.M.

C. M. Bishop: I would oppose the motion, on the ground of the necessity of a little further explanation of the report of the committee. I wish I might be permitted to make one or two remarks concerning that paragraph, since I was a member of that committee.

Edgar Blake: I move as an amendment that when we adjourn it be to meet at 2 o'clock. We are anxious to save time. I believe we shall do so if we meet at 2 o'clock.

Bishop Moore: I accept that.

Bishop Cooke: The motion is made that, after making announcements, we adjourn to meet at 2 o'clock.

Bishop Cranston took the chair.

G. W. Brown: I move a committee on resolutions concerning our entertainment by this Church.

A committee of two from each Church was ordered.

The session closed at 12:35 P.M. with the benediction pronounced by Dr. Ivey.

Afternoon Session.

Promptly at 2 o'clock Bishop Leete took the chair and called upon Rev. E. Robb Zaring, editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate,* to conduct the devotional exercises.

The hymn, "I need thee every hour," was sung, after which Dr. Zaring read the Scriptures and offered prayer.

The hymn, "Take the name of Jesus with you," was sung.

The Chairman (Bishop Leete): I think we will not be able to have the minutes of the morning session just yet.

Secretary Harris: The recess has been so short and the minutes so long that we have not had opportunity to complete them.

The roll was called and the following were present: Bishops Earl Cranston, F. D. Leete, R. J. Cooke, E. D. Mouzon, Collins Denny, J. M. Moore, James Cannon, Jr. Ministers: Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, R. E. Jones, A. J. Nast, Frank Neff, C. B. Spencer, J. W. Van Cleve, C. M. Stuart, J. J. Wallace, W. J. Young, C. M. Bishop, T. N. Ivey, A. J. Lamar, C. C. Selecman, J. E. Dickey, E. B. Chappell, P. H. Linn, F. M. Thomas. Laymen: G. W. Brown, A. W. Harris, C. W. Kinne, J. R. Joy, I. G. Penn, C. A. Pollock, Rolla V. Watt, E. L. Kidney, H. N. Snyder, P. D. Maddin, R. S. Hyer, J. H. Reynolds, R. E. Blackwell, J. R. Pepper, T. D. Samford, J. G. McGowan.

Bishop Mouzon took the chair.

Secretary Harris read the minutes, which were approved.

The Chairman stated that Item 2 of the report of the Committee on Recommendations to the General Conference was under consideration, and that Dr. C. M. Bishop was entitled to the floor, having secured it just before adjournment in the morning.

C. M. Bishop: I have very brief remarks to make concerning the item of the report presented by Dr. Blake which provides that there shall be equal numbers representing the two Churches in the first reorganized General Conference. When the matter was proposed last night, as was said, very magnanimously, by representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I raised the question as to the legality of the action of a General Conference so constituted. But it was immediately said that this was to be a special provision for organizing the General Conference. I think it is worth while to remember that. We have as yet provided no way for the assembling of the first General Conference, no way by which it can be constituted in accord with our law. The Regional Conferences will not be in existence, and cannot carry out their own functions without some previous legislation by the General Conference, determining at least as to the number of their lay delegates, for instance. That is one of the things to be provided for. In our choosing of delegates, the organizing Conference must meet before the Regional Conferences can function as such, or really be constituted according to the law which we have adopted. Therefore, it seems to me we must provide for an organizing Conference, which will set the law of the Church functioning. We can call it a General Conference without considering it necessarily the first of the General Conferences. We ought to do that. And in that way it will assume the nature of a convention between the two Churches to carry out certain instructions previously given; and it would be a matter of fairness under those circumstances that the two Churches should be equally represented. So it commends itself to me

more strongly than it did at its first suggestion, when it appeared to be on the face of it chiefly a magnanimous suggestion from the Methodist Episcopal Church. I think we should be almost under necessity to carry it out in accord with this plan.

C. A. Pollock: I do not know how many people in this room have ever lived in a Territory. For one, I have. And I remember very distinctly that when we organized our State there had to be something done to hitch the new onto the old. We call that in our law books a "schedule." If I may use that word as applying to this resolution, I would say that the same power which has the right to organize the General Conference as we are providing in this Constitution has an equal authority to prepare a "schedule" or a plan by which the old régime can be coupled up with the new, and the new set in motion. I would like to ask the committee: I do not think that the body of men called together in the first General Conference ought to have the same unlimited power that is given to the members of a General Conference which will be assembled under this Constitution. For there is a limitation commensurate with the powers which we expect to give to this first General Conference, or would like to give to it. If you do not, they have general power to do anything they want to; they could set up a machine of any kind, before we get into regular action by the regular body which we hope will be elected under the Constitution.

Edgar Blake: If this section is approved by the committee for recommendation to the General Conferences of the two Churches, we shall move that this section be inserted after line 15 on page 6, so that it will read that "the General Conference shall be composed," etc., and then, "provided that the first session of the General Conference shall be composed of four hundred ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers from the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, chosen in such manner as may be determined by their respective General Conferences." So that it will bring this body absolutely under the restrictions and limitations of the Constitution. They will not be able to do anything they might desire to do.

This item in the form just read by Dr. Blake was unanimously adopted.

Bishop Moore: I think I ought to say this word: We of the Southern Commission consider this an act of very great generosity toward our Church; and a vote was taken by us expressing this feeling.

Edgar Blake: I move that the section just adopted be inserted in the report of the *ad interim* committee on page 6, after line 15, as a proviso.

This motion prevailed.

Items 3 and 4 of the report were read and unanimously adopted.

Edgar Blake: That seems to complete the recommendations that have to do with the machinery necessary for starting the thing off. Now we make the further recommendation embodied in the report.

The remaining items of the report were then successively adopted.

On motion of Edgar Blake, the report was adopted as a whole.

Bishop Cranston: This Joint Commission has been going along very safely and with confidence under the leadership of the brethren who have been appointed to prepare documents for it from time to time. And we have depended upon them as a sort of legal providence, anticipating our needs and providing against our deficiencies, so that perhaps others of you may be somewhat in the state of mind in which I am, not knowing just where we are and just how we are to have other people know what we think we have done. This morning, when the discussion was up touching the powers of the bishops, or rather, certain powers of the General Conference with reference to the bishops, it appeared to me that if the matter were left in that shape, people who had not copies of the Discipline at home, and certainly the ministry of their Churches, who are not supposed to have our information at hand, would think we had made sad havoc of the whole institution of the Methodist episcopacy—with no other information as to what is contemplated than what is furnished in the Constitution. In the nature of things, a constitution sets forth only basic principles of our Church government. It is not so much, perhaps, a constructive as it is a conservative instrument. But after what was said this morning, the idea that any one would get of our episcopacy appeared to me to be so bald that it would be unrecognizable. Therefore it seems to me that we ought somewhere and somehow to set forth that what the Commission has been doing is simply to make a form of constitution setting forth the organic law of the Church; and that all the details relating to the matters which are not mentioned here, which have been from the beginning recognized in our books of Discipline and in the practice of the Church, are left for the consideration and determination of the General Conference. I think a formal statement like that ought to go with this document in order to protect ourselves against misunderstanding. Now, in our practice, the duties of the episcopacy and its privileges, as well as other powers, are matters of legislation by the General Conference. There are certain functions peculiar to the episcopacy which have existed from the beginning, and it is not necessary to speak of them to any Methodist. Yet in reorganizing the Church and making changes that appear to be somewhat rad-

ical, or tending in that direction, we cannot be too careful in having it understood just what essentials we have retained and in what respects and why we have made changes. I was thinking, during the noon recess, that in all probability I shall see Asbury and some of the other saints before some of you do. And I would like to have some comfort to administer to those dear brethren! I do not know just how much they know about these things. I often do suspect that they are interpreting more correctly than we ourselves the drift of things and the wholesomeness or otherwise of the drift. I do not know as to that. But I do not want to be left, when questions are put to me as to what these Commissions meant down here when they denatured the Asburian episcopacy—well, you know that what the saints have a desire to understand now will not do them much good, the saints on this side ought to be made to understand! I am glad that my time of service in the episcopacy has expired. I do not covet the new task, the task of the episcopacy as it is likely to be administered under this new administration. But you must see to it that what we have written here as to the powers of the General Conference concerning the work and the method by which the bishops shall serve the Church, that it it not to be understood to indicate any more than it says, and that the General Conference, when it shall come together, is expected to determine how far the traditional functions of the episcopacy or their privileges are to be kept, or its powers limited by these apparently radical departures.

Edgar Blake: My chief concern has been, not that we should get it by Brother Asbury and Brother Soule, but that we should get it by the General Conference. Of course there is likely to be some confusion, if you accept simply an *ex parte* statement. But I do not believe anybody can read this proposed Constitution and feel that the episcopacy is not left a vital force still in our Church.

F. M. Thomas: I am not to discuss this. But I think perhaps we have got to the point where Bishop Cranston has raised some very vital points. I realize this—there is no use in discussing it —that this present plan permits, I will not say a change in the conception of the episcopacy, but certainly it provides for it. How far, no one can tell. It is hazy in my mind. If asked in my General Conference what type of episcopacy this plan is proposing to adopt, I cannot answer. I can only say this, that the first General Conference will define that episcopacy, and, as I understand it, it will then become a part of the Constitution of the Church.

Rolla V. Watt: I am as much confused as Bishop Cranston; but I am not at all affected by it. I would like to know what becomes, under the Regional Conference idea, of all the bishops

that are at present elected and are bishops of our respective Churches. Dr. Blake said they would naturally fall into their Regions.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): I believe the Commission will agree with me that we ought not to discuss a matter unless it is properly brought before this body. And no motion is pending.

Rolla V. Watt: I am asking what relation to these Regional Conferences the present bishops of our two Churches will have if this present legislation is adopted.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): That question is in order.

Edgar Blake: The General Conference would naturally determine the matter at the time being. I cannot answer for the time being. We have a number of reports. Some brethren must leave. Have we not some vital matters that must be acted on?

Dr. Blackwell presented the report of the special committee on Articles of Faith, General Rules, Standards of Doctrine, and Name of the Unified Church, as follows:

1. We recommend that the two coördinate branches of the original Methodist Episcopal Church represented by this Joint Commission, together with any other bodies of like faith and doctrine who may express their wish to join with us shall be constituted and named the —— Church under the following Constitution.

2. We recommend that since the discrepancies in the Articles of Religion and the General Rules as they are recorded in the Disciplines of the respective Churches are largely a matter of editing, said discrepancies be referred to a committee of four, two from each Commission, with power to harmonize the same.

3. In regard to what constitutes our established standards of doctrine, we recommend that no action be taken at this time.

R. E. Blackwell, *Chairman;*
D. G. Downey, *Secretary.*

On motion of Dr. Downey, the report was taken up *seriatim.*

Item 1 was read.

R. E. Blackwell: We suggest two names for the Commission itself to decide on: simply "The Methodist Church," or "The Methodist Episcopal Church"—no geographical limitation. We want the Commission to decide which of those two they prefer.

D. G. Downey: I move that the name to be inserted be "The Methodist Episcopal Church."

Edgar Blake: I move as a substitute that the name of the Church be "The Methodist Church."

C. A. Pollock seconded Dr. Blake's motion.

Bishop Cooke: I would like to submit the original name of the Church, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in America." It was first "The Methodist Church in North America"; then "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." When Asbury and Coke made an address to the President at Washington

he replied, and the heading of his address is, "To the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." President Washington having given that name, it was continued. But the original name was "The Methodist Episcopal Church in America." However, I withdraw my suggestion.

By a standing vote of 25 to 20, the name "The Methodist Church" was chosen, Dr. Blake's amendment being adopted.

Edgar Blake: I move the approval of Item 1.

Bishop Moore: I would like that matter to come in this form: "The name of the Church formed by the union of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and any other Churches that may hereafter enter this body, shall be 'The Methodist Church.'"

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Would it not be better to bring that in after we have gone through the several items of this report?

P. H. Linn: There is no motion except the motion to adopt our report.

Bishop Moore: I think what I have to propose is simply a substitute for Item 1.

The substitute, as just stated by Bishop Moore, was seconded.

P. H. Linn: That brings up the very thing I want to avoid. I do not want to have in the Constitution of a great Church a statement of its origin in terms of division. We are presenting this not to go into the Constitution. I have no objection to moving that the name "The Methodist Church" shall be in the first article of the Constitution. We are wanting this to go into our report merely, and not into the Constitution. Then it will be proper, as an independent matter, to state that the name of the Church shall be "The Methodist Church," as an article of the Constitution. But certainly you do not want the idea of the fact that we have been separated and have come together again stated in the Constitution. In the second place, we do feel it will be splendidly helpful among the people in the South to have in this report (not in the Constitution, but in the report) the acknowledgment that has been made repeatedly in speeches in the course of our deliberation, that these are coördinate branches of the original Methodist Episcopal Church. And that was moved by one of the brethren in the Northern Commission, and it was realized again that that would be very splendid historically, and it would be very helpful among Southern constituencies. I hope this paper will be adopted, and that then we will entertain Bishop Moore's proposition that the name of the Church shall be made the first section of your Constitution.

Bishop Moore's substitute was put to vote and lost.

Item 1 of the report was then adopted.

The second item was read, as set forth above.

R. E. Blackwell: I will state that we went over these, line by line, and found that there were some mistakes, evidently of a typographical character. We had no literature to go back of these to see which were the original words. There is only one point, perhaps, and that is where the Methodist Episcopal Church has a description of the old class meeting. Otherwise, there is very slight difference between them.

Bishop Denny: I think I can throw a little light on the question of the Articles of Religion that may be helpful. In 1894 the Baltimore Conference memoralized the General Conference to have a commission to examine the Articles of Religion and to see what changes had occurred in them, and by what authority. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, that met in Memphis in 1894, appointed such a Commission. That Commission carefully went over all the Disciplines of the Church from 1784 on, to discover what changes had been made, and by what authority. There has been no authority of any kind for any change in the Articles of Religion, so far as the records of the Church show, from 1808 on. There have been a great many changes that have been due partly to typographical errors, and partly to some attempt to edit the Articles. The fact is, that in almost every instance those changes occurred in the intervals of General Conferences. For instance, there is a Discipline of 1812, and one of 1813, and one of 1814; each one a separate edition. There is a Discipline of 1816, and one of 1817, and so on, each named by its proper edition. There is a Discipline of 1824, and one of 1825, one of 1828, and one of 1829. No one had a right to change the Articles of Religion except by a vote of each Annual Conference in the connection. So that the Commission, when they began to examine the question, went back to 1808, the last Discipline that set forth the Articles of Religion in official form. That Commission could not go behind that, for this reason: Wesley's twenty-four Articles, sent over in 1784, in unbound sheets, adopted by the General Conference of 1784, contained the doctrine of the "eternal generation of the Son" in the second article. In 1786 a Discipline that never has been explained, under the title "Sunday Services," published in England on the press of Frys and Couchman, on which press Wesley earlier had always published—Coke did not believe in that doctrine, and now the question was by what authority that disappeared from the Articles of Religion. There were some other changes between 1784 and 1786, so that the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, felt bound to begin at 1808. The Articles of Religion, as published in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have been compared line by line, comma by comma, with the official Articles of Religion, and the statement made in each Discipline

of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, since 1898, "I hereby certify that the Articles of Religion contained in this edition of the Discipline have been compared by me with the standard text, and have been found to be in agreement with the same." So that these Articles here, as published in our Discipline, have been worked over very carefully, line by line, Discipline by Discipline, from 1808 up to 1894. There is this further fact that needs to be considered. If you look at our Discipline, paragraph 43, you will find that no change of any kind can be made in the Articles of Religion unless each Annual Conference agrees to it. If you will examine your own Articles of Religion (and I have been a little surprised that no attention has been paid to it), you will find that you have unauthorized changes in your Articles of Religion that seem in some instances not to amount to much, and yet the only text of Scripture referred to, at the end of Article XVI., on the Sacraments, takes up that passage in 1 Corinthians which unfortunately is not found in the best texts of the New Testament.

P. H. Linn: I do not wish to consume even a minute of your time. But I feared, when our report was made, that some would think, perhaps, we were leaving too much to a small committee of four. I have here marked in the Disciplines the differences in the Articles of Faith. They are simply questions of form; and I can absolutely read them to you, if you want them, in two minutes. In the first Article of Faith, the word "both" occurs in one Discipline and not in the other. In the second Article of Faith, "The Son, who is the Word of the Father," is our statement, and "The Son, who was the Word of the Father," is the other statement. In the same Article, in the last line, where it states "and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also the actual sins of men," the Methodist Episcopal Discipline inserts the word "for." In the fifth Article of Faith, the form of heading is changed in that the word "of" is omitted in your Discipline, while our Discipline says, "Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation." In the same Article V. the paragraph starts with us, "Holy Scripture contains all things," whereas the Methodist Episcopal Church Discipline says, "The Holy Scriptures contain all things." Further on we say "the faith," where you say "faith." The "of" is omitted also in the next paragraph. Then no further discrepancy occurs until Article XVI., where you put in the expression, "1 Cor. xi. 29." In another case the word "of" is omitted from one Discipline when it appears in the other. In the footnote under Article XXIII. our Discipline says, "And therefore it is expected that all our preachers and people will behave themselves as peaceable and orderly subjects," whereas the Methodist Episcopal Church Discipline says, "And therefore it is expected that all our preachers and

people, who may be under British or any other Government, will behave themselves as peaceable and orderly subjects." That is the total distinction between the two. It is simply a matter of editing. We felt that no committee here, without access to historical records, could properly do the work, but that a committee of four, with access to such records, could.

Dr. Wallace pointed out some minor discrepancies.

D. G. Downey: It is a matter of editing, and it ought to go to some competent committee to sit down with the sources.

Bishop Denny: You will find all the data in the Appendix of the Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the year 1898.

The motion pending to adopt Item 2 prevailed.

Item 3 was read and adopted.

Bishop Cooke: I think this is a wise action. At the same time, I would like it to be distinctly understood among us that the Constitution of the Church regards these "established standards of doctrine" as much as it does the Articles of Religion. But what the standards are, no one yet has been able to determine. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and our Church, and the Church in England and the Australian Church and the Japan Church are all different. But these things which we know nothing about are guarded by the Constitution with the same strictness as the Articles of Religion.

The report as a whole was adopted.

P. H. Linn: The committee to whom you referred the question of the Judicial Council is ready to make its report. Because of the great lack of time, we have not been able to write this without interlineation, and I shall have to read it deliberately: On page 11, beginning with line 26, Section 6, subsection 1, we recommend that the section shall be amended so as to read: "The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General Conference, the Associate General Conferences, the Regional Conferences, and the Annual Conferences, and to hear and determine all other appeals and matters coming to it in course of lawful procedure; provided, that no appeal by any Conference shall be entertained unless the same has been taken by at least one-fifth of the said Conference present and voting. The Judicial Council shall have access to all records and documents which it may call for or which may be transmitted to it from any such Conference." We have a certain slight change in subsection 2. The one change suggested is the insertion after the expression, "said body," in line 7, of the words "present and voting," so that the line shall read, "When such action is brought before it by appeal by one-fifth of the members of said body present and voting, or by the general superintendents." The third change suggested is on page

13, lines 7 and 8. Change so that beginning with line 6 it will read, "Vacancies shall be filled by the Judicial Council from the same order, lay or ministerial, and from the same jurisdiction in which the vacancy occurs" (that is for the purpose of explaining the orders; because the matter was brought up as to what it would mean without qualification) "until the next meeting of the General Conference, which may then fill the vacancy for the remainder of said term."

Edgar Blake: The word "jurisdiction" was written in in the section just read, when it was proposed to make up the membership of the Judicial Council by Regional Jurisdictions. As I recall, it was proposed to have the members from each Regional Jurisdiction. Now we are proposing to select members without regard to regional residence.

P. H. Linn: Then we propose it thus, "Vacancies shall be filled," etc., without the word "jurisdiction."

J. W. Van Cleve: I would move a slight amendment to that report by placing at the end of the paragraph on the top of page 12, immediately following line 4, where it says, "unless the same has been taken by at least one-fifth of the said Conference present and voting," the additional words, "or has been signed by one-fifth of its members." It might be possible sometime that if anything were done by which an individual thought he was injured or if one-fifth of the members of the Conference felt they were subjects of injustice and it were near the end of the Conference session, they might be slow sometimes about taking an appeal and would lose their right; it should require one-fifth of them to sign an appeal. It would be more difficult than the other way, but it would still be possible.

P. H. Linn: That matter was before our committee, and by a vote of three to one it was thought best not to include it. We thought that if any ruling did not attract the attention of one-fifth of the Conference it ought not to become a subject of subsequent agitation which would result in the circulation of a petition to overthrow the action of the Conference. We understood that this morning you ordered subsection 3, at line 8, and so we made no further report on it.

The Committee also proposed on page 12 to strike out lines 9 to 13, inclusive, and add the following: "except as provided in Article V., Section 2, subsection 11." They recommended further, on page 11, line 6, to add the following: "except that seven members of the first Judicial Council shall be elected for four years, and their successors thereafter for eight years." Also, on page 13, line 8, strike out "balance" and insert "remainder."

The report as a whole was adopted.

Bishop Moore: I move that the first article in the Constitution

be, "The name of the Church hereinafter constituted shall be The Methodist Church."

This motion was seconded and prevailed.

C. C. Selecman presented the report of the Committee on Preamble, as follows: "To the glory of God and for the advancement of his kingdom among men, we, the ministers and laymen of the Methodist Church, in accordance with the orderly methods of constitutional legislation, do hereby ordain and set forth this Constitution."

D. G. Downey: Unless there is some reason for the word "laymen" I wonder if it would not be better to say "members."

Bishop Moore: I suggest that it would be better to say "lay members" rather than "laymen."

Unanimous consent was given to that change.

Edgar Blake: It seems to me the suggestion made by Dr. Downey of the word "members" is a better expression than either of the others.

It had already been voted to adopt the preamble, as read; but after the expressions of opinion just made, the word "members" was substituted for "laymen."

Bishop Denny: One question for information. There is not a word said about our Lord, and his name is not mentioned in the preamble. The preamble could be adopted by Unitarians as well as by Methodists. I would like to ask whether it was the intention of the committee to omit all reference to our Lord.

F. M. Thomas: I move to insert the words, "To the glory of God, and for the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Edgar Blake: It seems to me hardly necessary in view of the fact that our Articles of Religion cover that point.

F. M. Thomas: I think that theologically, of course, the world is orienting itself toward God. But we orient ourselves toward God in Jesus Christ.

D. G. Downey: We are Trinitarians. Jesus Christ is included in God. It seems to me that is sufficient.

Bishop Moore: I rather sympathize with Bishop Denny's suggestion. I would like to have the name of our Lord in there.

F. M. Thomas: I so move.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): You are proposing, "To the glory of God, and for the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ among men."

A. W. Harris: In my opinion, you will do best to follow the language as you now have it, and add, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Bishop Cooke: There is no "kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" in the New Testament nor in any other early Chris-

tian document. It is the "kingdom of God," the "kingdom of heaven."

F. M. Thomas: I will accept Dr. Harris's suggestion in place of mine.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): How will it read then?

A. W. Harris: As it now reads, with the addition of "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Edgar Blake: In the Articles of Religion the form is, "The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." The preposition is omitted.

The amendment was adopted, and then the preamble, as amended, was adopted so as to read as follows: "To the glory of God and for the advancement of his kingdom among men, we, the ministers and members of the Methodist Church, in accordance with the orderly methods of constitutional legislation, do hereby ordain and set forth this Constitution, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

C. C. Selecman read a proposed letter of transmittal to the General Conferences, as follows:

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the year 1914, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the year 1916, by their General Conferences approved as containing the basic principle for unification of these Churches the tentative plan prepared at Chattanooga by the Joint Commission on Federation. Each General Conference appointed twenty-five Commissioners and committed to those Commissioners the duty of elaborating and perfecting this tentative plan for unification by reorganization. The Commissioners thus appointed and instructed do now report that the duty assigned to them has been discharged. The Commissioners have labored diligently and they have not failed to give exhaustive study to the great interests involved, striving always to observe faithfully the instructions placed upon them. Many measures and suggestions have been considered. Of these, such as seemed best to meet the ends of the great purpose for which the Commissions were created are herein offered. Therefore the Commissioners do herewith transmit to the General Conferences for consideration and final determination the accompanying draft of a constitution for a unified Church. And this the Commission do in the devout hope that their work may receive the godly approval of the Churches, and that it may serve as the providential means of bringing American Methodism into one united Church. And for this consummation we do earnestly pray.

G. W. Brown: I move that this whole transmittal be adopted.

Bishop Denny: I shall have to vote against that. I desire to make a statement in a few words so as to avoid a necessity of explanation hereafter. I never like to take a position that I have to explain. Such a position is always a weakness. I do not enjoy any added weakness. I am not in favor of this plan, and cannot support it. I do not wish therefore to give my voice and my vote to a transmission which would carry with the transmission the implication that I favor the principles set forth in

the report. And so I wish my name recorded in the negative, for the reasons that I have given.

Bishop Cannon: I would like to have that paper read again. I am just a little surprised at the way in which it is worded.

The paper was read again.

Bishop Cannon: There is one sentence there which, it seems to me, is not necessary. It begins with the word "Many." It seems to me it would be better to omit that sentence, and to put something like the statement which the *ad interim* committee used, that we transmit the paper to the General Conferences with the statement that it represents our best judgment at this time, and the best solution of the matters referred to us—something of that kind. I would not be interpreted as meaning that I do not pray that this plan upon which we have worked so long may receive the approval of the Churches. I do. But I would prefer that a form of statement be made here which would not commit anybody to anything except that in his judgment this was the best solution which we could present to the General Conferences of the problems which have confronted us. I do not know that anybody here will hesitate to vote for this because of that latter part. Some brethren who do not favor some things in this plan might agree to vote to transmit the plan as the best plan we could present, and yet might hesitate to go as far as the latter part of that statement. Personally I can vote for that. But if there are any here who would prefer a little different form of statement so that they might vote to transmit it without praying that it might be adopted, when they really do not favor some parts of it, I think it should be changed.

J. E. Dickey: Has this plan been adopted by the Commission yet? Would it not be better to adopt something before you formulate a letter by which you transmit it?

J. W. Van Cleve: I would like to say a word or two upon this particular matter before us. I have the conviction, which may be unreasoning and born of my inherent dullness, that the letter that goes up to the General Conferences of the Churches ought to go from their respective Commissions. We ought to form our presentation to our General Conference, and you ought to form yours. If necessary, I would like at the proper time to make a motion to that effect.

G. W. Brown: It is my opinion that the reports from the individual Commissions to their respective General Conferences might be all right; but I also think that this Joint Commission should take action, because I believe it will have a more weighty influence with each particular Conference than if we are divided. Therefore I shall vote against the motion just made.

Bishop Leete: It seems to me a very strong point has been raised here as against adoption by the two Commissions of this

matter before a presentation is prepared. It does seem to me that is a germane conception, and that there ought to be some adoption beforehand. I would prefer not to say anything more if it does not become necessary to do so. But I think what we ought to do now is to see whether this can be adopted.

Edgar Blake: I think Bishop Leete's point is worth considering. I think we have practically completed the consideration of this document, unless there are other amendments to be considered.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): What will you do with the report of this committee presenting the letter of transmittal?

Edgar Blake: It seems to me action on that ought to be deferred until we have perfected this document. And when we have considered all the amendments, then, I think, there are those who will be ready to offer the motion contemplated by Dr. Dickey and Bishop Leete. I move that action on the letter of transmittal be deferred until consideration by each Commission of the document has been had.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Common consent is given.

J. H. Reynolds: If that is true, I desire to introduce an amendment on page 2, Section 2 (a). Let the section stand as it is, and add the following, so that the whole will read, beginning page 2, line 16, as follows:

> (a) Each Regional Conference for white membership in the United States shall be composed of the ministerial and lay delegates elected to the General Conference by the Annual Conferences within the territory of the said Regional Conference. Provided [this is the addition] that any Regional Conference for white membership in the United States by a two-thirds vote may establish a membership for said Regional Conference different in number and personnel from its membership in the General Conference, provided that no Regional Conference shall have fewer than one hundred members.

If I can get a secoud, I should be glad to make a few observations.

This amendment was seconded.

J. H. Reynolds: In the first place, it allows every Regional Conference, if it desires, to retain the suggestion in the first part of the section, if it were adopted; that is to say, to make the membership of the General Conference the membership of the Regional Conferences. So it allows, therefore, every Region to retain that membership if it desires. In the second place, it allows a liberty of action on the part of the Regional Conference if it wishes to establish a different membership in number and personnel from its membership in the General Conference. A region might conceivably want to have a Regional Conference of three or four hundred members, much more representative of its various interests. If it desires to do so, what harm will come to the Church

by permitting it to do so? Its functions will not be different. Its powers will not be increased. It will be merely a change of its membership, in keeping with the wishes of the people of the jurisdiction. It therefore increases the latitude. In the next place, it gives an opportunity for experiment. All of us realize that the Regional Conference is more or less an experiment. It will give those Regions that desire to have the membership of the Regional Conference members of the General Conference an opportunity to experiment with that kind of a Regional Conference. It will give the Regions that desire a larger Regional Conference, or a Regional Conference system of different members from those of the General Conference, an opportunity to experiment with that kind of a Regional Conference. We can therefore be carrying on one, two, or three types of Regional Conferences if we wish. We will not change their powers, as I have indicated. It has been suggested that if we do permit this, we ought to have the General Conference determine the membership of the Regional Conferences—that is, determine the number, so many members of the Regional Conference for so many members of the Church in that territory. As I see it, there is no occasion for that. We are permitting the Colored Regional Conference largely to determine its own personnel and its membership. They can change the composition of the members of the Regional Conference. We are also allowing the foreign Regional Conferences to do the same thing, subject to review by the General Conference. Surely there is no risk in allowing the white Regional Conferences, with a constituency with long history in self-government, to have the power of determining the personnel of their Regional Conference. I think, therefore, that you will increase very materially the opportunity of making your Regional Conferences an efficient agency in the Church if you accord that privilege. You do not embarrass any Region. You do not compel any Region. You simply widen the opportunities of a Region. I therefore move this amendment.

P. H. Linn: I am in hearty sympathy with the purpose of Brother Reynolds; but I do not think he furthers it by the form of statement in his paper. After I have stated my reasons for that, I am going to propose a different wording as a substitute for his motion. I can see a decided advantage in the testing out of the efficiency of the Regional Conferences, in the possibility of having a larger Conference than one hundred in number. But it is a patent fact under your plan here that the Regional Conference will have to meet at the same time as the General Conference meeting, because of the matter of bishops. If that be true, a different personnel in your Regional Conference would make it impossible to have in your Regional Conference the one hundred men or more that are elected to the General Conference of the

Church, because the meeting would be at the same time. And so I am going to propose as a substitute these words, under Section 2, page 2, "For the purpose of electing general superintendents, each Regional Conference for white membership," etc.; adding: "Provided that, for the purpose of dealing with matters distinctly Regional, the Annual Conferences within the territory of any Regional Jurisdiction within the United States may determine the membership of its Regional Conference, and the time and place of its meeting." That would leave the provision here exactly as it is in regard to the one necessary activity of that Conference, the nomination or election of general superintendents.

Rolla V. Watt: What about the amendment of the Constitution?

P. H. Linn: That is not a matter for the Regional Conferences. This would simply give permission to any Conference, that wished to try the matter of having a session of the Regional Conference apart from the meeting at the seat of the General Conference, to constitute in a different way and to fix the time and place of meeting for dealing with matters distinctively Regional. The Annual Conferences "may," not "shall." They would do it by vote. It would be a matter for the several Annual Conferences. It is simply a permission to do this.

D. G. Downey: It is well known that the whole matter of Regional Conferences, the necessity for them, has been quite a strain upon some. There are a good many of us who are quite hesitant and doubtful in regard to the outcome and the out-working of Regional Conferences. It took us a good while to get to the point where we were willing to accept them. When the suggestion came from a member of the Southern Commission at Traverse City that the Regional Conference should consist of the delegates to the General Conference, we saw a light, and we all thought it was an exceedingly happy solution. I believe still that it is the best solution of the Regional Conference that we will be able to arrive at. I believe it will give us an opportunity to try out the Regional Conference under rather favorable circumstances. It will not create the prejudice among our people that a larger Regional Conference, meeting specifically at other times and for other duties, would create. Of course there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent the one hundred from meeting at any time in the interim of General Conferences. But I do hope that we will not attempt now to tamper with the plan that has been thus far tentatively agreed upon, and throw into the minds of some of the Commissioners a good deal of dissatisfaction and a good deal of hesitancy. We are going to have difficulty enough, I fancy, to get majorities to adopt this just as it is here. But we will have more difficulties if you carry this amendment. We will

have exceedingly great difficulties if you carry the amendment, and we have to take it out to the Church. I do earnestly hope that in the light of all the discussion we have had and all the concessions that have been made back and forth, on one side and the other, we will be willing to let the present provision for these white Regional Conferences remain, and let us try them out as they are.

Bishop Denny: Perhaps there are one or two points that may not have occurred to the brethren in connection with the Regional Conference. It is an *ex officio* body, as it stands now. Few *ex officio* bodies have ever been efficient. The Committee on Episcopacy in a General Conference has in its hands the passage of the character of bishops, and when they pass the character of the bishops that is final. With us (I have not taken occasion to look into your own practice) the Committee on Episcopacy fixes the allowance a bishop is to receive. There is no need of that in the Regional Conference. This Regional Conference for which we have provided in this paper will not have the dignity of the Committee on Episcopacy at a General Conference. It is an *ex officio* body. It will amount to nothing in the world except the meeting of a delegation. It does not constitute in reality a body to which a man would feel that he could go with any prospect of such service as the time called for would demand. Further, there are forty-nine Constitutions in this country. Each State has its own, and the Federal government has its own. There is not a State in the Union—take Rhode Island and Delaware, small in extent, or Nevada, small in population—that would be willing to commit its interests to its Congressmen and Senators in Washington. The whole internal affairs of a State would dwindle and amount to nothing practically if any State should suggest that its State legislature should meet at the time and place where Congress met, and should consist of its members of Congress, Senate and House. The larger would swallow up the smaller. It is making really no provision for an essential Regional Conference. I am sorry that this was not brought up earlier. It has been in the minds of some of our delegates since we met, and long before the meeting. In 1808, when the plan for a delegated General Conference was before the body, at first it failed, and the members from New England prepared to leave the seat of the Conference, as did others. The brethren were so much affected that there was a good deal of crying. Methodist preachers have been good criers! They cried in Baltimore in 1808. And the delegated General Conference was established solely because Joshua Soule defeated Jesse Lee, by proposing the scheme that the Conference make its delegates by choice or by seniority. Inasmuch as Jesse Lee was the great advocate for Conference rights, he was overturned. This is to

give any delegation the liberty to say whether it prefers to have its delegates to the General Conference identical with its delegates to the Regional Conference. I think the paper would gain vastly in efficiency and in the result that the study of it would make if this resolution were passed.

J. H. Reynolds: I would like to make one or two observations in reply to what has been said. Take the question raised by Dr. Linn, the matter of electing bishops. He says it is apparent that under the plan we have agreed upon the Regional Conference must meet at the same time—he may have added "the same place"—as the General Conference, in order to elect bishops. I will not say that this is not necessary. I do not think anybody can assert that it will prove to be necessary. In the first place, it is not at all impossible that we may work out some plan whereby a certain number of bishops will be assigned to regular jurisdictions, and that the General Conference will know in advance as to whether or not there will be a vacancy from that Region. If, however, new bishops should be created at the General Conference beyond those formerly assigned to the Region, and therefore necessitate a special meeting of the Regional Conference, any Region that proposed to take advantage of the liberty accorded under this would face the possibility of having to go to the expense of being called together by telegram, and otherwise, during the session of the General Conference. It would be rather a restrictive factor against taking advantage of the liberty under this proposition. But it would be up to that Region that did take advantage of it to take care of that matter. Again, it has been suggested that at Traverse City we adopted this plan that is now in the proposed Constitution, as suggested by one of the members from the Southern Commission. That is quite true, and I have no disposition in the world to introduce any element that would create friction at this time or any other. But I am not only going to vote to transmit this document, whether this is in it or not, but I am going to support it in every way I can, to get it adopted. But for the life of me I cannot see how putting in this provision of according such liberty to the Regional Conference in any wise disturbs any understanding that may have been agreed upon between us with respect to the provision as it stands. I cannot understand, for instance, why Region 3 in the territory where I hope to reside would be at all concerned with what Region 1 would adopt. That is their business. And it in no wise disturbs or affects the Region in which I reside. Neither can I see how it would disturb a Region anywhere else if the Region I reside in should see fit to take advantage of the liberty accorded here. It may be said that some other authority should determine the number. I think it is quite the proper thing that the Region itself should determine, and also a safe

thing. Dr. Linn's proposition makes it necessary to continue indefinitely, as long as this provision stands, the membership in the General Conference from any Region as the electoral college from that Region. If that fact continues indefinitely in our Constitution, it is going to have the effect of making that General Conference in a very short time a most unwieldy body. We are going to have in the course of no long time ten or twelve million members in this body. That will necessitate multiplying your Regional Conferences; and with the constitutional requirement of a minimum of 100, it would make the General Conference an unwieldy body. I insist, therefore, that this gives more flexibility, injures nobody, disturbs no existing interest; and I think it is a better plan than to leave it to the Annual Conferences; because the Regional Conference, by a two-thirds vote, represents the people of the Region quite well, and you would have difficulty in having some kind of understanding among all the Annual Conferences voting on the question. This gives the Regional Conference the right to constitute a different membership from the membership of the General Conference, a different personnel. It is not changing the functions of the Regional Conferences at all. The question of functions is dealt with elsewhere. This is merely dealing with the personnel. It increases the number, but not the powers.

D. G. Downey: It means a great many things under the surface that I do not care to discuss now—many things in the way of possibilities.

Bishop Cranston: Don't you think the matter would be less complicated if you should provide that each Annual Conference may create a committee to advise and coöperate with the Regional Conference which is composed of delegates to the General Conference, making an advisory and coöperative relation, rather than a different body?

J. H. Reynolds: I had not thought of that.

Bishop Cannon: I am not able to see anything underlying this except what is on the surface. Dr. Downey may see something under this which I do not see. It is to me a matter of practical import. If the same delegates from the Regional Conference to the General Conference are to compose the Regional Conference, then if they are to meet at the same place, necessarily, as the General Conference, when is the General Conference to meet? Is it to meet in the afternoon and the General Conference in the morning? Is it to meet before? Is it to have alternate days? Is it to meet after the General Conference meets? Is the same delegation which is to be in the General Conference for two or three weeks to be in session after the General Conference adjourns? Those are practical questions. Bishop Denny raises a point which I think is true, that any Regional Conference which meets under

the shadow of a General Conference is of necessity somewhat determined in its actions by the atmosphere in which it meets. And it does give a practical objection to the present arrangement as we have it. Now, there was only one difficulty in my mind, and that was the question of the election of bishops. And yet, upon reflection, the General Conference could determine the number of bishops and by telegraph or telephone that could be communicated. There is one other difficulty—namely, that the same men might be elected to both. And if that were the case, the two could not meet at the same time. It does seem to me that this provision should be adopted because it leaves it to each Regional Conference to determine for itself. It is not compulsory. It does not require that it shall be so. But if in the practical working out of this plan we find it wise for this to be adopted, it is not necessary to change the Constitution. We have the provision in here by which either plan could be followed. If I knew of anything underlying more than what is on the surface, I might change my views. If Dr. Downey has something to offer which is of greater import than the merely parliamentary aspects of the case, I would be glad to know what it is. It seems to me it merely presents an alternative plan, and the Regional Conference would be left free to decide which is the better plan; and we could trust them to do that.

Bishop Cranston: Let me be clear as to what Brother Reynolds means. Does he mean it to be composed of a different personnel and to meet at its own will, where it will? I tell you what I think—I may be wrong. When you come to the election of your delegates to the General Conference, it will be understood, of course, at the time and always, that those delegates are the men who are to elect the bishops for that region. There would be disappointed men as to a place in that delegation. They will be able to express themselves forcibly, conscientiously if they choose to, but destructively perhaps to the unity of action of the whole region, if they fail to find a place on this proposed extra Regional Conference. I think you are opening the way to more difficulty than you can ever control. With reference to the efficiency of the Regional Conference, a provision of the General Conference that each Annual Conference might create a committee, or we might say that each residential area might have a committee to advise and coöperate with the Regional Conference concerning the affairs of the Church in the bounds of their Region—

J. H. Reynolds: Under the present plan, as it here stands, cannot the Regional Conference meet at other times than at the time of meeting of the General Conference?

Bishop Cranston: Yes, sir.

J. H. Reynolds: In that respect there would not be any difference.

Bishop Cranston: I think there would. I take it there would be affairs in every region that would not admit delay of nearly four years before receiving attention from the Regional Conference. Also the arrangement I am suggesting would work directly in with any emergency that might arise quite as well as what you are proposing. My knowledge of the working of Church affairs shows me that if you make it too large a body, you make it possible for a number of disaffected men to be brought into this Regional organization to the hurt of your own Region, as well as the injury of the general Church.

J. H. Reynolds: You made a statement, if I understood you, that even under this plan the delegates to the General Conference would continue to elect bishops. No! The provision offered here in another place makes the Regional Conference the body to elect bishops from that Region. If this plan were adopted, and if any Region took advantage of its provision, not the delegates to the General Conference would nominate the bishops for the Region, but this Regional Conference.

Bishop Cranston: That is the question I asked at the outset. You said, "No, it would be made up as a different body."

J. H. Reynolds: Perhaps I did not understand your question. All the powers of the Regional Conference are there, the power to elect bishops, the power of local administration, etc. Those are the powers lodged in the Regional Conference by Section 3 of this document. That is not disturbed. If a Regional Conference is composed of members of the General Conference, that rests with them. If a given Region takes advantage of the provision I have offered—namely, constituting the Regional Conference of different members from the members of the General Conference—then this power resides with the Regional Conference.

Edgar Blake: A point of order. I am wondering whether we are operating under the three-minute rule.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The five-minute rule, I believe.

D. G. Downey: I will not be led into any acrimonious debate, even though I may be invited thereto. But any one who recalls the course of the debate with respect to Regional Conferences, and the dangers and the forces connected therewith, thoroughly understands what I have in mind. It is said that this simply opens the way and makes it optional. That is one of the reasons why I object to it. This plan makes for segregation and differentiation in the matter of Regional Conferences. I am thoroughly convinced that for the best interests of the Church, not only should the powers of the Regional Conference be uniform,

but the membership and the plan of Regional Conferences should be uniform. We ought not to foster segregation and differentiation in these respects. We ought to plan for uniformity and for a oneness of plan, both in the personnel, the membership, and the powers of the various Regional Conferences. A Regional Conference ought not to be one thing in South Carolina and another thing in New York. We ought to know what a Regional Conference is. We ought not to interject these divisive plans.

A. J. Lamar: I move that the question be now put.

The vote was taken, and the Chair was in doubt as to the result. A rising vote was taken, and the previous question was not ordered.

Edgar Blake: I want to call Dr. Reynolds's attention to the fact that what he proposes does not seem quite clear. For instance, he said, "Provided that any Regional Conference for white membership in the United States by a two-thirds vote may establish a membership for said Regional Conference, different in number and personnel from its membership in the General Conference." That would seem to open the way to confusion, that in some way its members in the General Conference still possessed regional functions. I know you do not mean that. You intend to create another body that shall supplant the body now provided for. But I think you have not quite done it.

F. M. Thomas: I think Dr. Downey is correct in his interpretation of the history of this matter and the general framing up of the minds of the two Commissions toward this matter. But I would call attention to the fact—it is not exactly on a parity, but very much so—that this privilege of the Regional Conference is possessed by the colored membership.

D. G. Downey: Do you want to take the restrictions that the colored brethren have, in order to get the privilege?

The vote was taken on Dr. Linn's substitute, and it did not prevail. Dr. Reynolds's motion was put to vote, and failed to carry, the vote standing 26 to 10.

P. H. Linn: I move that, subject to confirmation of this action by the separate Commissions, we transmit as our report to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the report of the *ad interim* committee, as amended, together with adopted resolutions as to procedure in organizing the Methodist Church.

A. J. Lamar: Is that intended as a substitute for a letter of transmission?

P. H. Linn: No, this is simply getting a definite matter before us so that we can separate into our Commissions and then come back.

A. J. Lamar: That opens the question whether we wish to

submit all that with recommendations. That is not made clear. I want something of this sort, and I offer this as a substitute: "We respectfully submit to the General Conferences of the two Churches the following draft of a constitution for the Methodist Church, as the best that we have been able to construct under the circumstances, and we submit the same without recommendation as to acceptance or rejection." We submit it to the General Conferences for their decision. I am willing to vote for this plan with the letter of transmittal that carries that idea. But I cannot vote for the plan as being recommended by us.

D. G. Downey: Do you insist upon the precise language?

A. J. Lamar: No, but the idea.

D. G. Downey: Submit it without saying that we do not recommend it.

A. J. Lamar: I am perfectly willing to submit this plan to our General Conferences as the best we have been able to do. I am not willing to commit myself as being committed to that plan.

Bishop Moore: Why not use the language, "We submit this for your consideration and final determination"?

A. J. Lamar: If you mean without recommendation, why not say so? Why have Dr. Linn and Bishop Moore and Bishop Cannon and others saying that we do not approve it, and then have Brother Lamar and Brother Samford and half a dozen other brethren saying, "We did not do anything of the sort"? You have room for division. Let us make it clear that we submit it to the judgment of the General Conferences. I am willing to submit to their decision. I do not propose to fight it. I simply submit it to the General Conference and say, "Gentlemen, that is the best I could do as your Commissioner. I am willing to abide by your decision. If you want that, I am willing for you to take it. If you do not want it, I am perfectly willing for you to reject it."

Bishop Moore: It is my opinion that we are not appointed to make recommendations. I was just in the act of writing something. I had written this: "The Commissions on Unification of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, were appointed by their respective General Conferences to elaborate and perfect a tentative plan of unification, that had been proposed in the suggestions of the Joint Commission on Federation formulated in May, 1911, at Chattanooga, Tenn., and instructed to carry forward such negotiations as would result in the proposed unification in accord with the basic principles enunciated in the suggestion, and to report to the next General Conference the full details of a plan of unification which may be agreed upon by them, for their consideration and determination." We were appointed simply to elaborate and perfect the plan contained in these suggestions. After we have finished

our work we have nothing to do except to transmit this to them. It is not a matter for our recommendation. It is not a matter that we should take upon ourselves with responsibility. What they want is the plan. We have perfected the plan. I agree with Dr. Lamar thoroughly that the thing for us to do is to transmit this plan. If you want to say "without recommendation," all right.

A. J. Lamar: I am willing to admit that what I wrote is very imperfect. I am willing to say, "We would not presume to recommend to you."

T. N. Ivey: It is true we were not appointed to recommend anything. It is equally true that if we were not appointed to recommend to the General Conference we have no power to send up anything with the words "without recommendation." I would not be willing to vote for any paper containing those words.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Let the Chair inquire just what the parliamentary situation is.

P. H. Linn: My paper is before the house. Dr. Lamar's motion came as a substitute. Am I right in understanding that before we can submit any paper to the General Conferences by a vote of the Joint Commission, it must be voted on by the separate Commissions? That is why I put this in this shape, "subject to confirmation of this action by the separate Commissions." That does not appear in Dr. Lamar's amendment. If the Commissions do not pass that, where are we? You will have to come back from the separate Commissions and report what we have done. I understand the vote must be taken not only by the Joint Commission but by the separate Commissions. I contend for the superiority of my paper in this, that there is no reference made to all those papers adopted here for the matters of procedure, if you adopt Dr. Lamar's paper. I have provided that you not only submit your constitution, but submit the adopted resolutions concerning procedure. Therefore, it is much more perfect.

A. J. Lamar: I am willing to add that.

Bishop Cannon: I wish to offer an amendment to Dr. Linn's paper. Dr. Linn, please read it.

Dr. Linn complied with the request.

Bishop Cannon: I propose this: "We respectfully transmit this paper to the General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as the best draft of a constitution for the united Church which we have been able to frame, giving, as it does, the best solution we have been able to reach of the many delicate matters involved in such consideration, leaving it to the godly judgment of the General Conferences to take such action as they may deem wise." I do not think we should recommend it, or not recommend it; but I think we should simply transmit it as the best draft of a consti-

tution which we can frame, stating that it is the best solution of the delicate issues which have been brought before us, leaving it to the godly judgment of the General Conference to take such action as it may deem wise. I offer this as an amendment to Dr. Linn's paper.

Bishop Leete: It seems to me Dr. Linn's paper is of a different nature from Bishop Cannon's. It seems to me we can adopt his paper, and then still have the substance of Dr. Lamar's paper, or any other that may be presented to us to act upon after we have acted in our separate Commissions. I think Dr. Linn's motion is simply a method of getting ahead with this business.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair is under the impression that Bishop Cannon's paper is not an amendment, but a substitute, and is therefore out of order, as you cannot entertain two substitutes at once.

Edgar Blake: The matters before us are matters of transmission, and have to do with that letter of transmission, action upon which we deferred pending suggestions.

P. H. Linn: I simply say that we submit this report. The form of its submission would naturally come up when your letter just now upon the table is taken up.

Edgar Blake: The question we ought to come to directly is the question whether we are going to approve this report or not, for purposes of transmission. I would like to move, as a substitute for all that is before us, that we approve the report of the Committee of Fourteen as amended by the Joint Commission for the purpose of transmission to our respective General Conferences for their consideration and final determination—that is, that we approve it for purposes of transmission.

P. H. Linn: What paper?

Edgar Blake: The report of the Committee of Fourteen, as amended by the Joint Commission.

P. H. Linn: What about all the other matters we have adopted concerning procedure?

Edgar Blake: We do not have to deal at this time with those resolutions which we have already agreed to refer to our respective General Conferences. Those are out of the way for the time being.

J. W. Van Cleve: Can matters finally be acted upon by the Commissions separately?

Bishop Cooke: We are getting the cart before the horse. How can we approve of a thing here, which we have not approved or disapproved in our separate Commissions? It seems to me the logical order would be for us to adjourn, and each Commission take up this matter, and then return, and send down for transmission after comparing views.

Edgar Blake: It seems to me that when we meet in separate

Commissions, we want some motion before the two Commissions. My purpose is, if we can clear the way for this, then to have action taken on these by separate Commissions.

Bishop Cooke: Then, if we approve of it here, we may approve of it in our separate Commissions. And if we reject it here, we may approve of it in our separate Commissions.

Edgar Blake: Are we not agreed that we ought to come directly to the question of our approval of this report for purposes of transmission? Ought we not to do that in our separate Commissions? Suppose that we move to lay all these matters now before us on the table—to defer action, and then introduce this motion, that we approve the report of the Committee of Fourteen, as amended by the Joint Commission, for purposes of transmission to our respective General Conferences, and that the consideration of said motion be in separate Commissions. Does not that do the thing?

J. W. Van Cleve: Do you mean that we approve simply to be transmitted?

Edgar Blake: It is simply for purposes of transmission to our respective General Conferences. I move that we lay the whole matter on the table. I am ready to go home!

C. C. Selecman: Some of us are not ready to go home until we vote.

Rolla V. Watt: I sincerely hope that Dr. Blake's motion that we lay all this on the table will prevail.

F. H. Linn: We are all trying to get at the same thing, I think. Now, if I may have attention—

Bishop Moore: It is certain that we are tired, else we would not be as nervous as we are, and as anxious as we are. Having done so well this afternoon, let us go patiently on to the end.

P. H. Linn: If it will accomplish any unification here in our sentiment now, I will change the word "submit" to "transmit," so that my paper will read, "I move that, subject to confirmation of this action by the separate Commissions, we transmit as our report to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the report of the *ad interim* committee, as amended, together with adopted resolutions as to procedure in organizing the Methodist Church."

A. J. Lamar: Mine reads thus: "We respectfully transmit to the General Conferences of the two Churches the following draft of a constitution for the Methodist Church, together with recommendations of the method of procedure, as the best we have been able to do under the circumstances. And we submit the same for your consideration and decision."

Bishop Moore: It seems to me that we ought to take that to our separate Commissions.

Edgar Blake: But we must decide between these two documents.

Dr. Blake's substitute did not prevail.

Bishop Cooke: Is Dr. Lamar's motion open to amendment?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Certainly.

Bishop Cooke: I would like to amend by substituting the words "instructions given us" for the word "circumstances."

A. J. Lamar: I do not think that covers the ground, for our instructions have not had a great deal to do with our actions in the Commission.

At Bishop Cooke's request, Dr. Lamar read his amendment again, in the form last given, with the remark, "My idea is that it is vastly important that in our separate Commissions we act on the same thing."

Bishop Cooke: Circumstances are purely ephemeral. They may come or go or change in an hour. But the instructions are definite and clear.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair is of the opinion that this Commission is ready to vote.

Bishop Cooke: I propose to retain "circumstances" and add, "and in accord with the instructions given us."

Dr. Lamar accepted that amendment, and read his motion with Bishop Cooke's additional words incorporated.

J. W. Van Cleve: I move to strike out everything following the word "procedure."

The paper as presented by Dr. Lamar with Bishop Cooke's addition was adopted, reading as follows: "That we respectfully transmit to the General Conferences of the two Churches the following draft of a constitution for the Methodist Church, together with recommendations for methods of procedure, as the best that we have been able to agree upon under the circumstances, and in accord with the instructions given us, and we submit the same for their consideration and decision."

Bishop Denny: I take it that under ordinary rules of parliamentary practice those opposed have a right to have their opposition recorded. And I am sure that I shall be called upon for an explanation of any vote in favor of this paper. Holding the proxy of Bishop Ainsworth, I desire my name and Bishop Ainsworth's name to be entered as voting against it.

C. A. Pollock: May I ask if this report, when it goes down, will be signed by the Commission? If it is, the absence of their names will be apparent.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Chair rules, of course, that any man has the right to have his name recorded as opposed to a measure.

Judge McGowan, Judge Samford, and Dr. Dickey asked to be recorded as voting against the resolution.

G. W. Brown: I hold in my hands a proxy. It empowers me to vote on this final question when it goes up to the General Conference. It is from Judge Henry Wade Rogers, and I will vote his proxy in favor of this proposition.

Bishop Leete: Is there not some way by which these brothers can amend the proposition so that they can combine with us in its presentation? If there is any change of verbiage, or any other change of a kind which would relieve their minds of apprehension, many of us would be glad to see that change made. Bishop Moore said we were not charged with responsibility to make recommendations to the General Conference. But we are charged with the duty of making our report to the General Conference. There are a good many of us who think there is a far better plan than that. But there has been no time when it could be appropriately presented without the appearance of opposing the plan that is before us. If there is some way by which we can transmit this in accord with our instructions, that will carry with it the consent of these brethren, I think they ought to state it frankly. I have this great hope, that the majority of this body will not in any way whatever coerce the conscience or intelligence of any man connected with this body. If there is any way by which we may put the expression of transmission so that it may satisfy every man here, I hope and pray it may be done right now. That is the brotherly thing to do. As a matter of fact, our work will stand or fall on its own merits. I think possibly there is a broader way of stating it.

E. B. Chappell: I am definitely instructed by Dr. Watkins to cast his vote in the affirmative with reference to the resolution embodied in this vote.

Bishop Moore: I move that we now adjourn to go into separate sessions to act upon this.

Rolla V. Watt: Cannot some attention be paid to the suggestion of Bishop Leete? I am not for some of these propositions. If these brethren who have recorded their votes in the negative could suggest a form which would be satisfactory to them, I should be glad to have it go up without dissenting votes.

On motion of Bishop Moore, it was voted to take a recess of thirty minutes, and at 5:04 P.M. the two Commissions went into separate sessions.

At 5:35, the Commissions came together again, and resumed work as a Joint Commission.

Secretary Harris: I am instructed to report the adoption by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church of a resolution as follows: "*Resolved*, That the Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church formally accept and approve the resolution offered by Dr. Lamar in the Joint Commission." This resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote.

Secretary Harris also reported that the Commissioners from the Methodist Episcopal Church had adopted the following resolution: "*Resolved,* That we recommend that an additional committee of five from each Commission be appointed to edit the final report, and that this committee be instructed to print and send to each Commissioner a copy of the document."

F. M. Thomas reported for the Southern Commissioners, and said that they approved Dr. Lamar's resolution by a vote of 19 to 5.

Bishop Denny: I would like to ask whether rearrangement would not be approved by our brethren, as well as by those of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Some rearrangement needs to be made, and as a body of Methodists we do not wish such a paper to go out except in the best possible form.

P. H. Linn: I move that the second resolution reported to us by the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church be made the action of this body.

This motion prevailed.

J. H. Reynolds: I move to clothe that committee of ten just created with authority to deal with any question which might come up between now and the meeting of the General Conference to which this paper is to be submitted, and which may require action, thus making it unnecessary to call together the two Commissions as a whole.

Bishop Cannon: Do you mean by correspondence, or not?

J. H. Reynolds: Of course I do not mean that they should essentially modify our work. I do not know that I could suggest what questions might come up, but questions might come up on which there ought to be general concurrence, with which the committee could deal without the necessity of calling the Commission together.

A. J. Lamar: A delegated authority cannot be delegated. Ours is a delegated authority, and we cannot delegate it to anybody else.

D. G. Downey: Have we completed the necessary legal votes? What I mean is this: Did we adopt Brother Lamar's paper in the Joint Commission? If not, we ought to attend to it now. I move that we formally adopt, as the finding of this Joint Commission, the paper of Dr. Lamar that has been formally adopted by each of the Commissions in separate session.

This motion prevailed.

Bishop Denny: I will now request that my negative be put in here again, not from stubbornness, but to save explanations that I will be called on to make, if I vote for any such motion as that. Please enter my name as opposed.

Judge Samford, Judge McGowan, and Dr. Dickey asked that their votes be recorded in the negative. Dr. Downey and Dr.

Joy, who jointly held Bishop McDowell's proxy, asked that Bishop McDowell's vote be recorded in the affirmative.

Bishop Moore: We had before us early in the session this afternoon the matter of a letter of transmission. Is anything in addition to the votes that we have passed to be put in?

Bishop Cranston: I want to move a sentence additional to that preamble.

P. H. Linn: Has that committee, provided for in the adoption of the report of the committee on which I served, relating to the editing or reconciling slight differences in the Rules and Articles of Faith, been appointed?

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): No. If the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church are ready to announce their members of the committee, the Chairman of the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is ready to make a similar announcement.

D. G. Downey: Can we not simplify that matter by referring it to the Committee of Ten?

P. H. Linn: Four would be better than ten.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): The Southern members of the Committee ordered by the resolution which Dr. Linn presented will be Dr. Thomas and Dr. Linn.

D. G. Downey: I take the chance of getting the consent of the members of our own Commission. Dr. Harris and Dr. Stuart are preëminently qualified for that work. I move that they be the two men from the Methodist Episcopal Church Commission on that committee.

They were appointed.

C. M. Stuart: May I have a word of personal privilege? It is a matter of great regret to me that I was not present when a matter of great importance was under discussion, in reference to the provision that the General Conference shall not revoke our established standards of doctrine, or establish any new standards of doctrine. I really think if we are to go before the Church with the position that there shall be no change in our doctrinal standards, we shall make a serious blunder. All scholars know that there is progress of doctrine in the Old Testament. It seems to me if we go before the people with the understanding that we shall recognize no progress of doctrine, we shall endanger ourselves. If we make it incumbent upon the pastors of our Church to read, once a quarter, the Articles of Religion, it would be very certain that inside of a year the Church itself would rise up and demand something to be done. It is too late to bring this matter up for consideration now. But I think I ought to call attention to this, because in the department of work to which I am called it is getting to be a very embarrassing thing to have theological instructors handicapped by ref-

erence to Articles of Religion which were produced for a totally different state of affairs. The Episcopal Church itself has outgrown them. I thought I ought to say that, just by way of personal explanation.

P. H. Linn: As Chairman of the Committee on the Judicial Council, I saw yesterday that, owing to the early session we had, it was not possible to get at the minutes of the meeting; and we had understood that the provision moved by Dr. Blake this morning, that seven of the fifteen elected at the first General Conference should have their terms expire at the end of the first General Conference after their election, was adopted. Dr. Blake has some doubt as to whether that was adopted. We thought it was. If it was not, it ought to be adopted now.

Edgar Blake: I desire to move that we amend page 11, line 6, by adding the words, "Except that seven of the number of the first Judicial Council shall be elected for four years, and their successors thereafter for eight years."

This motion prevailed.

After the vote was taken, Bishop Mouzon said: "Really, you would have to reconsider the vote by which that measure was adopted before you can get this amendment in, because you have passed on your whole paper. It can be done by common consent. With that understanding, it is done."

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): Is there any further business to come before the Commission? You ordered the appointment of a committee of ten, five from each Church, to edit and put in proper form this report which has been adopted. The Chair will announce from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the following members of the committee: Bishop Moore, F. M. Thomas, H. N. Snyder, J. H. Reynolds, P. D. Maddin.

The members from the Methodist Episcopal Commission were announced to be Bishop McDowell, A. W. Harris, Edgar Blake, D. G. Downey, J. R. Joy.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was read as follows, and adopted:

Resolved, That we tender our thanks to the presiding elder of the Louisville District, and the pastor of Fourth Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for their courtesies; to the official board of Fourth Avenue Church for the use of their church building for our sessions; to the ladies of the congregation for the delightful dinner and evening's entertainment provided for us; to the Methodist pastors of the city for their consideration and hospitality; and to the daily papers for the intelligent and kindly way in which they have dealt with the Commission and its work.

JOHN M. MOORE,
E. B. CHAPPELL,
ALBERT J. NAST,
ROBERT E. JONES.

Rolla V. Watt: I would like to say in the last moment that while I have not felt that I could vote, as some of your brethren have done, against the submission of this report, it is quite contrary to what I could desire. And I assume that in the discussion of this matter in the future we are not estopped from expressing our opinion in reference to matters as to which we disagree. I do not want to be disloyal to the Commission; but my judgment has been outvoted so many times that I want to put this statement on record.

Bishop Leete: It seems to me every man is free to do what he thinks wisest and best.

Bishop Moore: I would be glad if we might have a word or two from a man we all love very dearly, who has carried upon his heart the interests of this great work. I would like to have a word of blessing, and I know it will be such, from our dear brother, Bishop Cranston.

J. H. Reynolds: I would like to make this additional suggestion, that Bishop Cranston preside over the last minute or two of our Conference, and that he be asked to say such things as are in his heart, and conduct such religious services as we should have appropriate to the closing.

The Chairman (Bishop Mouzon): That is very fitting indeed. A motion is hardly necessary.

Secretary Thomas read the minutes of the afternoon session, and they were approved.

Bishop Cranston took the chair and the Commission greeted him with applause. He spoke as follows: "I have too much consideration for you to occupy your time in any extended congratulatory remarks. A number of you have been in this service for the union of these Churches as long as I have. In some way, possibly because I was approaching my retirement, and since my retirement the larger liberty given me by that fact, I have been led to a more ardent expectation of the early reorganization of the two Churches than some of you who have been in the midst of affairs and constantly in contact with a spirit of antagonism here and there throughout both Churches. I take no credit to myself for what I believe the Spirit of God has been leading me to do in urging a reunion of the two great bodies of Methodists. We have been so busily engaged in these last strenuous days, and the situation is still so tense, that there is little room for emotional expression. I think God is looking to us, every one—and I think you agree with me—to do whatever may be possible within the compass of man's power or influence to bring about the reunion of the severed forces of our Methodism. It is a matter now committed in a peculiar way to us who have been more highly favored than our brothers and sisters of the two great communions. To them our propositions will come,

of course, without any fire or fervor. They will be received in the cold atmosphere of judgment, some sympathetic and some apathetic, possibly some hostile. And it would seem to devolve upon us to see that the plan which we are sending to our General Conferences shall have at least a fair hearing. For my own part, I have thanked God, hundreds of times, for one gift that I have cherished above others in my natural equipment—the ability to put myself into the mental and traditional attitude of the man with whom I disagree. I have found it possible always to have—if sincere and temperate—fellowship of heart in the very presence of the most contradictory expressions of sentiment or judgment. And I have held it as an obligation to give to every man that just interpretation both of his personality and his opinion which I have felt that I had a right to expect from every other. Can less than this be Christian? Now, brethren, our fellowship having been so delightful, it seems to me I can appeal to every man here to-night to agree that what has been possible for us, calling constantly upon God to hold possession of our minds and to keep our souls in charity would have been possible to our entire people under the same conditions or like conditions. It is true, you were a body of picked men. And yet we can count on the people, I think, for the spirit of good fellowship if we give them the opportunity for good fellowship. My belief is that as we go out now we shall find the outlook for reuniting the two Churches constantly improving. Maybe not, but I am anticipating that. I want to thank you for all the marks of personal consideration which I have enjoyed at your hands, and to join with you in thanks to God for his goodness, and in prayer for his further blessing upon the work of our hearts and hands as representatives of our respective Churches. Shall we sing

'Come, thou almighty King,
Help us thy name to sing'?"

This hymn was sung, Bishop Cranston led in a closing prayer, and final adjournment was effected at 6:10 P.M.

REPORT OF THE AD INTERIM COMMITTEE, RICHMOND, VA., NOVEMBER 7, 1919

REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE AD INTERIM COMMITTEE, RICHMOND, VA., NOVEMBER 7, 1919.

Article I. Pastoral Charges.

The membership of the Church shall be divided into local societies, one or more of which shall constitute a pastoral charge.

Article II. Annual Conferences.

The traveling preachers shall be organized into Annual Conferences with such privileges and duties as are hereinafter provided for. Laymen shall be represented in the Annual Conference in a number to be determined by the General Conference, which shall prescribe their qualifications and the method of their election.

Article III. Regional Conferences.

Section 1. There shall be the following Regional Jurisdictions, each having its own Regional Conference:

A. White Membership in the United States.

(1) Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.

(2) Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and North Carolina.

(3) Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi.

(4) Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

(5) Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California, Hawaii, and Alaska.

(6) Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.

B. Colored Membership in the United States.

(7) The Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions embracing the work among colored people in the United States.

C. Membership in Foreign Countries.

(8) The Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions in Porto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, Central America, and South America.

(9) The Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions in Europe, the Madeira Islands, and in Africa.

(10) The Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions in China, Korea, Philippine Islands, and Malaysia.

(11) The Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions in India and Burma.

Sec. 2. *Members.*—(a) Each Regional Conference for White Membership in the United States shall be composed of the ministerial and lay delegates elected to the General Conference by the Annual Conferences within the territory of the said Regional Conference.

(b) The Regional Conference for Colored Membership in the United States shall be composed as follows:

One ministerial and one lay delegate from and elected by each Annual Conference, Mission Conference, and Mission of its jurisdiction for each 2,000 Church members in full connection, or fraction of two-thirds thereof; provided, that each Annual Conference, Mission Conference, and Mission shall be entitled to at least one ministerial and one lay delegate. The numerical basis of representation in said Regional Conference may be changed by said Regional Conference, subject to approval by the General Conference; provided, that the membership of said Regional Conference shall not exceed 400 ministers and laymen in equal numbers.

(3) Each Regional Conference for Membership in Foreign Countries shall be composed as follows:

One ministerial and one lay delegate from and elected by each Annual Conference, Mission Conference, and Mission of its jurisdiction for each 2,000 Church members in full connection or fraction of two-thirds thereof; provided, that each Annual Conference, Mission Conference, and Mission shall be entitled to at least one ministerial and one lay delegate. The numerical basis of representation in any of these Regional Conferences may be changed by said Regional Conference, subject to approval by the General Conference; provided, that the membership of said Regional Conference shall not exceed 400 ministers and laymen in equal numbers.

Sec. 3. *Powers.*—(1) Subject to the limitations and restrictions of this Constitution, each Regional Conference shall have full legislative power over all distinctively regional affairs within its area, including the power to fix the boundaries of Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions, and to provide for the organization of the same; provided, that no new Annual Conference shall be organized in the States of the United States with less than fourteen thousand Church members in full connection therewith.

(2) It shall also have power to receive, own, transfer, and control educational, benevolent, and charitable institutions of the Church within its own territory which are not otherwise legally provided for, and shall have supervision of all such enterprises, except those which are owned, controlled, and supervised by some other organic agency of the Church.

(3) Each Regional Conference shall have power to elect from time to time the number of bishops allotted to it by the General Conference, and said bishops shall be confirmed by the General Conference, and ordained by the bishops, unless two-thirds of the members of the General Conference, present and voting, shall object to said confirmation; provided, that the privileges, powers, and duties of a bishop elected by or for a Colored or Foreign Regional Conference shall be limited to the Regional Jurisdiction by or for which he is elected.

(4) The powers and privileges of a Foreign Regional Conference representing less than 150,000 Church members in full connection shall be determined by the General Conference.

(5) No Regional Conference shall, in the exercise of the powers provided herein, make rules or regulations contrary to or in conflict with any rule or regulation made by the General Conference for the government and control of the connectional affairs of the Church.

Article IV. Associate General Conferences.

Whenever in any Colored or Foreign Regional Conference the membership in full connection shall exceed 400,000, upon request of said Conference, the General Conference shall organize the membership of said Conference into an Associate General Conference, with the privileges and powers herein provided.

An Associate General Conference shall have representation in the General Conference of ten ministerial and ten lay delegates with the right to speak and to vote in the General Conference on all matters which affect the interests of their Jurisdiction. The General Conference may also be represented in an Associate General Conference by ten ministerial and ten lay delegates.

Sec. 1. *Members.*—An Associate General Conference shall be composed of an equal number of ministers and laymen to be chosen in such number and manner as said Associate General Conference may determine.

Sec. 2. *Powers.*—Subject to the restrictions and limitations of this Constitution, each Associate General Conference shall, so far as relates to its jurisdiction, have all the powers of the General Conference, legislative, executive, and judicial, except as herein otherwise provided;

Provided, that an Associate General Conference shall not prescribe conditions, privileges, and duties of Church membership that are contrary to or in conflict with those prescribed by the General Conference, nor shall it define and fix powers, privileges, and duties of the episcopacy contrary to or in conflict with the powers, privileges, and duties of the episcopacy as defined and fixed by the General Conference.

Sec. 3. *Privileges.*—An Associate General Conference shall be entitled:

(1) To have such representation as the General Conference may determine upon the connectional boards or societies in which its interests are directly involved.

(2) To share in the proceeds of the Book Concern or Publishing House as the General Conference may determine.

Sec. 4. *Meetings.*—An Associate General Conference shall meet quadrennially and at such other times and at such places as it may determine.

It shall be governed by such rules of procedure as it may itself prescribe.

Article V. The General Conference.

Section 1. *Membership.*—The General Conference shall be composed as follows:

(a) Of not less than one hundred ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers, chosen in such number and in such manner as the General Conference may determine from each of the White Regional Conferences in the United States; provided, that the number of delegates from any one of the said Regional Jurisdictions shall not exceed twenty per cent of the total membership of the General Conference.

(b) Of not less than thirty nor more than forty ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers, chosen in such number and in such manner as the General Conference may determine from the Colored Regional Jurisdiction in the United States; provided, that the number of delegates from said Regional Jurisdiction shall not exceed five per cent of the total membership of the General Conference.

(c) Of not less than ten nor more than forty ministerial and lay delegates in equal numbers, chosen in such number and in such manner as the General Conference may determine from each of the Foreign Regional Jurisdictions; provided, that the number of delegates from any one of the said Regional Jurisdictions shall not exceed five per cent of the total membership of the General Conference.

Sec. 2. *Powers.*—Subject to the limitations and restrictions of this Constitution, the General Conference shall have full legislative power over all matters distinctively connectional; and in the exercise of said powers shall have authority as follows:

(1) To define and fix the conditions, privileges, and duties of Church membership.

(2) To define and fix the qualifications and duties of elders, deacons, local preachers, exhorters, and deaconesses.

(3) To provide for, define, and fix the powers and duties of District, Quarterly, and Church Conferences.

(4) To define and fix the powers and duties of Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions.

(5) To define and fix the powers and duties of Foreign Regional Conferences representing a membership of less than 150,000 in full connection, and to elect and assign bishops to the same.

(6) To divide, consolidate, and change the Regional Conferences; but it shall not take away territory from any Regional Conference without its consent, save by the concurrent vote of two successive General Conferences; nor shall it create any new Regional Conference with less than 500,000 members in full connection; provided, that the boundaries of a Regional Conference shall not be changed without its consent for a period of three quadrenniums succeeding the adoption of this Constitution.

(7) To define and fix the privileges, powers, and duties of the episcopacy, to fix the number of bishops to be elected by each of the several Regional Conferences; to confirm their election; by a general rule, to superannuate them upon reaching a determined age, and to retire them for inefficiency or unacceptability after due notice and a proper hearing; provided, that it shall require a two-thirds vote to retire a bishop without the concurrence of the Regional Conference in which his official residence is fixed.

A bishop shall be assigned by the General Conference for residential supervision to the Regional Jurisdiction by or for which he was elected, but any bishop, except as herein otherwise provided, may be assigned by the general superintendents to any Annual Conference for presidential supervision, if a majority of the resident bishops of the jurisdiction to which he is assigned shall concur in said assignment; but such concurrence shall not be necessary in the case of assignment to a Colored or Foreign Regional Jurisdiction.

The General Conference may assign a bishop to any jurisdiction with the consent of the delegates of the jurisdictions from which the bishop is to be taken and to which he is to be assigned. But the consent of the delegates of a Foreign Jurisdiction shall not be necessary to the assignment or transfer of a bishop to or from a Foreign Regional Jurisdiction.

(8) To alter and change the hymnal and the ritual of the Church, and to regulate all matters relating to the form and mode of worship.

(9) To prescribe the method of acquisition, control, and disposition of the real and personal property of the Church and of all its branches.

(10) To govern the judicial administration of the Church, except as herein otherwise provided.

(11) To consider, and, if deemed wise, to disapprove of the decisions of the Judicial Council upon any constitutional question and to require its submission to the members of the several Annual Conferences, and the decision of two-thirds of those present and voting shall be final thereon.

(12) To control and direct all connectional publishing, missionary, benevolent, and educational enterprises of the Church.

(13) To govern any and all other matters of a connectional character.

Restrictions.—Provided, (1) That the General Conference shall not revoke, alter, nor change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine.

(2) The General Conference shall not change or alter any part or rule

of our government so as to do away with episcopacy, or to destroy our itinerant general superintendency.

(3) The General Conference shall not revoke nor change the General Rules of our Church.

(4) The General Conference shall not deprive our ministers of the right of trial by the Annual Conference, or by a selected number thereof, nor of an appeal; nor shall it deprive our members of the right of trial by a committee of members of our Church; nor of an appeal.

(5) The General Conference shall not appropriate the produce of the Publishing House or Book Concern, nor of the Chartered Fund, to any purpose other than for the benefit of the traveling, supernumerary, and superannuated preachers, their wives, widows, and children.

Sec. 3. *Meetings.*—(1) The General Conference shall meet in the months of April or May once in four years perpetually at such time and place as shall be fixed by the preceding General Conference, or by a commission to be appointed quadrennially by the General Conference; and the commission shall have power to change the place, a majority of the general superintendents concurring.

(2) The general superintendents may, by a two-thirds vote, and shall, when requested by a majority of the Annual Conferences, call a special session of the General Conference.

(3) When the time for the opening of the General Conference has arrived, one of the general superintendents, designated by the Board of Bishops, shall take the chair and conduct the opening devotions of the session. Following the devotions, he shall direct the Secretary of the preceding General Conference, or, in his absence, one of his assistants, to call the roll of the delegates-elect. The general superintendents, before the General Conference convenes, shall elect from their own number one bishop, or more, to preside during the session. The General Conference, upon organization, shall elect such other officers as shall be necessary.

Sec. 4. *Voting.*—(1) The ministerial and lay delegates shall deliberate as one body, and, except as otherwise provided, shall vote as one body; but each delegate shall have the right to have his vote, or refusal to vote, recorded by name on the journal.

(2) One-fifth of either order of delegates, present and voting, may require a vote by orders, in which case it shall require the concurrence of the two orders to decide the matter under consideration, except that for changes in the Constitution a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference, present and voting, shall be sufficient, as provided in Article VII.

(3) One-fifth of those present and voting may require that a "yea" and "nay" vote be taken.

Whenever a majority of each of two Regional delegations in the United States shall so request, a vote shall be taken on any pending motion or resolution, except amendments to the Constitution, by Regional delegations, and it shall require the concurrence of two-thirds of the Regional delegations in the United States, the members thereof voting as one body, to adopt said motion or resolution; provided, however, that no motion or resolution shall be adopted that does not receive a majority vote of the members of the General Conference present and voting.

Sec. 5. *Quorum.*—Two-thirds of the members elected to the General Conference shall be necessary for a quorum, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and at the final session may approve the journal, order and record the final roll call, and adjourn.

Article VI. The Judicial Council.

Section 1. *Title and Purpose.*—There shall be, and hereby is, established a Judicial Council, whose decisions shall be final, except as herein otherwise provided.

Sec. 2. *Composition.*—The Judicial Council shall be composed of fifteen ministerial and lay members, to be nominated by the general superintendents by a two-thirds vote and elected by the General Conference.

Sec. 3. *Term of Service.*—Members of the Judicial Council shall serve for eight (8) years, or until their successors are confirmed, and shall be eligible for reëlection. The term of each member (except as provided in Section 9), shall expire at the close of the second General Conference succeeding that at which his term began.

Sec. 4. *Eligibility.*—Members of the Judicial Council shall not be eligible to membership in the General or Regional Conferences, nor shall they hold any other connectional office, nor serve on any connectional board during their term. After the first election no member of the General or Regional Conference shall, during his term of service, be eligible to membership in the Judicial Council. No member of the Judicial Council shall hear, review, or determine any case before the Judicial Council to which he may be in any way related, nor shall he sit in the Council while such case is being examined.

Sec. 5. *Organization.*—The members of the Judicial Council shall convene at the close of each General Conference, and shall organize by choosing from their number, by ballot, a President and a Secretary; provided, that the members of the first Judicial Council shall organize immediately upon their confirmation. The Secretary shall keep a record of all proceedings, together with the records and documents in each case, with the decision and reasons for the same, and shall report such decisions to the parties involved and also to the succeeding General Conference. All decisions of the Judicial Council shall be in writing.

Sec. 6. *Powers.*—(1) The Judicial Council shall have full power to review, upon appeal on constitutional grounds, the acts of the General Conference, the Associate General Conferences, and the Regional Conferences, the records and documents transmitted to it from Judicial Conferences, to hear and determine questions of law and all other appeals coming to it in course of lawful procedure; provided, that no appeal from any Conference shall be entertained unless the same has been taken by at least one-fifth of the Conference.

(2) The Judicial Council shall also have power to arrest an action of a connectional board or other connectional body, when such action is brought before it by appeal by one-fifth of the members of said body or by the general superintendents. In all cases the decision of the Judicial Council shall be final; provided, that if on a constitutional question there shall be a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference, present and voting, disapproving a decision of the Judicial Council, its construction of the question involved shall then be sent to the Annual Conferences for final approval or disapproval, as provided hereinbefore.

Sec. 7. *Government.*—The Judicial Council shall prescribe rules and regulations for its government and methods of procedure for the hearing and disposition of appeals, which rules and methods shall be printed in the Discipline, and shall not be changed or altered during the quadrennium, without due notice.

Sec. 8. *Quorum.*—Two-thirds of the Judicial Council shall constitute a quorum. Constitutional matters shall be decided by a majority vote of the entire Judicial Council. All other appeals shall be decided by a majority of those present and voting.

Sec. 9. *Meetings During Quadrennium.*—The Judicial Council shall meet at the same time and place as the General Conference and shall continue in session until the final adjournment of the General Conference; provided, that if during the session of a General Conference the appeal of a bishop is pending, the Judicial Council shall defer its time of adjournment until it disposes of said appeal.

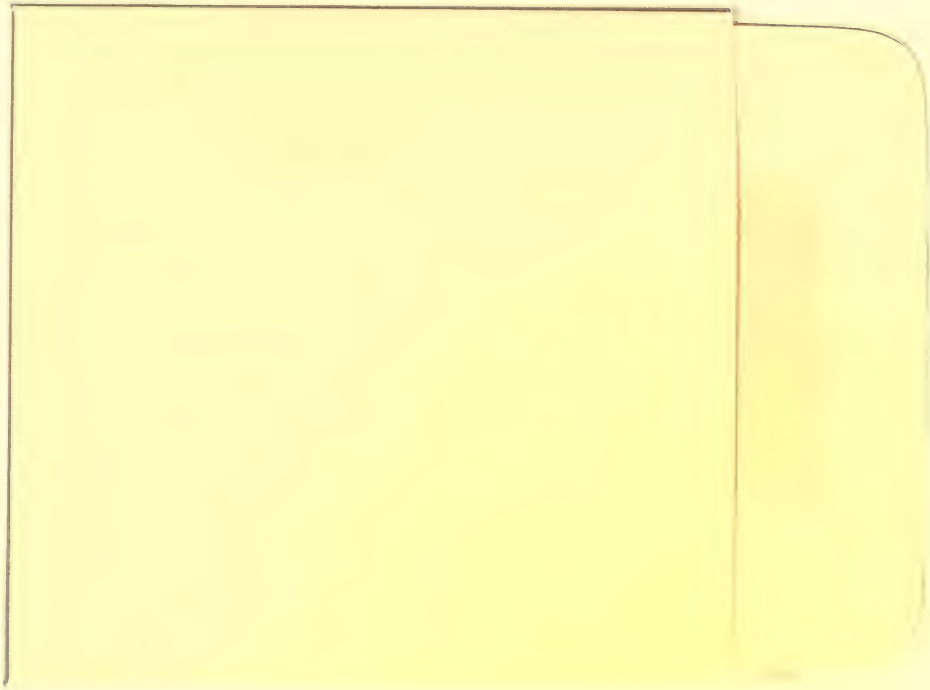
The Judicial Council shall convene during each quadrennium at such times and places as it may deem necessary to hear and determine appeals.

Sec. 10. *Vacancies.*—Vacancies shall be filled by the Judicial Council from the same order and jurisdiction in which the vacancy occurs, until the next meeting of the General Conference, which may then fill the vacancy for the balance of the unexpired term.

Article VII. Amendments.

The recommendation of two-thirds of all the members of the several Annual Conferences, present and voting, shall suffice to authorize the next ensuing General Conference by a two-thirds vote of those members present and voting, to alter or amend any of the provisions of this Constitution; and also whenever such alteration or amendment shall have been first recommended by a General Conference, by a two-thirds vote of those members present and voting, then so soon as two-thirds of all the members of the several Annual Conferences, present and voting, shall have concurred therein, provided that such concurrence shall take place previous to the meeting of the next ensuing General Conference, such alteration or amendment shall take effect; and the result of the vote shall be announced by the general superintendents.

Recommendation.

We recommend that the General Conference make an equitable provision for the financial support of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church by setting apart a designated amount or a fixed percentage of the total annual offerings of the reorganized Church for the support of work among colored people.

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